

HISTORY

OF

CLASSICAL SANSKRIT LITERATURE

**Being an elaborate account of all branches of Classical
Sanskrit Literature, with full Epigraphical and
Archæological Notes and References, an
Introduction dealing with Language,
Philology and Chronology and
Index of Authors and
Works**

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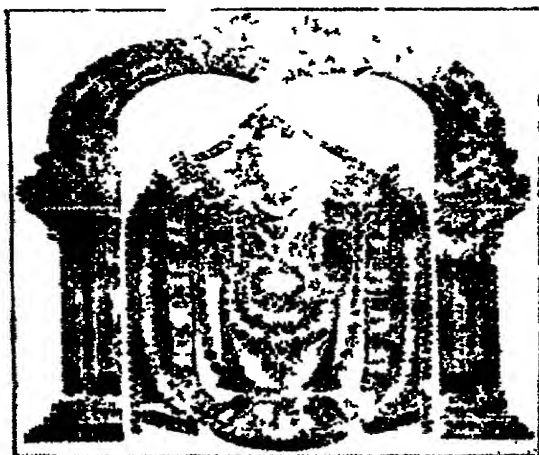


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ओं नमः
श्रियःपतये



अखिलभुवनजन्मस्थेमभङ्गादिलीले
विविधविनतभूतत्रातरक्षैकदीक्षे ।
श्रुतिशिरसि विदीप्ते ब्रह्मणि श्रीनिवासे
भवतु मम परस्मिन् शेमुषी भक्तिरूपा ॥



महाकविवचस्सुधाप्रसरसौरभोल्लासिता
महार्हगुणनायकप्रथितवृत्तमुक्तोज्ज्वला ।
महामहिमदेवतास्तवनहृद्यरत्नाङ्किता
वृषाद्रिपतिपादयोस्सुतनुरर्पितेयं कृतिः ॥

PREFACE

LOOK AT THIS DEDICATION TO LORD SRI VENKATESVARA ! That will remind you of the Glory and Purpose of His Manifestation in this world of sin and exalt you to the region of the blessed and the immortal With a salutation to the great Sages Vālmīki and Vyāsa, the work begins and gives an elaborate account of Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, with all their recensions, editions and commentaries The vast expanse of Classical Sanskrit Literature has been arranged on the model of standard works on foreign literature The main classes are three, Śravyakāvya, Ḍṛṣyakāvya and Sāhitya. First come the poems proper, of two classes, major and minor, (Śravyakāvya)—, which is all verse, or all prose or mixed prose and verse with all their minor varieties, topical and ingenious Secondly comes the drama (Ḍṛsyakāvya) in all its technical ramifications and with all motifs temporal, spiritual and allegorical Next is science of poetry (Sāhitya) in its widest sense embracing rhetoric, dancing, music and erotics To this is appended a chapter on Prosody or metrics (Chandas) All topics are introduced by an exposition of the rhetorical definitions and theorisations and treated from their traceable beginnings, which to some extent are traditional and theological, but I would not call them 'mythical' implying a stigma of falsity and fiction As far as it was in my reach, all that has been said about any author or work anywhere in books, journals or papers has been entered in the references and this will help special studies. Dynasties of Kings that ruled in India in different parts and at different times have been fully honored by a collation of relevant notes, epigraphical and archæological, not merely because the kings were the fountains of literature, but many of them were themselves poets of celebrity. Works known and unknown, lost and extant, printed and unprinted, catalogued and uncatalogued, have all been mentioned and in many cases the stray places where they are still available in manuscript. Above all there is the quotation of gems of poetry of varying interest from amour and nature to devotion and renunciation, and these in themselves are an anthology of meritorious specimens of poetic thought and expression,

THE INTRODUCTION deals with several topics of general interest allied to the study of Classical Sanskrit Literature, such for instance as the spiritual origin and aspect of language as envisaged in the Vedas and as elaborated by schools of Grammarians, the progress of structural and linguistic changes in the expression of the Sanskrit language, from Chandas to Bhāṣa, and the like, this will assist the study of Comparative Philology, of which "*The Discovery of Sanskrit*" is acknowledged to be the origin. Of foremost importance, there is the subject of Indian Chronology. India has its well written history and the Purāṇas exhibit that history and chronology. To the devout Hindu and to a Hindu who will strive to be honest in the literary and historical way, Purāṇas are not 'pious frauds'. In the hands of many Orientalists, India has lost (or has been cheated out of) a period of 10-12 centuries in its political and literary life, by the assumption of a faulty Synchronism of Candragupta Maurya and Sandracottus of the Greek works and all that can be said against that "*Anchor-Sheet of Indian Chronology*" has been said in this Introduction. In the case of those early European Orientalists, very eminent and respectable in themselves, this thought of resemblance and historical synchronism was at least sincere, for it was very scanty material that they could work upon. But for their successors in that hierarchy who are mostly our "Professors of Indian History," that have given a longevity and a garb of truth to it by repetition, there is to my mind no excuse or expiation, if at all it be a confession of neglect and a recognition of India's glorious past in its entire truth.

THE INDEX OF AUTHORS AND WORKS (in Sanskrit) is followed by a small supplement (in English) on miscellaneous matters. The Index is not merely a means of reference and indication, but embodies corrections and additions, so as to act as what is usually expressed as "Errata et Corrigenda et Addenda." Many authors and works that could not be mentioned in the body of the work, because they came to be known too late, are entered there. The reader will therefore take the Index as part of the main work and not merely as an easy appendix to it. In all, the number of works and authors would be some thousands, arranged alphabetically on the plan of Stein's Index to Kashmir Catalogue and Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum. Recent and living authors have been, so far as I could get at, noticed, and this work, it is submitted with all humility, deals with the history of Classical Sanskrit Literature from the earliest times to the present day.

In the year 1906, I published a small book, History of Classical Sanskrit Literature. Being the first and only work of its comprehension, it was well received everywhere in our Universities and was quoted profusely in the publications of the Universities of the United States of America. I was often asked to reprint the book, but conscious of its inadequacy I did not do it, but in its stead I thought of a comprehensive work that would present at a glance the full vista of Sanskrit literary domain and that in the light of past historical researches. Even the ardent Pandit knows not the vast literature that has been lost or lies hidden in the libraries of India.

But what are your chances of using these libraries? Manuscripts and catalogues now out of print are all 'stored' in these receptacles. They may be there for years, unthought and untouched, save for changes of physical location. The pages may turn red, brown, blue and brittle, but they still lie uncut by the hand of any reader. The Guardian (Curator, Secretary, Librarian, call them as you please) will well watch these receptacles on their pedestals. The guardian will applaud your attempt at research and will promise to help it by a loan of books on your application, but he is "helpless" and must soon express his regret in reply as "rules are against loan." If you apply to a higher authority for relief, the paper runs through the regular channels to the same guardian, and on his report, after a lingering expectation, you get an order (a copy of the prior one) with a difference only in the preamble and the subscription. Libraries "are meant for visitors," but most of them do not look in, but look on, all the more so, if a museum or a house of curios is adjacent to the library. And these rare books are only rarely wanted and that by a incrustated antiquarian of my ilk. One that comes there does not need the book, one that is far away cannot get it. If you do go there, stealing a holiday, the key of a particular almirah where your wanted work is kept may be with the guardian who is away elsewhere. What then is a library for? It is not a Palace of Toys! Much of this tale was true of the Oriental Manuscripts Library of Madras some years ago, when I commenced the preparation of this work. I am not sure if at present the position is better. But I am aware that not many years ago, there was an indictment of the methods of this Library by His Holiness Śrī Yaṭrāśwāmī in his preface to his edition of Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa. The expression of his chagrin, in language poetic, is well worth reading as a piece of excellent prose literature.

I wrote for information to libraries, I rarely had a reply, for some of these guardians have "no staff, no provision for paper or postage" If I asked for an extract from any manuscript—say the first and last few lines—some institutions demanded copying charges I applied for a copy, the charges were exorbitant For instance, for an indifferent copy in two quarter sheets of thirty-two anustubh verses (of 32 letters each) I was asked to pay about a rupee and postage I paid and consoled myself by the thought that this fee went for the maintenance of a poor Pandit, and that it was in no way more rapacious than the fee charged recently by a Banker for giving an extract of a single line from a ledger, viz, Rs 5 for search, Rs 5 for copying the line, and Rs. 5 for adding a certificate that it was a 'true copy', and these charges are only made "according to rules" We have to get on 'under the rules', no one cares to look into these iniquities Equally so was it with many Professors of Colleges They would have no time to reply and the few that deigned to oblige after reminders had very little to say To trace an author and his affairs, I had in many cases to correspond with several persons, and only perseverance did win it If the post office could exempt my letters from postage, it would give a different aspect, but alas, not. It is under these auspices I began and progressed But I cannot refrain from expressing that the acquisition of the material gathered in this book has been too costly for an equanimous retrospect and I shall not be far wrong to say that each author, save those few that are too well known, cost me on an average four annas I have often felt that it is not an enterprise that a prudent householder should have embarked upon, but it was too late to think of the folly

Amidst official work in judicial service, in places distant from metropolis, there was little leisure for a continuous study A few days snatched at intervals during the recesses of summer and other holidays were rarely sufficient for visits of references to libraries scattered all over India After all the work was ready—ready in bulk—about 8 years ago It went to print After a year, it was carried away in the current of an estate that vested in the Official Assignee A request and a claim got it out of the muddle The Press was sold Delay there was, but the printing was resumed I fell ill and I raved about this work and its contents, astonishing the doctor what it was all about, though I thought I was lecturing sensibly on Sanskrit Literature. There was again a change in the management and there was another lull

After sometime, the printing was taken up and slowly moved on. Once the manuscript of a whole chapter which was in the custody of a manager was lost—"said to be not sent at all"—but after all traced as 'mislaid', after I re-wrote much of it from scanty material gathered again from memory. If with all these mishaps and vicissitudes the work took 20 years and more, need I say that the suspense is enough to dole dismay to a chronic optimist which I presumed that I was.

In the preparation of the work, I have had the fullest sympathy from all Universities (except probably the University of Madras) and all Local Governments and the Governments of Indian States and the Government of Ceylon. They have been magnanimous and let me have their Sanskrit and other publications free as presents and that has well nigh contributed to the fullness of the notes, literary, epigraphical and archæological. To them I am ever thankful. To Sjt P R, RAMA AIYAR, the Proprietor of Messrs P R Rama Aiyar & Co, Booksellers, Madras, who with his selfless generosity first received this work in his Press for love of literary research, I express my first regard. Due to tortuous ways divine, his Press changed hands, but blest was it, that it became the Press of Sri Venkatesvara Devasthanam, Tirupati. At the hands of His Holiness SRI MAHANT PRAYAGA DOSSJEE VARU of Sri Hatheeramjee Mutt, Tirupati, then its Vicharanakartha, I received a kindly appreciation, he directed that the printing part of the work be done free in the Press, a work that has been meant to be dedicated to Sri Venkatesvara of Tirupati, at whose feet my family does humble hereditary service. When the management of the Devasthanam was assumed by the Committee appointed by the Local Legislature with its Commissioner, MR K SITARAMA REDDI, B.A., B.L., I was allowed to have the same concession with certain alterations. It is with this assistance and the particular interest which the present Commissioner, MR. A RANGANATHA MUDALIAR, B.A., B.L., evinced in speeding up the printing, the work is now seeing its publication. To the Committee and the Commissioner, gratitude will ever be transcendant in my memory—all the more so because they are the custodians of the Wealth and Glory of LORD VENKATESVARA.

Owing to pressure of Official duties and the anxiety to see the end of the publication, which has been by various causes often impeded during the last eight years, errors of print have crept in, but I slyly feel that the learned eye of my loving reader will easily skip through the

श्रीः

महाकाव्याः—

अत्रेदं विज्ञाप्यते श्रीशेषशैलजनपदनिवासिना ग्रन्थकर्त्रा कृष्णेन—

पितृव्यपादानां श्रीमतां श्रीनिवासरङ्गनाथाचार्याणां सकाशे दासेन शैशवे लब्ध-
साहितीपरिचयलेशः । अति क्रान्ते छात्रभावे बहुषु पत्तनेषु प्राड्विवाकपदव्यां प्रचलिता-
धिष्ठानतया अखान्ते सन्दर्शितराजकीयधर्मशास्त्रविषयक बहुग्रन्थरचनया च गैर्वाणीं वाणीं
यथाभिलषितं सुकृतिभिर्भवद्भिरिवासेवितुं न पारितं दासेन । तथापि पूर्वस्मिन् जन्मनि कृते-
नावदातेन कर्मलेशेन शारदाया आराधने समुद्योजितो दासः संस्कृतकविकाव्यचरितग्रन्थ-
नेन । तदप्यारब्धं समुचितसामर्थ्यहीनेनादूरदर्शिना दासेनेति विलसितं नियतिलीलायाः ।
अक्षुण्ण एष ग्रन्थाः । कियान्वा कविमुखेषु गीर्वाणवाणीप्रसर आसीदस्ति चेति प्रायेण न
जानन्ति बहवो विद्वांसः, विरलतया दर्शनीयानामाकराणामालयानां सूचीनां च । पर-
स्वहस्ताः पञ्चमहाकाव्यसदृशाः प्रबन्धाः निलीना विलीनाश्च । रूपकाणि च तथैव । केचन
ग्रन्था कवयश्च नामावशिष्टाः कीर्तिशेषा एव । आशास्यतामचिरात्तेऽपि दर्शनपथमवतर-
न्त्विति ।

एष विंशतिवार्षिकः प्रयत्नः

अश्रुतादृष्टपूर्वविविधसाहित्यसाम्राज्यशोभना अखिलभारतवर्षीयकविवरेण्यचरित
सुसन्नोद्गुम्फितेयं कृतिः महता क्लेशेन धनव्ययेन च केवलया गीर्वाणवाणीपरिचरणधियैव
भगवत्या वाग्देव्याः प्रसादेन महतां चाशिपा परिसमाप्तिमागता ।

यथाज्ञातं यथाश्रुतं यत्रकुत्रापि ज्याख्यातमुपक्षिप्तमुदाहृतं वा एतावता कालेन दृष्टमदृष्टं
श्रुतमश्रुतं मुद्रितममुद्रितं लब्धमलब्धं सर्वमपि कविकर्म कालतो देशतश्च विमृश्य सक-
लमपीतिवृत्तं समारभ्यादिकाव्यात् अद्यावधि यावच्छक्यमत्र संमेलितम् । किंच उपोद्धाते च
सुविपुले—शब्दब्रह्मणो माहात्म्यमुपवर्णितम् । भाषाशास्त्रस्य देववाणीमातृत्वमुपदर्शितम् ।
पुराणेतिहासानां प्रामाण्यमुद्धोषितम् । तत्परिपन्थिनां वादानां दुष्टता च प्रकटिता । रस-
विशिष्टाः वाग्विलासाः तत्र तत्र स्थानेषु समुचितेषु वाचिताः । यथा ग्रन्थ एष भविष्यति
सुभाषितभाण्डागारः सद्ब्रह्माह्लादनाथ ।

तथाभूतं प्रबन्धं महतां पादमूले समर्थं विद्वत्परितोषणेन कृतार्थोक्तुमात्मानं समी-
हते दासः ॥

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INTRODUCTION



अग्निमीळे पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य देवमृत्विजं होतारं रत्नधातमम् ।

अग्निं पूर्वमेकमिहिरिष्यो नूतनैरुत सदेवो एह वक्षति ॥

1. **The sacred literature of India**, inferior to none in variety or extent, is superior to many in nobility of thought, in sanctity of spirit and in generality of comprehension. In beauty or prolixity, it can vie with any other literature ancient and modern. Despite the various impediments to the steady development of the language, despite the successive disturbances, internal and external, which India had to encounter ever since the dawn of history, she has successfully held up to the world her archaic literary map, which meagre outline itself favourably compares with the literature of any other nation of the globe. The beginnings of her civilization are yet in obscurity. Relatively to any other language of the ancient world, the antiquity of Sanskrit has an unquestioned priority. "Yet such is the marvellous continuity" says Max Muller "between the past and the present of India, that in spite of repeated social convulsions, religious reforms and foreign invasions, Sanskrit may be said to be still the only language that is spoken over the whole extent of the vast country."¹ So says M. Winternitz "Sanskrit is not a 'dead' language even to day. There are still at the present day a number of Sanskrit periodicals in India, and topics of the day are discussed in Sanskrit pamphlets. Also, the Mahabharata is still today read aloud publicly, To this very day poetry is still composed and works written in Sanskrit, and it is the language in which Indian scholars converse upon scientific questions. Sanskrit at the least plays the same part in India still, as Latin in the Middle Ages in Europe, or as Hebrew with the Jews."²

"No country except India and no language except the Sanskrit can boast of a possession so ancient or venerable. No nation except the Hindus can stand before the world with such a sacred heirloom in its possession, unapproachable in grandeur and infinitely above all in

1. *Indiu*. 78-9.

2. *History of Indian Literature*, I. 45.

glory The Vedas stand alone in their solitary splendour, serving as beacon of divine light for the onward march of humanity ”¹

The sciences of Comparative Pathology and Mythology owe their origin to what has been termed the “Discovery of Sanskrit” “The Sanskrit, the antiquity and extent of its literary documents, the transparency of its grammatical structure, the comparatively primitive state of ancient system and thorough grammatical treatment it has early received at the hands of native scholars, must ever secure the foremost place in the comparative study of Indo Aryan researches ”

2 A WEBER in his Indian Literature thus summed up his reason for asserting the antiquity of the Vedic Literature

In the more ancient parts of the Rigveda-Samhita, we find the Indian race settled on the north-western borders of India, in the Punjab, and even beyond the Panjab, on the Kubha, or *Kiepna*, ¹ Kabul The gradual spread of the race from these seats towards the east, beyond the Sarasvati and over Hindustan as far as the Ganges can be traced in the later portions of the Vedic writings almost step by step The writings of the following period, that of the epic, consist of accounts of the internal conflicts among the conquerors of Hindustan themselves, as, for instance, the Mahabharata, or of the further spread of Brahmanism towards the south, as, for instance, the Ramayana If we connect with this the first fairly accurate information about India which we have from a Greek source, viz, from Megasthenes, it becomes clear that at the time of this writer the Brahmanising of Hindustan was already completed, while at the time of the Periplus (see Lassen, I AK, II 150, n, I St II 192) the very southernmost point of the Dekhan had already become a seat of the worship of the wife of Siva What a series of years, of centuries, must necessarily have elapsed before this boundless tract of country, inhabited by wild and vigorous tribes, could have been brought over to Brahmanism And while the claims of the written records of Indian literature to a high antiquity—its beginnings may perhaps be traced back even to the time when the Indo-Aryans still dwelt together with the Persa-Aryans—are thus indisputably proved by external, geographical testimony the internal evidence in the same direction, which may be gathered from their contents, is no less conclusive In the songs of Rik, the robust spirit of the people gives expression to the feeling of its relation to nature, with a spontaneous freshness and simplicity, the powers of

1 *Hindu superiority* 180

nature are worshipped as superior beings, and their kindly aid besought within their several spheres. Beginning with this nature-worship, which everywhere recognises only the individual phenomena of nature, and these in the first instance superhuman, we trace in Indian literature the progress of the Hindu people through almost all the phases of religious development through which the human mind generally has passed. The individual phenomena of nature, which at first impress the imagination as being superhuman, are gradually classified within their different spheres, and a certain unity is discovered among them. Thus we arrive at a number of divine beings, each exercising supreme sway within its particular province, whose influence is in course of time further extended to the corresponding events of human life, while at the same time they are endowed with human attributes and organs. The number—already considerable—of these natural deities, these regents of the powers of nature, is further increased by the addition of abstractions, taken from ethical relations, and to these as to the other deities divine powers, personal existence and activity are ascribed. Into this multitude of divine figures, the spirit of inquiry seeks at a later stage to introduce order, by classifying and co-ordinating them according to their principal bearings. The principle followed in this distribution is, like the conception of the deities themselves, entirely borrowed from the contemplation of nature. We have the gods who act in the heavens, in the air, upon the earth, and of these the sun, the wind, and fire are recognized as the main representatives and rulers respectively. These three gradually obtain precedence over all the other gods, who are only looked upon as their creatures and servants. Strengthened by these classifications, speculation presses on and seeks to establish the relative position of these three deities, and to arrive at unity for the supreme Being. This is accomplished either speculatively, by actually assuming such a supreme and purely absolute Being, viz., “*Brahman*” (neut), to whom these three in their turn stand in the relation of creatures, of creatures, of servants only, or arbitrarily, according as one or other of the three is worshipped as the supreme god. The sun-god seems in the first instance to have been promoted to this honour? the Perso-Aryans at all events retained this standpoint, of course extending it still further, and in the older parts of the *Brahmanas* also—to which rather than to the *Samhitas* the *Avesta* is related in respect of age and contents—we find the sun-god here and there exalted far above the other deities (*prasavita devanam*). We also find ample traces of this in the forms of worship, which so often preserve relics of antiquity. Nay,

as "Brahman" (masc), he has in theory retained this position, down even to the latest times, although in a very colourless manner. His colleagues, the air and fire gods, in consequence of their much more direct and sensible influence, by degrees obtained complete possession of the supreme power, though constantly in conflict with each other. Their worship has passed through a long series of different phases, and it is evidently the same which Megasthenes found in Hindustan, and which at the time of the Perplus had penetrated, though in a form already very corrupt, as far as the southernmost point of the Dekhan."

3 The Gods created Devavāṇi

देवीं वाचमजनयन्त देवास्तां विश्वरूपा पशवो वदन्ति ।

सा नो मद्रेषमूर्जं दुहाना धेनुर्वाग्स्मानुपसृष्टुतैतु ॥ Rg VIII 100-11.

इन्द्रावरुणा यदृषिभ्यो मनीषां वाचो मतिं श्रुतमदत्तमे ।

यानि स्थानान्यसृजन्त धीरा यज्ञ तन्वानास्तपसाम्यपश्यम् ॥ Rg VIII 59-6.

Paṇḍali says in his Mahābhāṣya

चत्वारि शृङ्गा त्रयो अस्य पादा द्वे शीर्षे सप्त हस्तासो अस्य ।

त्रिधा बद्धो वृषभो रोरवीति महो देवो मर्त्यो आविवेश ॥"

ऋग्वेद ४।५८।३

अत्र व्याकरणमहामाष्यभाषको गोनर्दीयो गोणिकातनयो नानादर्शननिष्णातो भगवान् पतञ्जलिः. ग्राह— "चत्वारि शृङ्गाणि चत्वारि पदजातानि नामाख्यातोपसर्गनिपाताश्च । त्रयो अस्य पादा । त्रय कालाः भूतमविष्यद्वर्त्तमाना । द्वे शीर्षे । द्वौ शब्दात्मानौ, निलः कार्यश्च । सप्त हस्तासो अस्य । सप्त विमक्तयः । त्रिधा बद्ध । त्रिषु स्थानेषु बद्ध । उरसि कण्ठे शिरसीति । वृषभो वर्षणात् रोरवीति शब्द करोति । कुत एतत् । रौति शब्दकर्मा । महो देवो मर्त्यो आविवेशेति । महान् देव शब्दो मर्त्यो मरणधर्माणो मनुष्या तानाविवेश । महता देवेन न साम्यं यथा स्यादित्येय व्याकरणम् ।" (इति महामाष्ये पस्पशायाम्) ।

Vidyāraṇya adopts Paṇḍali's views in his Introduction to his commentary on Rg Veda and there in speaking of the importance of the study of Grammar, he says

व्याकरणमपि प्रकृतिप्रत्ययपददेशेन पदस्वरूपतदर्थनिश्चयायोपयुज्यते । तथाचैन्द्र-
बाणवग्ब्रह्महणे । समान्नायते वाग्वै पराच्यव्याकृतावदत्ते देवा इद्रमब्रुवन्निमां नो वाच व्याकुर्विति ।
सोऽजवीद्वर वृणै मन्त्र चैवैष वायवे च सह गृह्णाता इति तस्मादैन्द्रवायव सह गृह्णते । तामिद्रे
मन्वतोऽवक्रम्य व्याकरोत् । तस्मादियं व्याकृता वायुघते । तै स ६ ४ ७ ३१ इति ।
अभिर्माळे पुरोहितमिलादिवाक् पूर्वस्मिन् काले पराची समुद्रादिष्पनिवदेकात्मिका सती
आव्याकृता प्रकृतिः. प्रत्ययः पद वाक्यमित्यादिविभागकारिप्रथरहितासीत् । तदानीं देवैः.

प्रार्थित इद्र एकस्मिन्नेव पात्रे वायो स्वस्य च सोमरसग्रहणरूपेण वरेण तुष्टस्तामसलब्ध-
वाच मध्ये विच्छिद्य प्रकृतिप्रत्ययादिविभाग सर्वत्राकरोत् । तस्मादिय वागिदानीमपि पाणि-
न्यादिमहर्षिभिर्व्याकृता सर्वे पठ्यत इत्यर्थः ।

उतत्वं पञ्चन ददर्श वाचमुतत्वं शृण्वन्नशृणोत्येना । उतोत्वस्मै तन्व विससे जायेव पल्य
उद्यती सुवासा । ऋग्वे १० । ७१ । ४ । अपि खल्वेक पश्यन्नपि न पश्यति । अपि खल्वेक
शृण्वन्नपि न शृणोत्येना । अविद्वासमाहार्थः । तस्मै अन्यस्मै तन्व विससे । तनु विवृणुते ।
जायेव पल्य उद्यती सुवासा यथा जाया पत्ये कामयमाना सुवासा स्वमात्मान विवृणुते एव
वाग्वागिवदे स्वमात्मान विवृणुते । बाङ्गो विवृणुयादित्यध्येय व्याकरणम् । सक्तुमिव तितउना
पुनतो यत्न धीरा मनसा वाचमकृत । अत्रासखाय सख्यानि जानते मद्रैषा लक्ष्मीर्निहिताधिवाचि ।
ऋग्वे १० । ७१ । २ । सक्तु सचतेर्दुर्धा वो भवति । कसतेर्वास्याद्विपरीतस्य विकसितो भवति ।
तितउ परिपवन भवति ततवद्वा तुल्यवद्वा । धीरा ध्यानवतो मनसा प्रज्ञानेन वाचमकृत ।
वाचमकृषत । अत्रा सखाय सख्यानि जानते । अत्र सखाय सख्यानि सजानते सायुज्यानि
जानते । क एष दुर्गो मार्ग एकगम्यः । वाग्विषय । के पुनस्ते । वैयाकरणा । कुत एतत् ।
मद्रैषा लक्ष्मीर्निहिताधिवाचि । एषा वाचि मद्रालक्ष्मीर्निहिता भवति । लक्ष्मीर्लक्षणाद्वासनात्परि-
वृद्धाभवति । सारस्वती । याज्ञिका पठति । आहिताशिरपञ्चद्व प्रयुजान प्रायश्चित्तीया
सारस्वतीमिष्टिं निर्वपेदिति । प्रायश्चित्तीया मा भूमेत्यध्येय व्याकरणम् ।

Dvijendranath Guha collects some other references

तत्रैव भगवान् यास्क — “ चत्वारि शृङ्गेति वेदा वा एत उक्ता । तयो अय्य पादा
इति सवनानि त्रीणि । द्वे षीर्षे प्रायणीयोदयनीये । सप्त हस्तास सप्त छन्दासि । त्रिधा
बद्धस्त्रेधा बद्धो मन्त्रब्राह्मणकल्पे । वृषसो रोरवीति रोरवणमस्य सवनक्रमेण ऋग्मर्यजुभिः
सामभिर्यदेनमृग्भिः शसन्ति यजुभिर्यजन्ति सामभिः स्तुवन्ति । महो देव इत्येष हि महान् देवो
यथज्ञो मर्त्यो आविवेशेत्येष हि मनुष्यानाविशति यजनाय” । (इति नैरुक्ते परिशिष्टे—
१३।१।७) ।

यद्वा —

चत्वारि वाक्परिमिता पदानि तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः ।

शुद्धा त्रीणि निहिता नेङ्गयन्ति तुरीय वाचो मनुष्या वदन्ति ॥

ऋग्वेदे १।१६४।४५, अथर्ववेदेऽपि ६।२५।२७।२६।१

अत्रापि च यास्काचार्यपादा — “ चत्वारि वाचः परिमितानि पादानि तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणा
ये मेधाविनो शुद्धाया त्रीणि निहितानि नार्थ वेदयन्ते । शुद्धा गृह्यतेस्तुरीयं त्वरेते । कतमानि
तानि चत्वारि पदान्योङ्कारो महाव्याहृतयश्चेत्यार्षम् । नामाख्याते चोपसर्गनिपाताश्चेति वैया-
करणाः । मन्त्रः कल्पो ब्राह्मण चतुर्थी व्यावहारिकीति याज्ञिका । ऋचो यजूषि सामानि
चतुर्थी व्यावहारिकीति नैरुक्ताः । सर्पाणां वाग्वयसां क्षुद्रस्य सरीसृपस्य चतुर्थी व्यावहारिकीत्येके ।
पशुषु तूणवेषु मृगेष्वात्मनि चेत्यात्मप्रवादाः । अद्यापि ब्राह्मण भवति, सा वै वाक् सृष्टा चतुर्थी

व्यभवदेध्वेव लोकेषु त्रीणि पशुषु तुरीयम् । या पृथिव्या साऽनौ, सा रथन्तरे यान्तरिक्षे, सा वायौ मा वामदेव्ये । या दिवि सादित्ये, या बृहति सा स्तनयित्नौ । अथ पशुषु ततो या वागलरिच्यत ता ब्राह्मणेष्वदधुस्तस्माद् ब्राह्मणा उभर्यौ वाच वदन्ति या च देवाना या च मनुष्याणामिति ।” (इति नैरुक्ते परिशिष्टे—१३।१।६) । अथैषाक्षरस्य स्तुतिं तावत् ऋग्वेदे १।१६४।३६, अथर्ववेदे ६।२८।८, तैत्तिरीय आरण्यके १०।१३, पुनः ऋग्वेदे १०।७१।८, नैरुक्ते परिशिष्टे च १३।१।१०-१३ वर्तते । (अत्रलदुर्गाचार्यव्याख्यानमपि द्रष्टव्यम्) ।

भूयश्च नैरुक्ते उपोद्धानप्रकरणे पदचतुष्टयोद्देशे उक्तम्—“तद्यान्येतानि चत्वारि पदजातानि नामाख्याते चोपसर्गनिपाताश्च तानीमानि भवन्ति” । अनन्तर सप्तचत्वारिंशदक्षराण्युद्भूतानीति श्रूयते । यथा—“सर्वे खरा इन्द्रस्यात्मान । सर्वे उष्माण प्रजापते रात्मान । सर्वे स्पर्शा मृत्पोरात्मान ।” (सामवेदीयछान्दोग्योपनिषद्, २।२२।३) । अत्र खराणाम् इन्द्र एव कर्त्ता (अर्थात् सर्वे अकारादयश्चतुर्दश खरा देवराजेन इन्द्रेण उद्भाविता) । शषसहा—प्रजापतिना चन्द्रेण च । कादयो मपर्यन्तानि समुदयाक्षराणि महादेवेन च वर्णितानि (ककारादयः स्पर्शवर्णा यरलवाश्च) । अत्रैव शाङ्करभाष्यम्—“सर्वे खरा अकारादय इन्द्रस्य बलकर्मणः प्राणस्याऽऽमानो देहावयवस्थानीया । सर्वे उष्माणः शषसहादयः प्रजापतेर्विराजः कश्यपस्यैवाऽऽमान । सर्वे स्पर्शाः कादयो व्यञ्जनानि मृत्पोरात्मान ।

* * * * *

इन्द्रादयो वेदे देवता प्रख्याता । तेषाम् आवासात् (त्रिदशालयात् देवनगराद्वा) सप्तचत्वारिंशदक्षराण्याविर्भूतानि । तन्निमित्तेनैव “देवनागरं वर्णं” इति कथ्यते, तदन्विता भाषा “देवभाषा” इति व्यपदिश्यते । तथाहि—“एते वै देवा प्रलक्ष्य यद् ब्राह्मणा ।” ऋक्संहितायामपि नेमः ऋषिः (८।१००।११)—“देवीं वाचमजनयन्त देवास्तां विश्वरूपाः पशवो वदन्ति ।”

अत्र सायणभाष्यम्—“एषा माध्यमिका वाक् सर्वप्राण्यन्तर्गता धर्माभिवादिनी भवतीति विभूतिमुपदर्शयति या देवी द्योतमाना माध्यमिका वाच देवा माध्यमिका अजनयन्त जनयन्ति तां वाच विश्वरूपा सर्वरूपा व्यक्तवाच अव्यक्तवाचश्च पशवो वदन्ति तत्पूर्वकत्वात् वाक्यप्रवृत्ते

* * * * *

दीर्घतमा औचथ्यं पुनरेव—“मन्त्रयन्ते दिवो अमुष्य पृष्ठे विश्वविदः वाचमविश्वमिन्वाम्” (ऋग्वेद १।१६४।२०) । सायणभाष्यम् तत्रैव—

“* * * * *

दिवः पृष्ठे शुलोकस्योपरि अन्तरिक्षे मन्त्रयन्ते गुप्त परस्परं भाषन्ते देवा किं विश्वविदं विश्ववेदनसमर्था विश्वैर्वेदनीया वा अविश्वमिन्वाम् असर्वव्यापिनीं वाचं गर्जितलक्षणाम्

अमुष्य आदित्यस्य सबन्धिनीं मन्त्रयन्ते इत्यर्थे ।” तस्मिन् काले भाषा अव्याकृता अभूत् । यथा—“ वाग् वै पराची अव्याकृता अवदत् ।” देवसृष्टा भाषा “देवभाषा ” सर्वजनमान्या सर्वविदिता च । ततश्च, चतुर्मुखस्य आदेशात् इन्द्र-चन्द्र महेशा “व्याकरण” नाम शब्दशास्त्रं विरचयाम्बभूवु ।

तत्रमाहेश व्याकरणविषये किमुदन्ती —

“यान्युल्लहार माहेशाद् व्यासो व्याकरणावत् ।

किन्तानि पदरत्नानि सन्ति पाणिनिगोप्पदे ।” इति ।

पक्षान्तरे यमस्य शब्दशास्त्रं न विद्यते इत्येव प्रमिद्धि । तथाहि पाणिनीयशिक्षाग्रन्थे, (३)—“त्रिषष्टिश्चतुषष्टिर्वा वर्णा शम्भुमते स्थिता ” अत एव अत्र जगति त्रेतायुगस्य इन्द्र-चन्द्र-भूतेशा आदितोऽक्षरोत्पादनकर्तार एवेति सम्यग् बोध्यम् ॥

4 Samskrta, or as now written, Sanskrit, is the language of the Gods, *Gīrvānavānī* In this language stand the ancient scriptures of Vedic and Purāṇic religion The Vedic literature is the most ancient record of any people of the world and forms the source of the earliest history of the Indo-Aryan race, nay, mankind as a whole

“The Veda has two-fold interest it belongs to the history of the world and to the history of India In the history of the world the Veda fills a gap which no literary work in any other languages could fill It carries us back to times of which we have no records anywhere, and gives us the very words of a generation of men, of whom otherwise we could form but the vaguest estimate by means of conjectures and inferences As long as man continues to take an interest in the history of his race, and as long as we collect in libraries and museums the relics of former ages, the first place in that long row of books which contains the records of the Aryan branch of mankind, will belong for ever to the *Rig-veda* The world of the Veda is a world by itself, and its relation to all the rest of Sanskrit literature is such, that the Veda ought not to receive, but to throw light over the whole historical development of the Indian mind ”

The literature of the Vedas is termed Śruti, meaning what has been heard, that is, what is not the work of man

5 Vedas are eternal (*niṭya*), beginningless (*anādi*) and not made by man (*apauruṣeya*), (2) they were destroyed in the deluge at the end of the last *Kalpa*, and (3) that at the beginning of the present *Kalpa*

commencing with the *Kṛta-yuga* of this present Mahāyuga, the Rishis,¹ through *ṛ̥pas*, re-produced in substance if not in form the ante-diluvian Vēdas which they carried in their memory by the favour of God. This is another expression of the historical view of modern scholars, like Mr Tilak. They state that the Vedic or Āryan religion can be proved to be interglacial, but its ultimate origin is still lost in geological antiquity, that the Āryan religion and culture were destroyed during the last glacial period that invaded the Arctic Āryan home, and that the Vedic hymns were sung in post-glacial times by poets, who had inherited the knowledge or contents therein of an unbroken tradition from their ante-diluvian fore-fathers.

On the commencement of Vedic era, opinions are at the opposite poles. Tradition takes it to a remote age of millions of years on the computation of yugas.

In his *Arctic Home in the Vedas*, B G Tilak divides the whole period from the commencement of the Postglacial era, corresponding to the beginning of our Kṛta Yuga of the present Mahayuga to the birth of Buddha in five parts —

I 10,000-8,000 B C —The destruction of the original Arctic home by the last Ice Age and the commencement of the post-glacial period.

II 8,000-5,000 B C —The age of the migration from the original home. The survivors of the Aryan race roamed over the northern parts of Europe and Asia in search of lands suitable for new settlements. The Vernal Equinox was then in the constellation of Punarvasu, and as the Aditi is the presiding deity of Punarvasu, according to the terminology adopted by me in Orion, this may therefore, be called the Aditi or the Pre-Orion Period.

III 5,000-3,000 B C —The Orion Period, when the Vernal Equinox was in Orion. Many Vedic Hymns can be traced to the

1 Brhad̥devata enumerates woman seers of the hymns

गोधा घोषा विश्वपारा पालेष्मामातृकर्षिका ।
 ब्रह्मजाया जुहूर्नाम अगस्त्यस्य स्वसा दिति ।
 इन्द्राणी चेन्द्रमाता च सरमा रोमशोर्वशी ।
 लोपासुद्रा च नद्यश्च यमी नारी च शश्वती ।
 श्रीर्लक्षा सार्पराज्ञी वाक् श्रद्धा मेधा च दक्षिणा ।
 रात्री सूर्या च सावित्री ब्रह्मवादिन्य ईरिता ॥

early part of this period and the bards of the race seem to have not yet forgotten the real import or significance of the traditions of the Arctic Home inherited by them. It was at this time that the first attempts to reform the calendar and the sacrificial system appear to have been systematically made.

IV 3,060-1,400 B C—The *Kṛittukā* Period, when the Vernal Equinox was in the Pleiades. The *Aitarēya Samhita* and the *Brahmaparas*, which begin the series of *Nakshatras* with the *Kṛittukas* are evidently the productions of this period. The compilation of the hymns into *Samhitas* also appears to be a work of the early part of this period. The traditions about the Original Arctic home had grown dim by this time and very often misunderstood, making the Vedic hymns more unintelligible. The sacrificial system and the numerous details thereof found in the *Brahmaparas* seem to have been developed during this time. It was at the end of this period that the *Vēdānga Jyōtisha* was originally composed or at any rate the position of the equinoxes mentioned therein observed and ascertained.

V 1,400-500 B C—The Pre-Buddhist Period, when the *Sūtras* and the Philosophical system made their appearance.”

6 “The atmosphere of England and Germany seems decidedly unpropitious to the recognition of this great Indian antiquity so stubbornly opposed to the Mosaic revelation and its Chronology dearly and piously cherished by these Western Orientalists. Strongly permeated with the Chronology of the Bible which places the creation of the Earth itself about 4,004 B C, European scholars cannot place the great separation of the Original Aryan races themselves earlier than 2,000 B C, and the first historical entry of the Hindu Aryas into the continent of India before 1,500 B C.” Arthur A. Macdonell, may be said to summarise the opinions of these Western Orientalists, when he says —

“History is the one weak spot in Indian literature. It is, in fact, non-existent. The total lack of the historical sense is so characteristic, that the whole course of Sanskrit literature is darkened by the shadow of this defect, suffering as it does from the entire absence of exact chronology. ... Two causes seem to have combined to bring about this remarkable result. In the first place, early India wrote no *history*, because it never made any. The ancient Indians never went through a struggle for life, like Greeks in the Persian and the Romans in the Punic wars, such as would have welded their tribes into a nation, and developed political greatness. Secondly, the Brāhmins, whose task it

would naturally have been to record great deeds had early embraced the doctrine that all action and existence are a positive evil, and could therefore have felt but little inclination to chronicle historical events. Such being the case, definite dates do not begin to appear in Indian literary history till about 500 A D. The chronology of the Vēdic period is altogether conjectural, being based entirely on internal evidence. Three main literary strata can be clearly distinguished in it by differences in language and style, as well as in religious and social views. For the development of each of these strata a reasonable length of time must be allowed, but all we can here hope to do is to approximate to the truth by centuries. The lower limit of the second Vēdic stratum cannot however be fixed later than 500 B C, because its latest doctrines are presupposed by Buddhism, and the date of the death of Buddha has been with a high degree of probability calculated, from the recorded dates of the various Buddhist councils, to be 480 B C. With regard to the commencement of the Vēdic Age, there seems to have been a decided tendency amongst Sanskrit scholars to place it too high. 2,000 B C. is commonly represented as its starting point. Supposing this to be correct, the truly vast period of 1,500 years is required to account for a development of language and thought hardly greater than that between Homeric and the Attic age of Greece. Professor Max Muller's earlier estimate of 1,200 B C, forty years ago, appears to be much nearer the mark. A lapse of three centuries, say from 1,300-1,000 B C, would amply account for the difference between what is oldest and newest in Vēdic hymn poetry. Considering that the affinity of the oldest form of the Avestan language with the dialect of the Vēdas is already so great that, by mere application of phonetic laws, whole Avestan stanzas may be translated word for word into Vēdic, so as to produce verses correct not only in form but in poetic spirit, considering further, that if we know the Avestan language, at as early a stage as we know the Vēdic, the former would necessarily be almost identical with the latter, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the Indian branch must have separated from the Irānīan only a very short time before the beginnings of Vēdic literature, and can therefore have hardly entered the North-West of India even as early as 1,500 B C. All previous estimates of the antiquity of the Vēdic period have been outdone by the recent theory of Professor Jacobi of Bonn, who supposes that period goes back to at least 4,000 B C. This theory is based on astronomical calculations connected with a change in the beginning of the seasons, which Professor Jacobi thinks has

taken place since the time of the *Rigveda*. The whole estimate is, however, invalidated by the assumption of a doubtful, and even improbable, meaning in a Vedic word, which forms the very starting point of the theory."

7 "The history of the Sanskrit literature divides itself into two great ages, Vaidika and Laukika—Sacred and Profane,—Scriptural and Classical. The Mahabharata War is the dividing line between the two. The Vedic Age may again be divided into several distinct periods, each of which for length of years may well compare with that of the entire history of many an ancient nation, 1 Chandas Period, 2 Samhitā Period, 3 Brahmana Period, 4 Āraṇyaka Period and 5 Upaniṣad Period. Each of these periods has a distinct literature of its own, vast in its extent, and varied in its civilisation, each giving rise to the subsequent period under the operation of great social, political and religious causes, and the philosophical historian of human civilisation need not be a Hindu to think that the Ancient Āryas of India, have preserved the fullest, the clearest and the truest materials for his work."

8. "There are four Vedas, Rik (ऋक्), Yajur (यजुस्), Sāma (साम) and Atharvana (अथर्वण) and each Veda has Samhitā (mantra) Brāhmana, Sūtra and Upaniṣad. The first three Vedas are called together as *Trayi* and they are called in Brahmanas also by the name *ricas*, *Samani* and *Yajūmsi*, or *Brahvīcas*, *Chandogas* and *Adhvaryus*. The Sutras apply the term *chandas* to the Samhitas. Pāṇini uses the terms *chandas* and *Bhāṣa* to distinguish Vedic and non-Vedic literature. Yajurveda has two Samhitās called *Sukla* and *Kṛṣṇa*, or *Vajasaneya* and *Ṭaittirīya*."

"The Samhitā of the Rik is purely a lyrical collection, forming the immediate source of the other three. The next two are made up of verses and ritual formulæ, meant to be recited at sacrifices. The Atharva Samhitā resembles the Rik in that it forms a store of songs, devoted to sacrifices mostly in connection with incantations and magical charms."

9 The Brahmanic period comprehends "the first establishment of the three-fold ceremonial, the composition of the individual Brahmanas and the formation of the Charanas. They connect the sacrificial songs and formulas with the sacrificial rite by pointing out on the one hand their direct relation, and on the other their symbolical connection with each other. Their general nature is marked by masterly grandiloquence, and antiquarian sincerity. Though in the words of Prof.

Eggeling, these works deserve to be studied as a physician studies the twaddle of idiots or the raving of mad men, they lack not striking thoughts, bold expression and logical reasoning. The Brahmanas of the Rik generally refer to the duties of the Hotr, of the Saman to those of Udgatr, of the Yajus, to the actual performance of the sacrifice. They are valuable to us as the earliest records of Sanskrit prose."

10 "The Sūtra literature forms a connecting link between the Vedic and the classical Sanskrit. 'Sutra' means a 'string' and compatibly with this sense, all works of this style are nothing but one uninterrupted chain of short sentences linked together in a most concise form.

Sūtras represented a scientific expression of the tradition and discussion recounted in Brāhmaṇas. They systematised the source of the rituals and so far as Kalpasūtras or Śrautasūtras go, they relate strictly to *śruti* or the Vedas. To these sūtras have been added Gṛhyasūtras or those that regulate domestic rites. They are partly based on *śrutis* and partly on *smṛtis* (unrevealed literature). Sūtras have been the consequence of a national need for concise guide-books for ceremonial, and represented a 'codification of case-law' in the sphere of sacrifices and ceremonials.¹

11 Upaniṣads² are expressions of philosophical concepts. They embody the beginnings and progress of esoteric ideas, which had to a large extent been mentioned in Āranyakas, writings supplementary to Brāhmaṇas.

12. A WEBER sums up the direct data attesting the posteriority of the Classical Period thus —

(i) Its opening phases everywhere presuppose the Vedic period as entirely closed, its oldest portions are regularly based on the Vedic literature, the relations of life have now all arrived at a stage of development of which in the first period we can only trace the germs and the beginning.

The distinction between the periods is also by changes in language and subject-matter.

1 It might be seen that the usefulness of this species of composition was so much appreciated that in every branch of learning sūtras came to be composed and indeed are said to be the most ancient form of the sciences.

2. The authority of compositions like Upaniṣads has come to be respected to such an extent that in later times, several of that name were brought into being very often sectarian in their tenor. We have '108 Upaniṣads' and if not more on various topics, for instance, Garbhopaniṣad on embryology and Maṇmathopaniṣad on erotics.

First, as regards language —

1 The special characteristics in the second period are so significant, that it appropriately furnishes the name for the period, whereas the Vedic period receives its designation from the works composing it

2. Among the various dialects of the different Indo-Aryan tribes, a greater unity had been established after their emigration into India, as the natural result of their intermingling in their new home. The grammatical study of the Vedas fixed the frame of the language so that the generally recognised *Bhasha* had arisen. The estrangement of the civic language from that of the mass accelerated by the assimilation of the aboriginal races resulted in the formation of the popular dialects, the *prakrits*—proceeding from the original *Bhasha* by the assimilation of consonants and by the curtailment or loss of termination

3 The phonetic condition of Sanskrit remains almost exactly the same as that of the earliest Vedic. In the matter of grammatical forms, the language shows itself almost stationary. Hardly any new formations or inflexions make their appearance yet. The most notable of these grammatical changes were the disappearance of the subjunctive mood and the reduction of a dozen infinitives to a single one. In declension the change consisted chiefly in the dropping of a number of synonymous forms

4 The vocabulary of the language has undergone the greatest modifications. It has been extended by derivation and composition according to recognised types. Numerous words though old seem to be new, because they happen by accident not to occur in the Vedic literature. Many new words have come in through continental borrowings from a lower stratum of language, while already existing words have undergone great changes of meaning.

Secondly, as regards the subject-matter —

1 The Vedic literature handles its various subjects only in their details and almost solely in their relation to sacrifice, whereas the classical discusses them in their general relations.

2. In the former a simple and compact prose had gradually been developed, but in the latter this form is abandoned and a rhythmic one adopted in its stead, which was employed exclusively, even for strictly scientific exposition

“That difference of metre should form a broad line of demarcation between the periods of literature is not at all without analogy in the literary history of other nations, particularly in other times. If once a

new form of metre begins to grow popular by the influence of a poet who succeeds in collecting a school of other poets around him, this new mode of utterance is very apt to supersede the other more ancient forms altogether. People become accustomed to the new rhythm sometimes to such a degree, that they lost entirely the taste for their old poetry on account of its obsolete measure. No poet, therefore, who writes for the people, would think of employing those old fashioned metres, and we find that early popular poems have had to be transfused into modern verse in order to make them generally readable once more.

Now it seems that the regular and continuous Anushtubh sloka is a metre unknown during the Vedic age, and every work written in it may at once be put down as post-Vedic. It is no valid objection that this epic sloka occurs also in Vedic hymns, that Anushtubh verses are frequently quoted in the Brahmanas, and that in some of the Sutras the Anushtubh-sloka occurs intermixed with Trishtubhs, and is used for the purpose of recapitulating what had been explained before in prose. For it is only the *uniform* employment of that metre which constitutes the characteristic mark of a new period of literature.¹

13 "The languages of the world have been divided into three families, the Aryan or Indo-European, the Semitic and the Turanian. The first comprises the Indian branch, consisting of Sanskrit, Pali and the Prakrits, and the modern vernaculars of Northern India and Ceylon, the Iranic branch consisting of Zend, the sacred language of the Parsis, the Pehlevi and the other cognate dialects, the Hellenic or the Greek branch, comprising the languages of Ancient Greece and its modern representatives, the Italic branch, consisting of the Latin and cognate ancient languages of Italy and the dialects derived from Latin, the Italian, the French and the old Provencal, the Spanish, the Portugese, and the Wallachian, the Keltic or the language of those Kelts or Gauls that so often figure in Roman History, and distinguished into two varieties, the Kymric, now spoken in Wales and in the Province of Brittany in France, and the Gadic, spoken in the Isle of Man, the Highlands of Scotland, and Ireland, the Lithuanian and Slavonic, comprising the languages of Lithuania, Russia, Bulgaria, and of the Slavonic races generally, and the Teutonic branch, consisting of the Scandinavian group, *i. e.*, the languages of Sweden, Norway, Iceland, and Denmark, of the High German *i. e.* the old and the present language of Germany, and of the Low German, which comprised the old Anglo-

1. Muir's *Critical History*, III, c. 1.

Saxon and the other languages spoken on the coasts of Germany, the modern representatives of which are the English, and the dialects spoken in Holland, Friesland, and the North of Germany. The second family comprises the Hebrew, the Arabic, the Chaldee, the Syriac, the Carthaginian, and the cognate and derived languages, and the third, the Turkish and the languages of the Mongolian tribes. To this last family the dialects spoken in Southern India are also to be inferred. The Zend approaches Sanskrit the most, but the affinities of this latter with Greek and Latin are also very striking, and such as to convince even a determined sceptic. Sanskrit has preserved a greater number of ancient forms than any of these languages, hence it is indispensable for purposes of comparative philology."

14 "India may justly claim to be the original home of scientific philology. In one of the most ancient Sanskrit books, the Samhita of the Black Yajurveda, there are distinct indications of the dawn of linguistic study.¹ The Brahmanas of the Vedas which rank next to the Samhitas, and even the Taittiriya Samhita itself, the composition of which differs in no particular from its Brahmana, are all full of etymological explanations of words, though often they are fanciful.² One Acharya followed another, and they all carefully observed the facts of their language, and laid down the laws they could discover. They studied and compared the significations and forms of words, observed what was common to them, separated the constant element from that which was variable, noticed the several changes that words undergo in different circumstances, and by such a process of philological analysis completed a system of grammar and etymology. In the Nirukta, Yaska, whose exact date we do not know, but who must have flourished several centuries before Christ, lays down correct principles of the derivation of words.

1 वाग्वै पराच्यव्याकृतावदत्ते देवा इन्द्रमब्रुवन्निमां नो वाच व्याकुर्वित सोऽब्रवीद्वर वृषे मम चैवैष वायवे च सह गृह्णाता इति तस्मादैन्द्रवायव सह गृह्यते तामिन्द्रो मध्यतोऽवक्रम्य व्याकरोत्तस्मादिय व्याकृता वागुच्यते Speech was once inarticulate and undistinguished (into its parts). Then the gods said to Indra, 'Distinguish our speech into parts.' He said, I will ask a gift of you, let Soma be poured into one cup for me and Vayu together. Hence Soma is poured into one cup for Indra and Vayu together. Then Indra going into its midst distinguished it. Hence distinct speech is now spoken. Tait Smh., VI 4, 7.

2 The Ait. Brahm. gives the etymology of प्रैष (III 9), of मानुष (III 28), of जाया (VII 13), the Tait. Samh., of रुद्र (I 5,1), of वृत्त (II 4,12 and II 5, 2) the Tait. Brahm., of अश्व (I. 1,5), of नक्षत्र (II 7,18), &c &c

The last of the grammarian Acharyas were Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patañjali. The Prakṛit dialects which sprang from Sanskrit were next made the subject of observation and analysis. The laws of phonetic change or decay in accordance with which Sanskrit words became Prakṛit were discovered and laid down. The Sanskrit and non-Sanskrit elements in those languages were distinguished from each other. This branch of philology also was worked up by a number of men, though the writings of one or two only have come down to us.

In this condition Sanskrit philology passed into the hands of Europeans. The discovery of Sanskrit and the Indian grammatical system at the close of the last century led to a total revolution in the philological ideas of Europeans. But several circumstances had about this time prepared Europe for independent thought in philology, and Sanskrit supplied the principles upon which it should be conducted, and determined the current in which it should run. The languages of Europe, ancient and modern, were compared with Sanskrit and with each other. This led to comparative philology and the classification of languages, and a comparison of the words and forms in the different languages led scholars into the secrets of the growth of human speech, and the science of language was added to the test of existing branches of knowledge."¹

It has been said by eminent writers that at one time Sanskrit was the one language spoken all over the world. "Sanskrit is the mother of Greek, Latin and German languages and it has no other relation to them," that "Sanskrit is the original source of all the European languages of the present days," and that "in point of fact the Zind is derived from the Sanskrit."²

15 Tradition traces the beginnings of the Sanskrit language to the fourteen aphorisms or Māheśvara sūtras. They are अ इ उ ए upwards to ऋ ॠ. These sounds, vowel and consonant, emanated from the sound of Śiva's damaru (drum) at the time of his dance. To these letters and sounds is attached a mystic significance and Nandikeśvara has explained their import with all solemnity. As the Kārikas of Nandikeśvara are rare, they are printed here.³

1 R. G. Bhandarkar, *Lectures on Development of Language of Sanskrit*, Bombay.

2. *Hindu Superiority*, 172-3, A. Dubois' *Bible in India*, Max Müller's *Science of Language*, I 225-6 note, Dvijendranath Guha's, *Devabhasha*, JSSP, XVIII. 150.

3 They are printed with the commentary of Upamanyu, in the Nirṇayasagara Edn. of Mahabhasha, p. 132.

ॐ

श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥

1. नृत्तावसाने नटराजराजो ननाद ढङ्का नवपञ्चवार ।
उद्धर्तुकाम सनकादिसिद्धानेतद्विमर्शे शिवसूत्रजालम् ॥
- 2 अत्र सर्वत्र सूत्रेषु अत्यवर्णचतुर्दशं ।
धात्वर्थं समुपादिष्ट पाणिन्यादीष्टसिद्ध्ये ॥

। अ इ उ ण् ।

- 3 अकारो ब्रह्मरूपः स्याद्विशिष्टः सर्ववस्तुषु ।
चित्कलामि समाश्रित्य जगद्रूप उणेश्वर ॥
4. अकारस्सर्ववर्णाग्रथ प्रकाश परमेश्वर ।
आद्यमत्येन सयोगादहामिलेव जायते ॥
5. सर्वं परात्मकं पूर्वं ज्ञप्तिमात्रमिदं जगत् ।
शप्तेर्बभूव पश्यती मध्यमा वाक् तत स्मृता ॥
- 6 वक्त्रे विशुद्धचक्राख्ये वैखरी सा मता तत ।
सृष्ट्याविर्भावमासाद्य मध्यमा वाक् समा मता ॥
7. अकारं सन्निधीकृत्य जगतां कारणत्वत ।
इकार सर्ववर्णानां शक्तिवात्कारण गतम् ॥
- 8 जगत्सङ्कटमभूदिच्छा यदाद्यासीत्तदाभवत् ।
कामबीजमिति प्राहुर्गुणयो वेदपाठगा ॥
- 9 अकारो ज्ञप्तिमात्र स्यादिकारश्चित्कला मता ।
उकारो विष्णुरित्याहुर्व्यापकत्वान्महेश्वरः ॥

। ऋ लृ क् ।

- 10 ऋलृक् सर्वेश्वरो मायां मनोवृत्तिमदर्शयत् ।
तामेव वृत्तिमाश्रित्य जगद्रूपमजीजनत् ॥
11. वृत्तिवृत्तिमतोरत्रमेदावेशो न विद्यते ।
चन्द्रचन्द्रिकयो यद्वयथावागर्थयोरपि ॥
12. स्वेच्छया स्वस्य चिच्छक्तौ विश्वमुन्मीलयत्यसौ ।
वर्णानां मध्यमं क्लीबं मूलवर्णद्वयं विद्मः ॥

। ए ओ ङ् ।

- 13 एओङ् मायेश्वरात्मैक्यविज्ञानं सर्ववस्तुषु ।
साक्षित्वात्सर्वभूतानां स एक इति निश्चितम् ॥

। ऐ जौ च् ।

14. ऐऔच् ब्रह्मस्वरूप. सन् जगत्स्वतर्गत ततः ।
इच्छया विस्तरं कर्तुमाविरासीन्महाप्तिनि. ॥

। ह य व र द् ।

15. भूतपचक्रमेतस्माद्वयवरण महेश्वरात् ।
व्योमवाच्यबुवह्याख्यभूतान्यासीत् स एव हि ॥

16. हुकारो व्योमसङ्गं च यकारो वायुरुच्यते ।
रकाराद्वह्निस्तोय तु वकारादिति सैव वाक् ॥

। ल ण् ।

17. आधारभूतं भूतानामन्नादीनां च कारणम् ।
अन्नाद्रेतस्ततो जीवकारणत्वाच्छणीरितं ॥

। न म ङ ण न म् ।

18. शब्दस्पर्शौ रूपरसगन्धाश्च नमङ्गणनम् ।
व्योमादीनां गुणा ज्ञेते जानीयात्सर्ववस्तुषु ॥

। झ भ ञ् ।

19. वाक्पाणी च झमजासीद्धराद्भूपचिदात्मनः ।
सर्वजंतुषु विज्ञेय स्थावरादौ न विद्यते ।
वर्गाणां तुर्यवर्णां ये कर्मेन्द्रियभया हि ते ॥

। च ढ ध ष् ।

20. चढधष् सर्वभूतानां पादपायू उपस्थकः ।
कर्मेन्द्रियगुणा ज्ञेते जाता हि परमार्थतः ॥

। ज ब ग ङ द श् ।

21. श्रोत्रत्वङ्गुनयनघ्राणजिह्वाश्रोत्रियपंचकः ।
सर्वेषामपि जतूनामीरितं जबगङ्गदश ॥

। ख फ छ ठ थ च ट त व् ।

22. प्राणादिपचकं चैव मनोबुद्धिरिद्वक्त्रि ।
बभूव कारणत्वेन खफछठथ चटतव् ॥

23. वर्गद्वितीयवर्णोत्थः प्राणाद्याः पंचक्रयवः ।
मध्यवर्गव्याज्जाता अंतःकरणवृत्तयः ॥

। क प य् ।

- 24 प्रकृति पुरुष चैव सर्वेषामेव सम्मतम् ।
संभूतमिति विज्ञेय कपयुस्यादिति निश्चितम् ॥

। श ष स र् ।

- 25 सत्त्वं रजस्तम इति गुणानां त्रितयं पुरा ।
समाश्रित्य महादेवं शषसर् क्रोडति प्रभु ॥

- 26 शकाराद्वाजसोद्धूतिं षकाराच्चासोद्धवः ।
सकारात्सत्त्वसंभूतिरिति त्रिगुणसंभवः ॥

। ह ल् ।

- 27 तत्त्वातीतं परं साक्षी सर्वानुग्रहविग्रहः ।
अहमात्मापरो हल् स्यामिति शमुस्तिरोदधे ॥

इति नदिकेश्वरकृता काशिका समाप्ता ॥

16 "The literature of Sanskrit presents, as ordinarily considered, two varieties of the language, but a third may also, as I shall presently endeavour to show, be clearly distinguished. Of these the most ancient is that found in the hymns of the *Rigveda Samhitā*. These were composed at different times and by different Rishis, and were transmitted from father to son in certain families. Thus the third of the ten collections, which make up the *Samhitā* bears the name of *Viśvāmitra*, and the hymns contained in it were composed by the great patriarch and his descendants. The seventh is ascribed to *Vasiṣṭha* and his family. The composition of these hymns therefore extended over a long period, the language is not the same throughout, and while sometimes they present a variety so close to the later Sanskrit that there is little difficulty in understanding them, the style of others is so antiquated that they defy all efforts at interpretation, and their sense was not understood even by the Rishis who flourished in the very next literary period, that of the *Brāhmaṇas*. Still for our purposes we may neglect these differences and consider the Vedic variety of Sanskrit as one."

17 The history of Sanskrit affords considerable scope for a study of the growth of language. It presents distinct varieties of speech which are linked together exactly as Modern English is with the Anglo-Saxon. The most ancient form is that composing the text of the *Rig Veda Samhitā*. Consisting of ten books, it was the work of different *rishis*, preserved by oral tradition in their families. Despite the minute distinctions in the language of the *Rik Samhitā*, we may for all practical purposes treat

the Vedic variety of Sanskrit as a compact dialect. Prominently, this dialect presents some peculiarities of form and usage, which may thus be summed up

- (i) The nominative plural of noun ending in अ is असस् as well as अस् as देवास or देवा, the instrumental being देवमि or देवैः,
- (ii) The nominative and the vocative dual and plural of nouns in अ not rarely end in आ as येनेमा विश्वा च्यवना कृतानि.
- (iii) The instrumental singular of feminine nouns in ई is occasionally formed by lengthening the vowel as धीती and मतीः
- (iv) The locative singular termination is often elided as परमे व्योमन्
- (v) The accusative of nouns in उ are formed by ordinary rules of euphonic combination as तन्वम् or तनुवम्, and the instrumental by affixing आ or या or इया as उविया or साधुया
- (vi) The dative of the personal pronouns ends in ए as युष्मे or अस्मे
- (vii) The parasmaipada first person plural termination is मसि as त्वमस्माकन्ववस्मसि, and of the third person plural is रे or रते as दुह्रे or दुह्रते.
- (viii) The त् of the ātmanepada termination is often dropped as दक्षिणतश्चये, and instead of * there is ध्वात्, as वारयध्वात्
- (ix) In the place of the imperative second person plural, there are त, तन, थन and तात् as शृणोत, पचतन, यतिष्ठन and कृष्टतात्
- (x) Eight different forms of the mood लोट्, signifying condition, are everywhere abundant as प्रण आयूषि तारिषत्.
- (xi) Roots are not restricted to particular conjugations and at the caprice of the Rishi the same comes to more than one class
- (xii) The infinitive suffixes are से, ध्ये, अथ्यै, तवे and तवै as वक्षे, असे, पुणथ्यै, सूतवे and मादयतवै, the accusatives of some nouns are treated as infinitives governed by शक्, as विमाग नाशकत्, the terminations तोस् and कस् occur when combined with ईश्वर as विचरितो. or विलिङ्ग, the potential participles are

denoted by the suffixes तर्, ऐ, एण्य and त्व as स्लेच्छितवै, अवगाहे, दिदक्षेण्य and कर्तव्यम्, the indeclinable past ends in त्वाय as गत्वाय, some forms as पीत्वा are also met with

- (xiii) A variety of verbal derivatives as दक्षत (handsome), जीवस् (life) and जनुस् (product) are frequent
- (xiv) A large number of words which have become obsolete or lost their significance in later Sanskrit are everywhere abundant as परिपन्थि, वतु and अमीवा

These peculiarities have been noted as the most frequent and the most salient, but many others are mentioned by Pāṇini. The Vedic dialect is the first record of the Sanskrit tongue, from which by processes of phonetic decay and natural elision the later language has been perfected

Here is a specimen of Vedic Sanskrit —

१. यच्चिद्धि ते विश्वो यथा प्र देव वरुण व्रतम् । मिनीमसि चविचवि ॥
२. मा नो वधाय हन्तवे जिहीळानस्य रीरथ । मा हणानस्य मन्यवे ॥
५. कदा क्षत्रश्रिय नरमा वरुण करामहे । मृळीकायोरुचक्षसम् ॥
७. वेदा यो वीना पदमन्तरिक्षेण पतताम् । वेद नाव समुद्रिय ॥
१०. नि षसाद धृतवतो वरुण पत्यासा । साम्राज्याय सुक्रतु ॥
११. अतो विश्वान्यद्भुता चिकित्वा अमि पश्यति । कृतानि या च कर्त्वा ॥
१२. स नो विश्वाहा सुक्रतुरादित्यः सुपथा कर्त्तु । प्र ण आयूषि तारिषत् ॥
१९. इम मे वरुण धुधी हवमद्या च मृळय । त्वामवसुरा चके ॥

“These eight verses contain 72 different *padas* or grammatical forms, not counting the prepositions as separate *padas*. Of these, 19 have become altogether obsolete in classical Sanskrit, and 12 have changed their significations”

18 The Brahmanas of the Rik and the Yajus present the *second stage* in the development. Many of the peculiar words have become obsolete, and the declensions have mostly approached the classical grammar. The roots have no indiscriminate conjugation. The subjunctive is almost gone out of use. The indeclinable past and the gerundial infinitive end in त्वा and तुम्, verbal forms of all moods and tenses are seen in abundance. Still there are the touches of the vedic relationship and archaisms are not rare —

- (i) Some feminine nouns have common forms for the dative and the genitive, as पृथिव्यै राजास्या ;

- (ii) The न of the third person is often dropped as before, as
सवतौ वी प्रसवानामी ,
- (iii) Some of the aorist forms do not follow the rules of Pāṇini,
as अज्ञत वा अस्स दन्ता ,
- (iv) Some antiquated words occur as अनीक (*a shaft*) निष्ठाव (*reference*)
भगवास् (*prosperous*)

The Aitereya Brāhmaṇa quotes some *gūṭhas* which are obviously more archaic than the rest of the work. Notwithstanding these irregularities, the Brāhmaṇas are "the best representatives extant of the verbal portion of that language of which Pāṇini writes the grammar, though he did not mean these when he spoke of the *bhasha*" The gradual and perhaps rapid progress in the symmetry and simplicity of the language had still to be accelerated by the work of later authors and their writings furnish an ample illustration of the next stage of linguistic development.

19 YASKA'S NIRUKTĪ forms the intermediate link between the Vedic and the non-Vedic literature. It is not devoid of archaic expression, for we meet with such phrases as 'उपदेशाय ग्लायन्त' (*unable to teach*) and 'शिक्षा राज्येन' (*invested with sovereignty*). But we have no clue to the dawn of a change of style from simplicity to complexity. To the same period in the history of Sanskrit belongs PĀṆINI. His *Astādhyāyī* is based on the grammar of the *bhāṣa*. No language has survived to us that literally represents Pāṇini's standard of dialect. Perhaps the later Brāhmaṇas are the only best representatives. At any rate there is no portion of the existing Sanskrit literature that accurately represents Pāṇini's Sanskrit, as regards the verbs and the nominal derivatives. Probably his grammar had for its basis the vernacular language of his day. Yaska and Pāṇini stand to us the authorities on record of that form of the language which immediately followed the purely Vedic stage.

20 Times had advanced, and with it the language. Pāṇini's *bhāṣa* could no longer stand stationary. The operation of the concurrent causes of linguistic progress had by the days of KĀTYĀYANA and PATAÑJALI modified Pāṇini's denotation and introduced new changes in the grammar of the language or in the scope of the aphorisms. *Kātyāyana's Vārtikas* and *Patanjali's Mahābhāṣya* are devoted to the proper interpretation of the sūtras and to the apt introduction of the missing links. If to Kātyāyana's eyes 10,000 inaccuracies are discernible in Pāṇini, the only explanation must be that to Pāṇini they were not.

inaccuracies, but by Kāṭyāyana's time the language had progressed and necessitated a fresh appendix or erratum in Pāṇini's grammatical treatise. The period of intervention must have been sufficiently long to allow old grammatical forms to become obsolete and even incorrect and words and their meanings to become antiquated and even ununderstandable.

21 Pāṇjanali discusses the change and progress of the language, in the sāstraic form of a dialogue between an objector and a mover thus

अस्त्यप्रयुक्तः

सति वै शब्दा अप्रयुक्ता तद्यथा-- ऊष, तेर, चक्र, पेचेति ।

किमतो यत्सत्यप्रयुक्ता ?

प्रयोगाद्धि भवान् शब्दानां साधुत्वमध्यवस्यति य इदानीमप्रयुक्ता नास्मी साधवस्सु ।

इदं तावन् विप्रतिषिद्ध-- यदुच्यते-- सति वै शब्दा अप्रयुक्ता. इति, यदि सन्ति नाप्रयुक्ता, अथाप्रयुक्ता न मति, सति चाप्रयुक्ताश्चेति विप्रतिषिद्ध । प्रयुजान एव खलु भवानाह सन्ति शब्दा अप्रयुक्ता इति कश्चेदानीमन्यो भवज्जातीयक पुरुष शब्दानां प्रयोगे साधुस्स्यार् ? नैतत् विप्रतिषिद्धम् । सन्ताति तावत् ब्रूम यदेतान् शास्त्रविदः शास्त्रेणानुविदधते । अप्रयुक्ता इति ब्रूम, यल्लोकेऽप्रयुक्ता इति । यदुच्यते--कश्चेदानीमन्यो भवज्जातीयक पुरुष शब्दानां प्रयोगे साधु. स्यादिति । न ब्रूमोऽस्माभिरप्रयुक्ता इति ।

किं तर्हि ?

लोकेऽप्रयुक्ता इति ।

ननु च भवानयम्यतरो लोके ।

अयम्यतरोऽहं लोके, नत्वहं लोके ।

अस्त्यप्रयुक्त इति चेन्नार्थे शब्दप्रयोगात् ।

अस्त्यप्रयुक्त इति चेत् तत्र किं कारणम् ?

अर्थे शब्दप्रयोगात् । अर्थे शब्दा प्रयुज्यन्ते ।

सति चैषा शब्दानामर्था येनैवैषु प्रयुज्यन्ते ॥

अप्रयोगः प्रयोगान्यत्वात् ।

अप्रयोगः खल्वन्येषां शब्दानां न्याय्यः । कुत ? प्रयोगान्यत्वात् । यदेषां शब्दानामर्थेऽन्यान् शब्दानां प्रयुज्यते । तद्यथा--उज्ज्वलस्य शब्दस्यार्थे, कं यूयमुषिणा, तेरेलस्यार्थे, कं यूयं तीर्णाः, चक्रेलस्यार्थे, कं यूयं कृतवन्त, पेचेलस्यार्थे, कं यूयं पक्तवन्त इति ।

अप्रयुक्ते दीर्घसन्नवन् ।

यद्यप्यप्रयुक्तं अवश्य दीर्घसन्नवन्नक्षणेनानुविधेया । तद्यथा दीर्घसन्नाणि वार्षशतिकानि वार्षसहस्रकाणि च न चाद्यत्वे कश्चिदप्याहरति । केवलं ऋषिसप्रदाया धर्म इति कृत्वा याज्ञिकी शास्त्रेणानुविदधते ।

सर्वे देशान्तरे ।

सर्वे खल्वेते शब्दा देशान्तरेऽपि प्रयुज्यते ।

न चैवोपलभ्यते ?

उपलब्धौ यत् क्रियतां ।

महान् शब्दस्य प्रयोगविषयः ।

सप्तद्वीपा वसुमती, त्रयो लोकाः, चत्वारो वेदाः सांगाः सरहस्या बहुधा मित्राः, एक-
शतमध्वर्युशांवाः, सहस्रवर्माः सामवेदः, एकविंशतिधा बाह्वृच्यः, नवधाऽधर्वणो वेदः, वाको-
वाक्यमितिहासः पुराणं वैद्यकमित्येतावान् शब्दस्य प्रयोगविषयः । एतावन्तं शब्दस्य प्रयोग-
विषयमननुनिश्चयेऽप्यप्रयुक्ता इति वचनं केवलं साहसमात्रमेव ।

एतस्मिन्नातिमहति शब्दस्य प्रयोगविषये स्ते शब्दाः - तत्र तत्र नियतविषयाः दृश्यते ।
तद्यथा । श्रवतिर्गतिवर्मा कर्मोजेवैव भाषितो भवति विकारः येनमार्या भाषते श्रव इति ।
हस्मति सुराष्ट्रेषु रहति प्राच्यमध्येषु गमिमेवमार्या प्रयुजते । दातिर्लव्णार्थं प्राच्येषु,
दातृषुदीच्येषु ।

ये चाप्येते भवतोऽप्रयुक्ता अभिरुताः शब्दा ये तेषामपि प्रयोगो दृश्यते । कः ?
बदे । तद्यथा “ सप्तास्यरेवतीरेवदूषा, यद्वो रेवती रेवत्यां तमूष, यन्मे नरं श्रुत्वा ब्रह्म चक्रं,
यथा नक्षत्रा जरास तन्नाम् ” इति ।¹

PURV अस्त्यप्रयुक्तः । There exist (some) words which are not used, for instance, ऊष, तेर, चक्र, पेच. (These are forms of the second person plural of the Perfect.)

The *Siddhāntin*, or the principal teacher, who advocates the doctrine that is finally laid down asks —

SID What if they are not used ?

PURV You determine the grammatical correctness of words from their being used. Those then that are not now used are not grammatically correct.

SID What you say is, in the first place, inconsistent, viz., that words exist which are not used. If they exist they cannot be not used, if not used, they cannot exist. To say that they exist and are not used

is inconsistent You yourself use them (utter them) and say (in the very breath) there are words which are not used What other worthy like yourself would you have to use them in order that they might be considered correct ? (lit What other person like yourself is correct or is an authority in the use of words)

PURV This is not inconsistent I say they exist, since those who know the Sastra teach their formation by [laying down] rules, and I say they are not used, because they are not used by people Now with regard to [your remark] What other worthy, &c " [when I say they are not used] I do not mean that they are not used by me

SID What then ?

PURV Not used by people

SID Verily, you also are one amongst the people

PURV Yes, I am *one*, but am not *the people*

SID (Vart अस्त्वप्रयुक्त इति चेन्नार्थे शब्दप्रयोगात्) If you object that they are not used, it will not do (the objection is not valid)

PURV Why not ?

SID Because words are used to designate things The things do exist which these words are used to designate (Therefore the words must be used by somebody If the things exist, the words that denote them must exist)

PURV (Vart अप्रयोगः प्रयोगान्यत्वात्) (It does not follow) Their non-use is what one can reasonably infer

SID Why ?

PURV Because they (people) use other words to designate the things expressed by these words, for instance, क यूयमुषिता in the sense of ऊष, क यूय तीर्णा in the sense of तेर, क यूय कृतवन्त in the sense of चक्र, क यूय पक्वन्त in the sense of पेच (We here see participles had come to be used for verbs of the Perfect Tense)

SID (Vart अप्रयुक्ते दीर्घसत्रवत्) Even if ~~these~~ words are not used, they should be essentially taught by rules ~~just as~~ long sacrificial sessions are It is in this way Long sacrificial sessions ~~are~~ such as last for a hundred years and for a thousand years ~~and~~ modern ~~times~~ none whatever holds them, but the writers on sacrifices teach them by rules, simply because [to learn] what has been handed ~~down~~ by tradition from the Rishis is religiously meritorious And ~~moreover~~ (Vart सव देशान्तरे), all these words are used in other places

PURV —They are not found used.

SID —An endeavour should be made to find them Wide indeed is the range over which words are used , the earth with its seven continents, the three worlds, the four Vedas with their angas or dependent treatises and the mystic portions, in their various recensions, the one hundred branches of the Adhvaryu (Yajur-Veda), the Sama-Veda with its thousand modes, the Bahvichya with its twenty-one varieties, and the Atharvapa Veda with nine, Vakavakya, Epics, the Puranas, and Medicine This is the extent over which words are used Without searching this extent of the use of words, to say that words are not used is simple rashness In this wide extent of the use of words, certain words appear restricted to certain senses in certain places Thus, श्रवति is used in the sense of motion among the Kambojas , the Aryas use it in the derived from of श्रव , हृष्मति is used among the Surashtrās, रहति among the eastern and central people, but the Aryas use only गम् , दाति is used in the sense of 'cutting' among the easterns दात्र among the northerners And those words which you think are not used are also seen used

PURV --Where ?

SID --In the Veda. Thus, सप्तासे रेवती रेवदूष । यद्वो रेवती रेवतां तमूष ॥ यन्मे नर श्रुत्य ब्रह्म चक्र । यजानश्चक्रा जरस तनुनाम् ।

[“ We here see that the objector says that certain words or forms are not used by people, and therefore they should not be taught or learnt The instances that he gives are forms of the perfect to some roots and observes that the sense of these forms is expressed by using other words which are perfect participles of these roots. These statements are not denied by the Siddhanti, but he does not allow that the forms should not be taught on that account Though not used, they should be taught and learnt for the sake of the religious merit consequent thereon, just as the ceremonial of long sacrificial sessions, which are never held, is. Then the objector is told that though not used by people, the words may be current in some other country, continent, or word, or they must have been used somewhere in the vast literature of the language As regards the particular instances, two of them are shown to be used in the Vedas It thus follows that in the time of Kātyayana and Patanjali, such verbal forms had become obsolete, and participles were used in their place But it must have been far otherwise in the time of Paṇini He gives minute rules for constructing the innumerable forms of the Sanskrit verb.”]

22 A few of those prominent changes are given below —

- (i) Pāṇini in a special rule says that इतर has इतरम् for its neuter in the Vedas. Obviously he intended to exhaust the list Kāṭyāyana has to add एकतर to it.
- (ii) Pāṇini, when he says विष्किर शकुनिर्विकिरो वा, would imply that each form has no other sense than that of a bird, but Kāṭyāyana adds that both the forms are optional in the sense of 'birds,' while in any other sense they represent separate words,
- (iii) The vocative singular of neuter nouns ending in अन् such as ब्रह्मन् is according to Pāṇini ब्रह्मन्, but Kāṭyāyana would add an optional ब्रह्म,
- (iv) Some feminine formations are not noticed by Pāṇini, which Kāṭyāyana is forced to allow, as आर्याणी and उपाध्यायी.
- (v) The word आश्चर्य is rendered as अनित्य by Pāṇini; Kāṭyāyana substitutes for it अद्भुत.
- (vi) The words and meanings of words employed by Kāṭyāyana are such as we meet with in the classical period and his expressions would not invite any special attention. This cannot be said of Pāṇini. Many of his words are antiquated in the later language as मति (*raison*), उपसवाद (*bargain*), होत्र (*priest*).

"In Pāṇini's time a good many words and expressions were current which afterwards became obsolete, verbal forms were commonly used which ceased to be used in Kāṭyāyana's time, and some grammatical forms were developed in the time of the latter which did not exist in Pāṇini's. Pāṇini's Sanskrit must, therefore, be identified with that which preceded the Epics, and he must be referred to the literary period between the Brahmanas and Yaska. Hence it is that the Brahmanas, as observed before, are the best existing representatives of the language of which Pāṇini writes the grammar. Kāṭyāyana on other hand wrote when the language arrived at that stage which we have called classical. Thus, then, we have been able to trace three distinct periods in the development of Sanskrit. First, we have the Vedic period, to which the R̥gveda Samhita, the Mantra portion of the Yajurveda, and the more antiquated part of the Atharva-Samhita are to be referred. Then commences another period, at the threshold of which we find the Brahmanas, which, so to say, look backwards to the preceding,

that is, present the vedic language in the last stage of its progress towards Panini's Bhasha, and, later on, we have Yaska and Panini. This may be called the period of Middle Sanskrit. And last of all, there is the classical period to which belong the Epics, earliest specimens of Kavyas and dramatic plays, the metrical Smṛitis, and the grammatical work of Katayana. Panini's work contains the grammar of Middle Sanskrit, while Katayana's that of classical Sanskrit, though he gives his sanction to the archaic forms on the principle, as he himself has stated, on which the authors of the sacrificial Sūtras teach the ritual of long sacrificial sessions, though they had ceased to be held in their time. Patanjali gives but few forms which differ from Katayana's and in no way do they indicate a different stage in the growth of the language; hence his work is to be referred to the same period. The form which the language assumed at this time became the standard for later writers to follow, and Katayana and Patanjali are now the generally acknowledged authorities on all points concerning the correctness of Sanskrit speech. We shall hereafter see that the last two stages have left distinct traces on the Prakṛits or the derived languages.

Professor Goldstucker has shown from an examination of the Vārtikas, that certain grammatical forms are not noticed by Panini, but are taught by Katayana and concludes that they did not exist in the language in Panini's time. I have followed up the argument in my lectures 'On the Sanskrit and Prakṛit languages,' and given from the Vārtikas several ordinary instances of such forms. From these one of two conclusions only is possible, *viz.*, either that Panini was a very careless and ignorant grammarian, or that the forms did not exist in the language in his time. The first is of course inadmissible, wherefore the second must be accepted. I have also shown from a passage in the introduction to Patanjali's Mahabhashya, that verbal forms such as those of the Perfect which are taught by Panini as found in the Bhasha or current language, not the Chhandasa or obsolete language, had gone out of use in the time of Katayana and Patanjali, and participles had come to be used instead. Professor Goldstucker has also given a list of words used by Panini in his sūtras in a sense which became obsolete in the time of Katayana and shown what portion of Sanskrit literature did not probably exist in Panini's time but was known to Katayana, and in one case comes to the not unjustifiable conclusion that the time that had elapsed between Panini and Katayana was so great that certain literary words which either did not exist in Panini's time or were not old to him came to be considered by Katayana to be as old as

those which were old to Panini. Again, according to Panini's rules the Aorist expresses (1) past time generally, or the simple completion of an action, (2) the past time of this day and not previous to this day and (3) recent past time, and thus resembles in every respect the English Present Perfect. But in the later language the distinction between that tense and the other two past tenses is set aside and the Aorist is used exactly like these. Now, the language of the verses ascribed to Panini and generally the language of what Professor Max Muller calls the Renaissance period is grammatically the same as that of Katyayana and Patanjali, and is the language of participles instead of verbs, and even from theirs it differs in making extensive use of compounds and neglecting the distinction between the Aorist and the other past tenses. The Sanskrit of Panini's time is more archaic than that of Katyayana's time, and Panini's rules are nowhere more scrupulously observed than in such an ancient work as the *Aitareya Brahmana*. The many forms and expressions which he teaches, and which must have existed in language are nowhere found in the later literature, while specimens of them are to be seen in that *Brahmana* and like works. Between therefore the archaic language of the sutras and the language which Panini calls *Bhasha* and of which he teaches the grammar, on the one hand, and the language of the Renaissance period on the other is such a wide difference that no one will ever think of attributing a work written in the style and language of this period to the Great Grammarian. As Yaska and Panini to the same period of Sanskrit literature the style and manner of a work written by Panini the grammarian, must resemble those of the *Nirukta*, but in the few verses attributed to Panini there is no such resemblance whatever. Should the entire work be discovered and found as a whole to be written in an archaic style, there will be time enough to consider its claim on behalf of these artificial verses¹."

23 "The earliest Sanskrit Alphabet was possibly made up of five semi-vowels, five nasals, five soft and five hard aspirates, in all twenty consonants. The twenty sounds found in the aphors ह्यवरट्, लृण्, ञमङणनम्, झमञ्, षढवष्, खफडैयव्, are the oldest, the final consonants being of course later additions. As no consonants can be pronounced without a vowel, the sound of *a*, *au* or *o*, according to the idiosyncrasies of the several tribes, came to be unconsciously blended with it. The aphors शषसर् and ह्रस्व belong to a subsequent age, the four consonants in them being more or less connected in origin with *jh-s*. In course

1 R. G. Bhandarkar, *Date of Patanjali*.

of time the aspirates produced the unaspirates, and the aphors जङ्गडदस् and कपप्, were added, the three consonants चटत् being placed before व्. The order in which the vowels *a, i, u, ī, ṛ* are arranged is the same with that of the semi-vowels *h, y, v, r, l*, thus raising a suspicion that the correspondence between the 5 vowels and the 5 semi-vowels was not quite unknown in the age of the composition of the vowel-aphors. There is again a suspicion, that the vowels *e* and *o*, which have a separate aphor एओङ् assigned to them, were originally monophs, *not* diphthongs, the only diphthongs known in this age were *ai* and *au* formed of *a+i* and *a+u* respectively. These four aphors thus belong to an age, when 9 vowels in all, 7 monophs and 2 diphthongs, were recognised. Were the seven monophs pronounced short or long? their traditional pronunciation is no doubt short, but in an age not accustomed to the distinction between short and long, the pronunciation was possibly also long, at least among some of the tribes.

Did Pāṇini recognise the vowel *ṛ* in the aphor ऋलृक्? or did the aphor in his age contain only ऋ? The aphors लृक् and ऋलृक् contain only one letter each, and it may be held, that like them the aphor ऋक् also contained only one letter, namely ऋ. There is only one root, viz, कलृप्, containing the vowel *ṛ*. But Pāṇini does not recognise the root as कलृप्, according to him (कृपो-18, 2 VIII), the root is कृप् and कलृप् is formed from कृप् by changing the sound of *ṛ* in it to *ṝ*. Pāṇini, thus deriving कलृप् from कृप्, recognises *no* *ṛ* in the aphor ऋलृक् the grammatical tradition is therefore quite correct in *not* ascribing the authorship of the alpha-aphors to him. The *fourteen* aphors are thus the product of a pre-Pāṇini age, these aphors describe a dialect which possessed only seven short monophs and two diphthongs, and which had, besides, no lack of words containing the vowel *ṛ* and the semi-vowel *ṝ* in them. The sound of the semi-vowel possibly resembled that of *ayin* in Arab and Heb, and as such must have had a distinct sign assigned to it, though now irrecoverably lost. The age of Pāṇini is thus conspicuous by the loss of the sign of the semi-vowel *h*, and by the scarcity of the vowel *ṛ*, the former event having led to the confounding of the semi-vowel *h* with the spir *h*, while the latter led to the non-recognition of the vowel *ṛ*. The age of the composition of the Fourteen Alpha-aphors, recognising the seven short monophs, two diphthongs and the semi-vowel *ṝ*, may be called Pre-Pāṇini Age I.

The age of Pāṇini will be found conspicuous not only by the loss of one short vowel *ṛ*, but of three more short vowels, आ, ए, and ओ.

ल may claim at least a few words, while the semi-vowel ऌ has not been ousted from the premier place, though no words have been preserved for it to claim. But the short vowels अ, ए and ओ, to use a scientific expression, have evaporated *without residue*. Śākatāyana knew two *js* and two *vs*, the one *light* and the other *heavy*. Pāṇini makes mention of Śakatāyana having known them, but as to whether any distinction was made between them, when he (Pāṇini) lived, absolutely nothing is known. This age of short अ and of the two-fold ए and ओ may be called the Pre-Pāṇini Age II.”¹

24. Samskrta Here then the Samskrit language had assumed a shape true to its name Samskr̥ṭa. The later epics, poems and dramas do not show any progress in the grammar, structure and signification of the language, though as regards style, they class themselves into an isolated species of literary composition. For all practical purposes, the language as perfected by the work of Kāṭyāyana and Patanjali has been the standard of later literature, and these are now the acknowledged authorities on all points concerning the grammar or construction of the Sanskrit speech.

अव्याकृता देवभाषा काले व्याकृतिममजत् । तदानीं “संस्कृत” आमेहितम् । दण्डिना तु “संस्कृत नाम दैवी वागन्वाख्याता महर्षिभिः” (काव्यादर्शे १।३३), इत्युक्त्वा दैवी वागेव प्रकृतिप्रत्ययविभागाख्यसंस्काररूपेण संस्कृतभाषेति व्याख्यातम् ।

वाग्मटालङ्कारे च (२।३) स्पष्टत ध्वनितम्—

“संस्कृत खर्णिगां भाषा शब्दशालेषु निश्चिता ।” उक्ता संस्कृतभाषा भूमण्डले सर्वेरेव सर्वत्र प्रज्ञाता । तथा च, ऋग्वेदीयकौषीतकिब्राह्मणे ७।६, —“पय्या खस्ति तस्माद् उदीच्यां दिशि प्रज्ञाततरा वाग् उच्यत । यो वा तत आगच्छति तस्य वा शुश्रूषन्त इति ह स्माह एषा हि वाचो दिक् प्रज्ञाता ।” इति

25. “The earliest literature presents a fluent and simple style of composition. The sentences are short and verbal forms are abundant. Attributive and nominal expressions do not find a place therein. This construction is facilitated by a succession of concise ideas, which gives it a sort of simple grace and fine-cut structure. This then is the form of the Brahmana language. It lacks not striking thoughts, bold expression and impressive reasoning. Leaving out of account the unnatural appearance of the sutra style—which was not however a literary composition—we come to Yāska and his Nirukṭa. Scientific as it is, the language of Yaska often reminds us of the earlier writings. The

frequency of verbal forms was current during the time of Panini. It was after the epoch of the Ashtadhyayi that a change had come over literary styles. Attributes attached greater attention and compounds could alone compress long dependent sentences into the needed form. 'In argument the ablative of an abstract noun saves a long periphrasis.' The minute rules of Panini for constructing the innumerable verbal forms facilitated this mania for conciseness of expression. Thus the fluent or simple style came gradually to be displaced by the formative or attributive style. To this was added the richness and flexibility of the Sanskrit language itself, which allowed any sort of twisting and punning of the literary vocabulary. The Puranas and the Itihasas were composed at the transitional stage in the history of literary styles. They present at the same time the simplicity of the earlier language and the complexity of the later composition. So do the earliest specimens of poetic and dramatic literature. Hence the natural and not improbable conclusion is that if an author shows an easy and elegant style and if the flow of his language is more natural, it must be either his taste is too æsthetic for his age or his work must be assigned to an early period in the history of literature. This artificial style was greatly developed in the field of philosophy and dialectics. Patanjali's language is most simple, lucid and impressive. The sentences if therefore really consists of a series of dialogues, often smart, between one who maintains the *pūrvapakṣa*, and another who plays down the *siddhānta*. Hence, the language is plain and simple, and the sentences are short, and such as a man may naturally use in ordinary conversation or oral disputation.

The forms of words are all similar to the earlier dramas or the Puranas. Sabaraswami has a lively style, though this presents a further stage in the downward progress. Now the philosophical style sets in and continues to a degree of mischief which is now beyond all reformation. Sankara represents the middle stage. His explanations are aided by dialectic terminology. The sentences are much longer than those of the earlier writers, the construction is more involved, there is a freer use of attributive adjuncts, and the form is that of an essay or a lecture, instead of an oral disputation. But his language is fluent and perspicuous, but not petrified as that of later writers. The last stage is reached in the works of the Naiyayikas. These latter hate the use of verbs. The ablative singular and the indeclinable particles play a prominent part in their composition. Nouns are abstract and even participles are rare. The style is one of solidified formulæ, rather of

varying discourse Thus the end is that the movement which started with the simple sentence and predicative construction has run up to a stage where the original character is entirely modified and the Sanskrit language has become a language of abstract nouns and compound words

The greater use of attributive or nominal forms of expression gradually drove out a large portion of the Sanskrit verb, and gave a new character to the language, which may be thus described—Very few verbal forms are used besides those of such tenses as the Present and Future, participles are frequently met with, the verbal forms of some roots, especially of those belonging to the less comprehensive classes, have gone out of use, and in their place we often have a noun expressive of the special action and a verb expressive of action generally, compound words are somewhat freely employed and a good many of the Taddhita forms or nominal derivatives have disappeared, and in their stead we have periphrastic expressions

26 Spiritual Aspect, “The grammatical dissertations of the Hindus were not confined to a narrow field, nor were the Hindu grammarians content with mere formulation of rules for the formation of words The spiritual aspect of sound seems to have made a deep impression upon their mind and left its stamp on their whole outlook regarding *śabda* The śabdikas succeeded in discovering a way of spiritual discipline even through the labyrinthine mass of grammatical speculations Enquiries into the ultimate nature of *vak* led them to a sublime region of *sādhanā*—a region of perfect bliss and pure consciousness The cultivation of grammar gave rise to a spiritual vision which, to speak, enabled the *vag-yogavīd* to visualise Brahman in the wreath of letters (*varṇamālā*) Letters are denoted in Sanskrit by the same term (*akṣara*) as is often applied to Brahman A glance at the language in which *akṣara* has been interpreted by grammarians of old will serve to open our eyes to the supreme importance of *varṇas* To the spiritual insight of Patañjali *varṇas* were not only phonetic types but the glowing sparks of Brahman illumining the entire sphere of existence

वर्णज्ञान वाग्विषयो यत्र च ब्रह्म वर्तते । Vārṇika

सोऽयमक्षरसमाम्नायो वाक्समाम्नाय पुष्पित फलितश्चन्द्रतारकवत् प्रतिरूढितो
वेदितव्यो ब्रह्मराशि । Mahābhāṣya, I 2 3

The study of grammar has been declared to be the direct means of attaining the Supreme Being who, though one and without a second,

appears to be manifold owing to the operation of *maya* ¹ Grammar in its religious and mystical speculations is in line with the teachings of the Upanisads, reinterpreting the same doctrines of *yoga* and *upasana* as are generally found in the sacred texts of India ²

It was left to Patanjali and his followers to unlock the portal of a new kingdom of thought, so as to throw light upon the ultimate end of all enquiries into words. The Mahabhasya portended the birth of a form of *sadhana* in which *sabda* or Eternal Verbum should be worshipped with all the reverence shown to a Divinity ³ In order to attain union with Brahman or to get oneself completely merged in the Absolute, one is directed to take up the mysterious course of *Sabda-sadhana* ⁴ Patanjali seems to have been the first among the Indian grammarians to give a spiritualistic colour to the speculations of grammar. The *sabdabrahmopasana*, as is formulated in the Upanisads, had undoubtedly influenced his trend of thought

The mysticism underlying the phenomena of speech was undoubtedly the aspect which seems to have made the deepest impression upon the grammarian. The utterance of sound is with him a vivid materialisation of inner consciousness. To the grammarian *sabda* is not a lifeless mechanism invented by man. It is more than a mere sound or symbol. It is consciousness that splits itself up into the twofold category of *sabda* and *artha*, and what we call *vak*, as the vehicle of communication, is nothing but an expression of *caitanya* lying within ⁵ Patanjali has taken notice of two kinds of words, namely, *nitya* (eternal) and *karya* (created). By the former he understands the Supreme Reality that transcends all limitations of time and space. The attributes whereby the Vedantin describes Brahman or Absolute

[1. यदेकं प्रक्रियामेदैर्बहुधा प्रविभज्यते ।

तद्व्याकरणमागम्य परं ब्रह्माधिगम्यते ॥ *Vākya-padīya*.

2 तस्य वाचकं प्रणवः तज्जपस्तदर्थमावहन् ॥ *Yoga sūtras*, 27-28

3 Patanjali says that one should pursue the study of grammar for the supreme object of attaining equality or sameness with the Great God

महता देवेन नस्साम्यं यथा स्यादित्यध्येयं व्याकरणम् ।

4 While commenting on the *Rik* (*Rigveda*, X 6, 71), Patanjali had laid stress on the necessity of making a thorough study of grammar, because it renders the grammarian capable of attaining union with Brahman (सायुज्यानि जानते)

5 प्रत्यक्षैतन्त्यस्यान्तस्संश्लिष्टस्य परबोधनाय शक्तिरभिप्रेक्ष्यन्तीति इति ।—*Puṇyārāja* under *Vākya-padīya*, I 1.

have all been used by Patanjali in this interpretation of *niṣya sabda*.¹ He has more than once drawn our attention to this eternal character of *sabda*. This will give us some idea of the magnitude in which *sabda* was understood by the famous grammarian whom tradition makes an incarnation of *Sesa*. His poetical description of *varṇas*, to which we have already referred, best illustrates the spiritual outlook of his mind. From the *śrūti*s he has quoted in laudation of *vak* and *vyākaraṇa*, and it is sufficiently clear that he was an ardent and devout worshipper of *vak*, belonging to that class of mystics who in their spiritual experience make no distinction between *para vak* and *para Brahman*. Patanjali used to look upon *sabda* as a great divinity (*mahān devah*) that makes its presence felt by every act of utterance. He was a yogin whose inward vision (*pratibha māna*) permitted him to have a look into that eternal flow of pure consciousness that is undisturbed from outside.² He was a true type of Brahmin who visualised the ultimate nature of *vak* by dispelling the darkness of ignorance through the aid of his illuminating knowledge of *sabda-tattva*.³ The worship of *vak*, which has its origin in the Upanisads⁴ and which found so prominent an expression in the Āgamas, was earnestly followed up by the *sābdikas*, particularly by Patanjali and Bhartrhari. *Sābdabrahmopasana*, as we find in grammatical dissertations, is only a reproduction of the teachings of the Upanisads.⁵

Words are not mere sounds as they ordinarily seem to be. They have a subtle and intellectual form within. The internal source from which they evolve is calm and serene, eternal and imperishable. The real form of *vak*, as opposed to external sound, lies far beyond the range of ordinary perception. We are told that it requires a good deal of *sādhana* to have a glimpse of the purest form of speech. The *śrūti* to which Patanjali has referred bears strong evidence to this fact. *Vak* is said to reveal her divine self only to those who are so trained

1 निषेष्टु च शब्देषु कूटस्थैरविचालिमिवैर्णै. भवितव्यमनपायोपजनविकारिभिः ।—*Mahābhāṣya*, I. 1, 1

2 अन्या परा प्रकृतिः सत्या सर्वविकारास्तुयायिनी प्रशान्तकङ्कला चिदेकवर्णा ब्रह्मा इत्यागमवादिन ।—*Helārāja* under *Vākya-pāṇīya*, § 32.

3 वैयाकरणस्तु शास्त्रबलेन तद्बललब्धयोगेन च गुह्यान्वकारविदार्य सर्वं जानातीति भावः ।
—*Prāṇipadādyōṭa*

4. नमो वाच ब्रह्मेत्युपास्ते ।—*Chāṇḍogya*, VII 2

5. सौनन्तमाप्नोति जय परत्र ।—*Mahābhāṣya*.

as to understand her real nature Such was the exalted nature of vak upon which the grammarian used to meditate ”¹

27 Writing IT HAS BEEN SAID THAT ANCIENT INDIA KNEW NO WRITING and that writing was introduced somewhere about 1800 B C , by traders coming into India from Phoenicia and Mesopotamia The Vedas were meant for recital and the bards sang the hymns The idea involved in the name *śruṭi* for the Vedas is recitation and ‘ hearing,’ for it is the sound waves started by the voice regulated by intonations that create the mystic or magnetic effect Indeed, there is a species of work called Vedaprayoga wherein the use of particular hymns for specific objects is prescribed Such, for instance, are hymns for getting a sprout of water from barren ground or for driving out evil spirits or for promoting easy delivery

The various *aśtras* ranging from Brahmāstra, the most infalliable one, are mere mantras and when Viśvāmītra initiated Rāma into aśtras, he taught *mantra-grāma* ² From the circumstance that Vedic hymns were used for recitals, it cannot be said that the Vedic age had no script. It is the tradition that Viṅhesvara wrote all Mahābhārata to Vyāsa’s dictation The sages who were omniscient and who could foresee and create things supernatural would not have failed to have a means of recording their ideas and expressions for the benefit of posterity

Ṛg-Veda (I 164, 94, IX 13-3) uses the word *akṣara*. The word *sūtra* found on the Madhukānda of the Brāhmaṇas of White Yajus signifies a metaphorical use of the *sūtra* proper, meaning ‘thread’ or band Goldstucker in his *Study of Pāṇini* distinctly expressed that the words *sūtra* and *grantha* ‘must absolutely be connected with writing’ Pāṇini³ explained the formation of the word *Yavanānī* and Kātyāyana’s Vārtika says that the noun ‘*hpi*’ (writing) must be supplied to signify the writing of the Yavanas ⁴

1 P O Chakravarti, *Spiritual Outlook of Sanskrit Grammar*, (Jl of Dep of Letters, Calcutta, 1934)

2. मन्त्रग्रामं गृहाण त्व बलामतिबलं तथा ।
ददौ रामाय सुप्रीतो मन्त्रग्राममनुत्तमम् ॥ I. 22. 12

* * *

जपतस्तु मुनेस्तस्य विश्वामित्रस्य धीमते ।

उपतस्थुर्महाह्राणि सर्वाण्यस्त्राणि राघवम् ॥ I 27 23-23

3 *Pāṇini*, 26 , Maxmuller, *ISt.*, V 20, 24 , II 26 , Weber, *IL*, 15, 221.

4. *ISt.*, V. 5 8, 17, IV. 89.

Patanjali has a long discussion on Akṣara thus

अक्षरं न क्षरं विद्यादश्रोतेर्वा सरोक्षरम् ।

न क्षीयते न क्षरतीति वाञ्छरम् ॥

अश्रोतेर्वा पुनरयमौणादिकं सरन् प्रलय ।

अश्रुते इत्यक्षरम् ।

वर्णं वाहु पूर्वसूत्रे अथवा पूर्वसूत्रे वर्णस्याक्षरमिति सत्त्वा क्रियते ।

किमर्थमुपदिश्यते ?

वर्णज्ञानं वाग्विषयो यत्र च ब्रह्म वर्तते ।

तदर्थमभिष्टुद्धर्थं लब्धर्थं चोपदिश्यते ॥

Of the Northern Indian scripts descended from the Brāhmī is Nāgarī or Devanāgarī and the alphabets of that script are the formulæ of Maheśvarasūtras, making up vowels अच् and consonants हल्

A study of paleography has come to distinguish the types of early writings Kharoshtī and Brāhmī. The former was current in Gāndhāra (East Afghanistan and North Punjab) and was borrowed from the Aramaic type of Semitic writing in use during the fifth century B C. The latter, Brāhmī is "the true national writing of India, because all late Indian alphabets are descended from it, however dissimilar they may appear at the present day"

28 History. It has been said that the Hindus possess no national history. Max Muller accepts this proposition as a postulate, builds on it and explains the so-called absence of anything like historical literature among the Hindus to their being a nation of philosophers

1. For Philology, language and paleography generally, see the following —

Origin of Devanagari Alphabet, (IA, XXXV, 268, 270, 311), *Dravidian elements in Sanskrit dictionaries* (IA, I, 235), *Hindu Science of Grammar* (IA, XIV, 38), *On Kharoshtī writing* (IA, XXIV, 285, 311, XXXIII, 79, XXXIV, 1, 26, 46), *Progress Report of Linguistic Survey of India* (IA, XLI, 179), *Scripts and Signs from Indian Neolithics*, (IA, XLVIII, 57), *Philological position of Sanskrit in India* (IA, XVIII, 124, XXIV, 81, XIV, 38)

A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, Hans Raj, *Vedic Kosa*, M. S. Ghata, *Lectures on Rig veda*, P. D. Gune, *Introduction to Comparative Philology*, S. K. Belvalkar, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, W. D. Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, F. Kielhorn, *Grammar of Sanskrit Language*, A. Carnoy, *Grammairs*, A. Weber, *Indischen Philologie in IST*, III, E. Windisch, *Geschichte der Sanskrit Philologie*, Hornle, *JASB*, LIX, No. 2, Waddell, *On the use of Paper*, *JRAS*, (1914) 126; Haraprasad Sastri, *Rep* I, 7, Bhandarkar, *POCP*, II, 305, Buhler, *Indian Paleography and The Origin of Brāhmī Alphabet*, Isaac Taylor, *The Alphabet*.

"Greece and India are, indeed, the two opposite poles in the historical development of the Aryan man. To the Greek, existence is full of life and reality, to the Hindu, it is a dream, a delusion. The Greek is at home where he is born, all his energies belong to his country, he stands or falls with his party, and is ready to sacrifice even his life to the glory and independence of Hellas. The Hindu enters this world as a stranger, all his thoughts are directed to another world, he takes no part even where he is driven to act, and when he sacrifices his life, it is but to be delivered from it."¹

But A. Stein in his Introduction to *Rājataranginī* has thus answered it: "It has often been said of the India of the Hindus that it possessed no history. The remark is true if we apply it to history as a science and art, such as classical culture in its noblest prose-works has bequeathed it to us. But it is manifestly wrong if by history is meant either historical development or the materials for studying it. India has never known, amongst its *Sāstras*, the study of history such as Greece and Rome cultivated or as modern Europe understands it. Yet the materials for such study are equally at our disposal in India. They are contained not only in such original sources of information as Inscriptions, Coins and Antiquarian remains, generally, advancing research has also proved that written records of events or of traditions concerning them have by no means been wanting in ancient India.

H. H. Wilson in his admirable Introduction to his translation of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, while dealing with the contents of the Third Book observes that a very large portion of the contents of the *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas* is genuine and writes:—

"The arrangement of the Vedas and other writings considered by the Hindus—being, in fact, the authorities of their religious rites and beliefs—which is described in the beginning of the Third book, is of much importance to the History of the Hindu Literature and of the Hindu religion. The sage Vyasa is here represented not as the author but the arranger or the compiler of the Vedas, the *Itihāsas* and the *Purāṇas*. His name denotes his character meaning the 'arranger' or 'distributor', and the recurrence of many Vyāsas, many individuals who remodelled the Hindu scriptures, has nothing in it, that is improbable, except the fabulous intervals by which their labours are separated. The re-arranging, the re-fashioning, of old materials is nothing more than the progress of time would be likely to render necessary. The

last recognised compilation is that of Krishna Dvaipayana, assisted by Brahmans, who were already conversant with the subjects respectively assigned to them. They were the members of the college or school supposed by the Hindus to have flourished in a period more remote, no doubt, than the truth, but not at all unlikely to have been instituted at some time prior to the accounts of India which we owe to Greek writers and in which we see enough of the system to justify our inferring that it was then entire. That there have been other Vyasas and other schools since that date, that Brahmans unknown to fame have re-modelled some of the Hindu scriptures, and especially the Puranas, cannot reasonably be counted, after dispassionately weighing the strong internal evidence, which all of them afford, of their intermixture of unauthorized and comparatively modern ingredients. But the same internal testimony furnishes proof equally decisive, of the anterior existence of ancient materials, and it is, therefore, as idle as it is irrational, to dispute the antiquity or the authenticity of the contents of the Puranas, in the face of abundant positive and circumstantial evidence of the prevalence of the doctrines, which they teach, the currency of the legends which they narrate, and the integrity of the institutions which they describe at least three centuries before the Christian Era. But the origin and development of their doctrines, traditions and institutions were not the work of a day, and the testimony that establishes their existence three centuries before Christianity, carries it back to a much more remote antiquity, to an antiquity, that is, probably, not surpassed by any of the prevailing fictions, institutions or beliefs of the ancient world."

Again, in dealing with the contents of the Fourth Amsa of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, the Professor remarks —

"The Fourth Book contains all that the Hindus have of their Ancient History. It is a tolerably comprehensive list of dynasties and individuals, it is a barren record of events. It can scarcely be doubted, however, that much of it is a genuine chronicle of persons, if not of occurrences. That it is discredited by palpable absurdities in regard to the longevity of the princes of the earlier dynasties, must be granted, and the particulars preserved of some of them are trivial and fabulous. Still there is an artificial simplicity and consistency in the succession of persons, and a possibility and probability in some of the transactions, which give to these traditions the semblance of authenticity, and render it likely that these are not altogether without foundation. At any rate, in the absence of all other sources of information the record, such

as it is, deserves not to be altogether set aside. It is not essential to its celebrity or its usefulness, that any exact chronological adjustment of the different reigns should be attempted. Their distribution amongst the several Yugas, undertaken by Sir William Jones, or his Pandits, finds no countenance from the original texts, rather than an identical notice of the age in which a particular monarch ruled or the general fact that the dynasties prior to Krishna precede the time of the Great War and the beginning of the Kali Age, *both which events are placed five thousand years ago*. This, may, or may not, be too remote, but it is sufficient, in a subject where precision is impossible, to be satisfied with the general impression, that, in the dynasties of Kings detailed in Puranas, we have a record, which, although it cannot fail to have suffered detriment from age, and may have been injured by careless or injudicious compilation, preserves an account not wholly undeserving of confidence, of the establishment and succession of regular monarchies, amongst the Hindus, from as early an era, and for as continuous a duration, as any in the credible annals of mankind."

And lastly, in discussing the general nature of the Purāṇas and of their values as historical records, he says —

"After the date of the Great War, the Vishnu Purana, in common with other Puranas, which contain similar lists, specifies Kings and Dynasties with greater precision, and offers political and chronological particulars to which, on the score of probability there is nothing to object. In truth, their general accuracy has been incontrovertibly established. Inscriptions on columns of stone, on rocks, on coins, deciphered only of late years through the extraordinary ingenuity and perseverance of Mr James Prinsep, have verified the names of races and titles of princes—the Gupta and the Andhra Rajas mentioned in the Puranas."

29 In his Rajasthan, Col Tod says —

"Those who expect from a people like the Hindus a species of composition of precisely the same character as the historical works of Greece and Rome, commit the very egregious error of overlooking the peculiarities which distinguish the natives of India from all other races, and which strongly discriminate their intellectual productions of every kind from those of the West. Their philosophy, their poetry, their architecture are marked with traits of originality, and the same may be expected to pervade their history, which, like the arts enumerated,

took a character from its intimate association with the religion of the people

In the absence of regular and legitimate historical records, there are, however, other native works, (they may, indeed, be said to abound) which, in the hands of a skilful and patient investigator, would afford no despicable materials for the history of India. The first of these are the Puranas and geneological legends of the princes which, obscured as they are by the mythological details, allegory, and improbable circumstances, contain, many facts that serve as beacons to direct the research of the historian."

30 "Another species of historical records is found in the accounts given by the Brahmins of the endowments of the temples, their dilapidation and repairs, which furnish occasions for the introduction of historical and chronological details. In the legends respecting places of pilgrimage and religious resort, profane events are blended with superstitious rites and ordinances, local ceremonies and customs. The controversies of the Jains furnish, also, much historical information, especially with reference to Guzerat and Nehrwalla during the Chaulac dynasty. From a close and attentive examination of the Jain records, which embody all that those ancient sectarians knew of science, many chasms in Hindu history might be filled up."

"Every MATHA or religious college of any importance preserves the succession of its heads. Among the Jains, we have the PATAVALIS or successions of pontiffs, for a full and lucid notice of some of which we are indebted to Dr Hoernle. They purport to run back to even the death of the last TIRTHAMKARA Vardhamana-Mahavira."

31. "The preservation of pedigrees and successions has evidently been a national characteristic for very many centuries. And we cannot doubt that considerable attention was paid to the matter in connection with the royal families and that Vamsavalis or Rajavalis, lists of the lineal successions of kings, were compiled and kept from very early times. We distinctly recognise the use of such VAMSAVALIS,—giving the relationships and successions of kings, but no chronological details beyond the record of the total duration of each reign with occasionally a coronation-date recorded in an era,—in the copper-plate records. We trace them, for instance, in the introductory passages of the grants of the Eastern Chalukya Series¹ which, from the period A.D. 918 to 925 onwards, name the successive kings beginning with the founder of

1. See *SII*, I 35, *HI*, V. 181.

the line who reigned three centuries before that time, but do not put forward more than the length of the reign of each of them, and, from certain differences in the figures for some of the reigns, we recognise that there were varying recensions of those VAMSAVALIS. We trace the use of the VAMSAVALIS again in the similar records of the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga, which, from A.D. 1058 onwards,¹ give the same details about the kings of that line with effect from about A.D. 990, and one of which, issued A.D. 1296,² includes a coronation-date of A.D. 1141 or 1142. There has been brought to light from Nepal a long VAMSAVALI, which purports to give an unbroken list of the rulers of that country, with the lengths of their reigns and an occasional landmark in the shape of the date of an accession stated in an era, back from A.D. 1768 to even so fabulous an antiquity as six or seven centuries before the commencement of the Kali age in B.C. 3102."

32 In his *Rājataranginī*,³ KALHANA mentions certain previous writers,—“Suvrata, whose work, he says, was made difficult by misplaced learning, Kshemendra who drew up a list of kings, of which, however, he says, no part is free from mistakes, Nilamuni, who wrote the *NILAMATA-PURANA*, Helaraja, who composed a list of kings in twelve thousand verses, and Srimihira or Padmamihira, and the author of the *SRICHCHAVILLA*. His own work, he tells us, was based on eleven collections of *RAJAKATHAS* or stories about kings and on the work of Nilamuni."

"*Tamrasasana*, or "copper-chapters" consist sometimes of a single plate, but more usually of several plates strung together on a large signet-ring which bears generally the seal of the authority who issued the particular chapter. The stone records usually describe themselves by the name of *Silasasana*, 'Stone-chapters,' *Sila-lekha*, 'Stone-writings,' or *Prasasti*, 'Eulogies,' They are found on rocks, on religious columns such as those which bear some of the edicts of

1 *EI*, IV 188

2 *JASB*, LXV 229,

3 Kalhana made use of

(i) *प्रतिष्ठाशान*, edicts—inscriptions regarding the creation or consecration of temples etc

(ii) *वस्तुशान*, edicts—inscription recording grants, chiefly of grants and allowances annexed on copper plates

(iii) *प्रशस्तिपट्ट*, tables containing laudatory inscriptions or praises

(iv) *शास्त्र*, works on various sciences

Priyadasī and others which were set up in front of temples as "flag-staffs" of the Gods, on battle-columns or columns of victory such as the two at Mandasor, on the walls and beams and pillars of caves and temples, on the pedestals of images, and on slabs built into the walls of temples or set up in the courtyards of temples or in conspicuous places in village-sites or fields. And they are often accompanied by sculptures which give the seal of the authority issuing the record, or mark its sectarian nature, or illustrate some scene referred to in it."

33 The Chronology of Classical Sanskrit Literature starts with Mahabhārata war and Kaliyuga. Kaliyuga commenced on 18th February 3102 B C, just on the day on which Śrī Kṛṣṇa departed to his divine abode. The Kuru-Pāṇḍava war was fought 37 years before Kali, that is in 3139 B C. Onwards from the commencement of Kaliyuga, Purāṇas contain accounts of various kingdoms that flourished from time to time and successive dynasties that ruled and fell during the course of about 35 centuries. To an impartial observer the tenor of these accounts warrants their accuracy and to the mind of the Hindus—the Hindus of those bygone ages, when scepticism had not called tradition superstition—life here is evanescent and life's endeavour must be the attainment of beatitude eternal. Ancient sages (ṛṣis) perceived the divine hymns of the Vedas and passed them on for the edification of posterity. Since the advent of Kali, a prospective crop of vice and folly was predicated and to wean the erring world from such sin and misery, Vyāsa formulated Purāṇas, with the object of Vedopabṛhmaṇa वेदोप ब्राह्मण, that is, supplemented the exposition of Vedic teachings, and that in the garb of a language and narrative that would be easily assimilated by the masses. To such philosophical minds, the rise and fall of kings and kingdoms was not worth remembrance, save as another realistic means of illustrating the tenets of philosophy, e.g., the truth of the divine essence, Brahman, the unreality of sensual pleasures, the liberation of individual soul and the attainment of eternity in beatitude or oneness with the Spirit Divine and above all the inevitable occurrence of God's mandates shortly termed Destiny or otherwise called Kāla or Niyatā.

If this is the object of Puranic literature, it is a sacrilege to charge the author or authors of them, whoever it was, with having fabricated scriptural testimony for attributing an antiquity to Indian literature and Indian civilization, which it did not possess, for even if they had been, as many orientalists have said, made up late after the Christian era,

the authors could not have anticipated this method of study of political history of the 18th and 19th centuries A D The Purāṇic lists of dynasties of kings and kingdoms furnish details of dates to an extent that even in days of historical records may be surprising, for they mention even months and days in their computation Whatever those ancient authors did or wrote, they did it with sincerity and accuracy, 'truth' being the basis of accuracy Our educational institutions are saturated with the teachings of modern scholars on the untruth of these Purāṇic accounts, but it is still hoped that time will come when truth will triumph and display a real orientation of ancient Indian History¹

34 Of the several kingdoms and dynasties of which Purāṇas have recorded political history, there is the kingdom of Magadha For our present purposes of sifting and settling the chronology of India up to the Christian era the history of Magadha is particularly relevant, for it is at Magadha, 'Chandragupta' and 'Asoka' ruled and it is on these names that the modern computation of dates has been based for everything relating to India's literary history and it is those two names that make the heroes of the theory of *Anchor Sheet of Indian Chronology*

35 The Kingdom of Magadha was founded by Bṛhadratha, son of Upanicara Vasu, the 6th in descent from Kuru, of the Candra Vamśa. That happened 161 years before Mahābhārata war Tenth in descent from Bṛhadratha was, Jarāsandha Jarāsandha perished at the hand of Kamsa and in his place Sahadeva was installed on the throne. Sahadeva was an ally of Pāṇḍavas and was killed in the war, that is in 3139 B C. His son Marjāri (or Somādhi or Somavrit) was his successor and the first king of Magadha after the war From him 22 kings of this Bārhadraṭha dynasty ruled over Magadha for 1006 years, or roughly stated, for 1000 years²

For instance, Maṭṣya Purāṇa says '—

द्वाविंशतिरुपा द्वेते सवितारो बृहद्रथाः ।

पूर्णं वर्षसहस्रं तु तेषां राज्यं सविष्यति ॥ 169, 30

Ripuñjaya was the last king of this dynasty He was assassinated

1 F E. Pargiter has given an admirable summary of *Early Indian Traditional History* as recorded in Puranas in *JRAS* (1914) 267 et seq

2 See K P Jayasval, *Bṛhadratha Chronology*, *JBORS*, IV 1, Sitanath Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India*, Calcutta, Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, *Political History of India from the accession of Parikshit to the extinction of the Gupta dynasty*, Calcutta

by Pulaka and Pulaka succeeded to the throne His son was Pradyōṭa or Balaka Thus came the PRADYOTA or BALAKA DYNASTY in 2133 B.C.

Thus Maṭṣya Purāṇa says —

बृहद्रथेष्वतीतेषु वीतिहोत्रेष्ववन्तिषु ।
पुलकं खामिनं हत्वा स्वपुत्रमभिषेक्ष्यति ॥ १ ॥
मिषता क्षत्रियाणान्तु बालकं पुलकोद्भव ।
स वै प्रणतसामन्तो भविष्यो नयवर्जित ॥ २ ॥

“When the Bārhadhrathas, the Vitiḥōtras and the Avanṭins have passed away, Pulaka after killing his master (King Ripuñjaya) will instal his son Bālaka as King Bālaka, the son of Pulaka, will, in the very sight of the Kshatṛiyas of his time, subjugate these neighbouring kings by force and will be devoid of royal policy”

36 Instead of crowning himself as king against the wishes of the people, Pulaka got the only daughter of Ripunjaya married to his son Pradyōta and installed him on the throne

There were 5 kings of this dynasty¹ and they ruled for 138 years (1995 B.C.). Viṣṇu Purāṇa says —

पञ्च प्रद्योतना इमे ।

अष्टत्रिंशोत्तरशतं मोक्षयन्ति पृथिवीं नृपा ॥—XII 11

37 Śisunāga got in by conquest or usurpation and founded ŚISUNAGA DYNASTY in 1995 B.C.² There were 10 kings of this dynasty and they ruled for 360 or 362 years i.e. 1635 B.C. Thus Vāyu Purāṇa says.—

इत्येते भवितारो वै शैशुनागा नृपा दश ।

शतानि त्रीणि वर्षाणि द्विषष्टयधिकानि तु ॥

1 Pradyōṭa (29), Bālaka (24 or 28), Viśakhayupa (50 or 33), Janaka or Suryaka or Rājaka (21 or 31), Nandīvarḍhana (20 or 80)

The periods vary according to the versions of the Purāṇas or their readings. But Maṭṣya Purāṇa makes the period 152 years

द्विपञ्चाशच्छते भुक्त्वा प्रणष्टा पञ्च ते नृपाः ।

2 Śisunāga (40), Kākavarṇa (36), Kṣemavarma (26, 20 or 36), Kṣaṭrauṇas or Kṣemajit (40 24 or 20), Viḍhisāra or Bimbisāra or Viṇḍhyasāra (28 or 38), Ajāṭśatru (37 or 26, or 82 or 52), Darśaka or Darbhaka (24), Uḍayana or Uḍayasya, or Ajaya or Uḍayabhadra (38), Nandīvarḍhana (42 or 40), Mahānandīn (43 or 63). It was Uḍayin that built the city of Kusuma on the Ganges

उदयी भविता यस्मात् त्रयस्त्रिंशत् समा नृप ।

स वै पुरवर राजा पृथिव्या कुसुमाङ्गयम् ।

गङ्गाया दक्षिणे कूले चतुर्थेऽन्दे करिष्यति ॥

Here ended the ŚISUNAGA DYNASTY in 1635 B C.

38 Mahāpadma known as Nanda was the illegitimate son of Mahānandin, the last king of that dynasty, and came to the throne. He founded the NANDA dynasty in 1635 B C. He ruled for 88 years and his sons Sumālya and seven others ruled for 12 years until 1635 B C. This dynasty lasted for 10 years¹

Viṣṇu Purāṇa says

महानन्दिस्तत शूद्रागर्भोद्भवोऽतिलुब्धोऽतिबलो महापद्मो नन्दनामा परशुराम
इवाऽपरोऽखिलक्षत्रान्तकारी भविष्यति ॥२०॥ तत प्रभृति शूद्रा भूपाला भविष्यन्ति ॥२१॥
स चैकच्छत्रमनुल्लङ्घितशासनो महापद्मः पृथिवीं भोक्ष्यति ॥ २२ ॥ तस्याऽप्यष्टौ सुता
सुमाल्याद्या भवितार ॥ २३ ॥ तस्य महापद्मस्याऽष्ट पृथिवीं भोक्ष्यन्ति ॥ २४ ॥ महापद्म-
स्तत्पुत्राश्च एक वर्षश्चत अवनीपतयो भविष्यन्ति ॥ २५ ॥ ततश्च नवैतानन्दान् कौटिल्यो
ब्राह्मण समुद्धरिष्यति ॥ २६ ॥ तेषामभावे मौर्या पृथिवीं भोक्ष्यन्ति ॥ २७ ॥ कौटिल्य
एव चन्द्रगुप्तमुत्पन्न (नन्दस्यैव भार्याया मुरासहाया सञ्जातम्—इति श्रीधरस्वामी) राज्ये-
ऽभिषेक्ष्यति ॥ २८ ॥—Amsa, IV, Ch xxiv

Bhāgavaṭa Purāṇa says

महानन्दिसुतो राजन् शूद्रागर्भोद्भवो बली ॥ ८ ॥
महापद्मपति कश्चिन्नन्द क्षत्रविनाशकृत् ।
ततो नृपा भविष्यन्ति शूद्रप्रायास्त्वधार्मिका ॥ ९ ॥
स एकच्छत्रां पृथिवीमनुल्लङ्घितशासन ।
शासिष्यति महापद्मो द्वितीय इव भार्गवः ॥ १० ॥
तस्य चाऽष्टौ भविष्यन्ति सुमाल्यप्रसूता सुता ।
य इमां भोक्ष्यन्ति महीं राजान स्म शत समा ॥ ११ ॥
नव नन्दान् द्विज कश्चित्प्रपन्नालुद्धरिष्यति ।
तेषामभावे जगतीं मौर्या भोक्ष्यन्ति वै कलौ ॥ १२ ॥
स एव चन्द्रगुप्त वै द्विजो राज्येऽभिषेक्ष्यति ।
तत्सुतो वारिसारस्तु ततश्चाऽष्टोऽकवर्धन ॥ ३ ॥

—Skandha XII Ch ii

Vāyu Purāṇa says

महानन्दिसुतश्चाऽपि शूद्रायां कालसंवृत ।
उत्पत्स्यते महापद्म सर्वक्षत्रान्तको नृप ॥ ३२६ ॥

1 See K. P. Jayswal, *Saisunaga and Maurya Chronology*, JBORS, I, i.

तत प्रभृति राजानो भविष्या शूद्रयोनय ।
 एकराट् स महापद्मो एकच्छत्रो भविष्यति ॥ ३२७ ॥
 अष्टाशीति तु वर्षाणि पृथिवीं पालयिष्यति ।
 सर्वक्षत्रमथोद्धृत्य भाविनोऽर्थस्य वै बलात् ॥ ३२८ ॥
 सहस्र तत्सुता द्यष्टौ समा द्वादश ते नृपा ।
 महापद्मस्य पर्याये भविष्यन्ति नृपा क्रमात् ॥ ३२९ ॥
 उद्धरिष्यति तान् सर्वान् कौटिल्यो वै द्विजर्षभ ।
 भुक्त्वा महीं वर्षशत नन्देभ्यः स भविष्यति ॥ ३३० ॥
 चन्द्रगुप्त नृप राज्ये कौटिल्यः स्थापयिष्यति ।
 क्षत्रुर्विचत् समा राजा चन्द्रगुप्तो भविष्यति ॥ ३३१ ॥

—Chapter XCIX,

Maṭṣya Purāṇa Says —

महानन्दिस्तथाऽपि शूद्रायां कलिकाशज ॥ १८ ॥
 उत्पत्स्यते महापद्मः सर्वक्षत्रान्तको नृप ।
 ततः प्रभृति राजानो भविष्या शूद्रयोनय ॥ १९ ॥
 एकराट् स महापद्मः एकच्छत्रो भविष्यति ।
 अष्टाशीति स वर्षाणि पृथिवीं पालयिष्यति ॥ २० ॥
 सर्वक्षत्रमथोत्साद्य भाविनाऽर्थेन चोदितः ।
 सुमाख्यादिमुता द्यष्टौ समा द्वादश ते नृपाः ॥ २१ ॥
 महापद्मस्य पर्याये भविष्यन्ति नृपा क्रमात् ।
 उद्धरिष्यति कौटिल्यः समैद्वादशभिस्तु तान् ॥ २२ ॥
 कौटिल्यश्चन्द्रगुप्तः स ततो राष्ट्रेऽभिविष्यति ।
 भुक्त्वा महीं वर्षशत ततो मौर्यान् गमिष्यति ॥ २३ ॥

—Chapter CCLXX.

Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa gives the following account —

महानन्दिस्तथाऽपि शूद्रायां कालसवृतः ।
 उत्पत्स्यते महापद्मः सर्वक्षत्रान्तकृन् नृपः ॥ १३९ ॥
 ततः प्रभृति राजानो भविष्या शूद्रयोनयः ।
 एकराट् स महापद्मः एकच्छत्रो भविष्यति ॥ १४० ॥
 अष्टाशीति तु वर्षाणि पृथिवीं पालयिष्यति ।
 सर्वक्षत्रं समुद्धृत्य भाविनोऽर्थस्य वै बलात् ॥ १४२ ॥

तत्पश्चात् तत्सुता द्वाष्टौ समा द्वादश ते नृपा ।
 महापद्मस्य पर्याये भविष्यन्ति नृपा क्रमात् ॥ १३२ ॥
 उद्धरिष्यति तान् सर्वान् कौटिल्यो वै द्विजर्षभ ।
 भुक्त्वा महीं वर्षशतं नरेन्द्र स भविष्यति ॥ १४३ ॥
 चन्द्रगुप्त नृप राज्ये कौटिल्य स्थापयिष्यति ।
 चतुर्विंशत् समा राजा चन्द्रगुप्तो भविष्यति ॥ १४४ ॥
 —Updghāta, Ch LXXIV

The following is the description of the Nanda Dynasty as given in the Kaliyuga Rājavṛttānta —

महानन्देश्च शूद्राया महिष्या कलिचोदित ।
 उत्पत्स्यते महापद्मो धननन्द इति श्रुत ॥
 अतिलुब्धोऽप्यतिबलो सर्वक्षत्रान्तकृन्तृप ।
 ऐक्ष्वाकवांश्च पाञ्चालान् कौरव्याश्चैव हैहयान् ॥
 कालकानेकलिङ्गाश्च शूरसेनाश्च मैथिलान् ।
 जित्वा चाज्याश्च भूपालान् द्वितीय इव भार्गव ॥
 एकराट् स महापद्म एकच्छत्रो भविष्यति ।
 स कृत्स्नामेव पृथिवीमनुल्लुचितशासन ॥
 शासिष्यति महापद्मो मध्ये विन्ध्यहिमागयो ।
 ततः परं भविष्यन्ति शूद्रप्राया नृपा कलौ ॥
 अष्टाशीति तु वर्षाणि पृथिवीं पालयिष्यति ।
 स वै प्रणतसामन्तो महापद्मो महाबल ॥
 तस्य चाऽष्टौ भविष्यन्ति सुमाख्यप्रमुखा सुता ।
 शासिष्यन्ति समाहृत्य समा द्वादश ते नृपा ॥
 महापद्मश्च तत्पुत्रा नव नन्दा इति श्रुता ।
 भुक्त्वा महीं वर्षशतं क्षय यास्यन्ति ते नृपा ॥
 उद्धरिष्यति तान् सर्वान् चाणक्याख्यो द्विजोत्तम ।
 चन्द्रगुप्त स तद्राज्ये कौटिल्य स्थापयिष्यति ॥

—Bhāga, III, Ch 11

39 “It will be clear from these numerous extracts quoted in full from the various important Purāṇas, which are practically identical with one another, that the Founder of this Dynasty was Mahāpadma well

known otherwise as Dhana Nanda, that he was the son of Mahānandin, the last of the Śaisunāga Dynasty, that he was born to that king from a Śūdra wife, that he was most avaricious and powerful, that he extirpated the Kshatriya rulers of his time like a second Parasurāma the destroyer of the Kshatriyas in the olden times, that he subjugated the different lines of Kings of the Solar and Lunar dynasties who began to rule in the various parts of Northern India from the time of the Mahābhārata War commencing from the Coronation of Yudhiṣṭhira in the year 3139 B.C., that he became a paramount King and Emperor of the whole of India between the Himalaya and the Vindhya mountains by putting an end to the ancient families of Kings, such as Aikshvākus, Pāṇchālas, Kauravyas, Haihayas, Kālakas, Ekalingas, Śūrasēnas, Maithilas etc., who ceased to rule as separate dynasties ever since that time, that he ruled the kingdom under one umbrella for a period of 88 years, that his 8 sons jointly ruled the kingdom for a short period of 12 years, that these Nine Nandas, including the father and his eight sons ruled Magadha altogether for a total period of 100 years from 1635 to 1535 B.C., that these Nandas were extirpated by the Brāhman Chāṇakya, well known as Kautilya, on account of his crooked and Machiavelian policy, and that he replaced his protegee Chandragupta, an illegitimate son of Mahāpadma Nanda by his Śūdrā wife Murā on the throne of his father "

But Vincent A Smith chooses to assign to these nine Nandas a total period of only 45 years for their reigns

40 Candragupta came to the throne as the son of Murā; so he was a Maurya and the dynasty which he started was Maurya dynasty. Candragupta's son was Bindusāra and Bindusāra's son was Asoka or Asokavarṇhana. An old grantha manuscript of Maṭṣya Purāṇa gives this account

चतुर्विंशत् सभा राजा चन्द्रगुप्तो भविष्यति ।
 अष्टाविंशतिवर्षाणि मद्रसारस्तु तत्सुतः ॥ २४ ॥
 षट्त्रिंशत्सु महाराजो भविताऽशोक एव च ।
 तस्य पुत्रः कुनालस्तु वर्षाण्यष्टौ भविष्यति ॥ २५ ॥
 कुनालसुतुरष्टौ च भोक्ता दशरथस्ततः ।
 सप्तानां दशवर्षाणि तत्सुतश्चेन्द्रपालितः ॥ २६ ॥
 भविता चाऽष्टवर्षाणि तत्सुतो हर्षवर्धनः ।
 भविता नव वर्षाणि तस्य पुत्रस्तु सम्भतिः ॥ २७ ॥

INTRODUCTION

त्रयोदश हि वर्षाणि शालिशूको भविष्यति ।
 भविता सप्तवर्षाणि सोमश्मर्मा नराधिप ॥ २८ ॥
 भविता शतधन्वा तु नव वर्षाणि तत्सुतः ।
 बृहद्रथस्तु वर्षाणि तस्य पुत्रोऽथ सप्ततिः ॥ २९ ॥
 इत्यते दश च द्वे च ये भोक्ष्यन्ति वसुन्धराम् ।
 शतानि त्रीणि वर्षाणि तेभ्य शृङ्गान् गमिष्यति ॥ ३० ॥

This version of the Matsya Purāṇa tolerably agrees with that given in the Kaliyuga Rājavṛttānta —

चन्द्रगुप्ततो मौर्यश्चाणक्येनाऽभिरक्षित ।
 चतुस्त्रिंशत् समा राज्य करिष्यति सुधार्मिक ॥
 अष्टाविंशतिवर्षाणि बिन्दुसारो भविष्यति ।
 षट्त्रिंशत् ततो राजा भविताऽशोकवर्धन ॥
 सुपार्श्वस्तत्सुतश्चाथ वर्षाण्यष्टौ भविष्यति ।
 अष्टौ वर्षाणि तत्पुत्रो मोक्ता वै बन्धुपालित ॥
 बन्धुपालितदायादो सप्ततिं चेन्द्रपालित ।
 भविता नव वर्षाणि तस्य पुत्रस्तु सङ्गत ॥
 त्रयोदश समा राज्य शालिशूकः करिष्यति ।
 भविता सप्तवर्षाणि देवधर्मा नरर्षभ ॥
 ततः शतधनू राजा भविताऽष्टौ समा सुवि ।
 बृहद्रथस्तु तत्पुत्रो जरासन्ध इवाऽपर ॥
 क्षत्रियानखिलान् जित्वा महाराजो भविष्यति ।
 अष्टाशीतिं तु वर्षाणि स राष्ट्रं पालयिष्यति ॥
 द्वादशैते नृपा मौर्योश्चन्द्रगुप्तादयो महीम् ।
 शतानि त्रीणि भोक्ष्यन्ति दश षट् च समा कलौ ॥

—Bhāga III, Chapter 11

Thus Candragupta reigned from 1535 to 1501 B.C. for 34 years, Bindusāra from 1501 to 1473 for 28 years and Asoka from 1473 to 1437 B.C. for 36 years. And in all there were twelve Kings of Maurya dynasty, the last of whom was Bhadrathā¹

1 Candragupta, Bindusāra or Bhadrāsāra or Nandasāra or Vāsāsāra (28 or 25), Aśoka or Aśokavarḍhana (36 or 37), Suyāśas or Supārśva or Kunāla or Kuśala (8), Dasāratha or Bandhupālīṭha (8 or 10), (6) Indrapālīṭha (7 or 10), Harṣa or Harṣavar dhana (8), (8) Saṅgaṭha or Sammati or Samraṭi (9), Śāliśūka (13), Somaśarman or Devaḍharman or Devavarman or Dāsavarman (7), Śīṣāḍhanvan or Śīṣāḍhara (8 or 9), Brhadraṭha or Brhadāśva (37 or 70 or 71)

Regarding this dynasty the readings and versions of the Purāṇas are hopelessly confused and incorrect but the passages quoted, of which the authenticity is doubtless, show that the MAURYA DYNASTY lasted for 316 years from 1535 to 1219 B C

41 Pusyamitra was the commander-in-chief of Bṛhadratha. He removed his master and ascended the throne. Thus he started the SUNGA DYNASTY. According to Matsya Purāṇa, there were ten kings of this dynasty who ruled in all for 30 years from 1219 B C to 919 B C. Kalyuga Rājavṛttānta says

पुष्यमित्रस्य सेनानीर्महाबलपराक्रम ।
 अतीव बृद्ध राजानं समुद्धृत्य बृहद्रथम् ॥
 स वै प्रणतसामन्तो युधिष्ठिर इवाऽपर ।
 पालयिष्यति धर्मेण समा. षष्टिं महीभिः ॥
 तस्य पुत्रोऽग्निमित्रस्तु भोक्ता पञ्चाशत समा. ।
 तत्सुतो वसुमित्रश्च यवनारिर्महाबल ॥
 षट्त्रिंशत्तु समा राज्यं कारयिष्यति वै कलौ ।
 भविता चाऽपि सुज्येष्ठस्तत्सुतो दश सप्त च ॥
 तत्सुतो भद्रकश्चाऽपि त्रिंशद्वर्षाणि भोक्ष्यति ।
 पुलिन्दकस्त्रयत्रिंशद्भविता मरुनन्दन ॥
 भ्रातृष्वसेयो भद्रस्य महेश्वासोऽरिमर्दन ।
 ततो घोषवसुश्चाऽपि त्रीणि वर्षाणि भोक्ष्यति ॥
 वज्रमित्रस्तु चैकोनत्रिंशत भविता समा. ।
 द्वात्रिंशद्भविता चापि समा भागवतो नृप ॥
 भविता तु सुतस्तस्य देवहूति. समा दश ।
 योऽयं राजा देवहूतिराबाल्यात् कामतत्पर ।
 निवेश्य राज्यमार खासाखवर्ये द्विजोत्तमे ॥
 विहाय पाटलीपुत्रं विदिशायां सुखास्थित. ।
 अन्यायेन पुरस्त्रीमिर्विहर्तुमुपचक्रमे ॥
 कामिनीमाननीयोऽभूत् व्याघ्रवदन्यप्रकर्षकृत् ।
 तं प्रजा नान्वमोदन्त शुक्लसूयसोहरम् ॥
 अश्वैर्युतैश्च कितवैर्वृत्तो नर्तकशायनै ।
 सुरामसाशनो भक्तो वारस्त्रीसङ्गलालस ॥

स चैकदा विटै श्रुत्वा वसुदेवस्य मान्त्रिण ।
 सुता महारूपवतीं पद्मिनीलक्षणान्विताम् ॥
 तथा रन्तु मनश्चक्रे ब्राह्मण्या कालचोदित ।
 व्याजेन तां समानीय पत्या सार्धं स्वसन्निधौ ॥
 गूढं हत्वा निजैश्वर्यै साध्व्यास्तस्या प्रियं पतिं ।
 तद्रूपधृङ्निशि प्राप्य तस्या वासगृहं नृप ॥
 हठात्तां धर्षयामास ब्राह्मणीं वरवर्णिनीम् ।
 साऽपि ज्ञात्वाऽस्य दुर्दृष्टं प्राणान् तत्याज तत्क्षणात् ॥
 तच्छ्रुत्वा वसुदेवस्तु शोकसन्तप्तमानसः ।
 त्रिषदिग्धामलकृत्य कांचिद्भाराङ्गनां द्विजः ॥
 सप्रेम्य सर्वालङ्कारभूषितां तत्समीपत ।
 तथैव घातयामास देवद्वृत्तिं नृपाधमम् ॥
 ननन्दुश्च प्रजाः सर्वाः श्रुत्वा तस्य वधं तथा ।
 बन्निरे वसुदेव च राजानं परया मुदा ॥
 दशैते शुङ्गराजानो मोक्षयन्तीमां वसुन्धराम् ॥
 शतं पूर्णं शते द्वे च तेभ्यः कण्वान् गमिष्यति ॥

Of these kings,¹ it is noteworthy that Puṣyamitra is described by Kalidāsa in *Mālavikāgnimitra* as the conqueror of Āryāvarta and Agnimitra is mentioned by Patañjali as having performed Aśvamedha sacrifice

“Devahūti, the last king of the Sunga dynasty, having been addicted to a life of pleasure and sexual enjoyment from his boyhood, entrusted the kingdom to the care of his Brahman minister Vasudeva, and he himself retired to Vidisa, noted in those days for its dancing girls, where he began to lead a most licentious and immoral life with his voluptuary companions, corrupting the fair maidens of the city to satisfy his lust and becoming an object of hatred to his own subjects. On hearing the extraordinary beauty of the daughter of his Brahman minister Vasudeva, who has been living with her husband, he sent for them to come to Vidisa and live by his side, and on one day, after

1 The kings are — Puṣyamitra or Puṣpamitra (86 or 80), Agnimitra (50 or 78), Vasumitra (86), Sujyāṣṭha (17 or 7), Bhadraka or Anjaka or Andhraka or Udanka (10 or 80 or 2), Pulindaka or Pulinda (3 or 33), Ghoṣasasa or Ghoṣa (3), Vajramitra (29, 14 or 7), Bhāgavata (32), Devabhūti or Devahūti or Kṣemabhumi (10).

secretly disposing of her husband, the king seduced her in the disguise of her husband, and the poor girl who was most true and devoted to her husband, coming to know of the treachery practised by the king, at once gave up her life. On hearing the sad news of the fate of his fair daughter and of her innocent husband, Vasudeva contrived to send to the king a dancing woman, fully furnished with poison, dressed as one of the chief queens and had him killed by her hand. People hailed the death of their licentious king with joy, and made Vasudeva his upright minister, to take charge of the kingdom and rule the country henceforth with Pātaliputra as its capital."

42. Vasudeva of the race of Kanva Maharṣi thus came to the throne of Magadha and started the KANVA DYNASTY. There were four kings in all and they ruled for 85 years from 919 to 834 B C¹

Thus Kaliyuga Rājavṛttānta says

एव स लोकविद्विष्ट देवहूति रहो निशि ।
 विषकन्यकया हत्वा वसुदेवो द्विजोत्तमः ॥
 मविष्यति समाश्लिषन्नव काण्वायनो नृप ।
 भूमिमित्रस्ततो भोक्ता चतुर्विंशतिवत्सरान् ॥
 मविता द्वादश समास्ततो नारायणो नृप ।
 मुच्यते तत्सुतश्चापि मविष्यति समा दश ॥
 चत्वार एते भूपाला कण्वगोत्रसमुद्भवाः ।
 धर्मेण मोक्ष्यन्ति महीं पञ्चाशीतिन्तु वत्सरान् ॥
 सेनाध्यक्षस्तु काण्वानां शातवाहनवशजः ।
 सिंहकक्षातिकर्णस्थः शिपुर्को वृषलो बली ॥
 समानीते प्रतिष्ठानादान्ध्रवंश्यैः खसैनिकैः ।
 काण्वायन मुच्यमाण निहत्य स्वामिन निजम् ॥
 शुङ्गानां चैव यच्छेष क्षपयित्वा तदप्यसौ ।
 आन्ध्रवशप्रतिष्ठाता मविष्यति ततो नृपः ॥

43. The last two kings of Kanva dynasty were puppets in the hands of the commander-in-chief, Simhaka Svāṭkarna. He slew the last king Suśarmā and ascended the throne of Magadha. He traced his lineage to King Śātavahana of Prāṣṭhāna and his dynasty was there-

1 Vasudeva (89 or 9 or 5), Bhūmimītra or Bhūmītra (14, 24 or 34), Nārāyaṇa (12), Suśarma (10 or 4)

fore called ANDHRAVAMSA There were 32 kings of this dynasty who ruled for 506 years from 834 to 328 B C The last of the kings was Puloman III¹ The Kaliyuga Rājavṛttānta gives the account

44 In SRI GUPTA DYNASTY there were seven kings and they ruled for 245 years from 328 to 83 B C²

The Kaliyuga Rājavṛttānta given this account

धिमुक् शतकर्णिस्तु यमाहुर्बलिन जना ।
 मोक्षयन्महर्षी राजा त्रयोविंशतिवत्सरान् ॥
 कृष्णश्रीशतकर्णिस्तु त्राता चाज्य महायशा ।
 अष्टादश समा राजा कण्वाख्येन भविष्यति ॥
 श्रीमह्मशतकर्णिस्तु ततो भावी समा दश ।
 पूर्णोत्सङ्गस्तु भविता वर्षाण्यष्टादशैव हि ॥
 श्रीशतकर्णिर्भविता समा. पञ्चाशत च षट् ।
 स्कन्धस्तम्भी ततो राजा समा ह्यष्टादशैव तु ॥
 दश चाष्टौ समा राजा भोक्ता लम्बोदरो महौम् ।
 अपीतको दश द्वे च तस्य पुत्रो भविष्यति ॥
 मेघस्तातिस्ततो भावि वर्षाण्यष्टादशैव च ।
 शतस्तातिस्ततो राजा समा ह्यष्टादशैव हि ॥
 श्रीस्कन्दशतकर्णिस्तु सप्तैव भविता समा ।
 मृगेन्द्रशतकर्णिश्च त्रीणि वर्षाणि मोक्षयति ॥
 कुन्तल शतकर्णिस्तु भविताष्टौ समा नृप ।
 तथा सौम्य शतकर्णिर्भविता द्वादशैव तु ॥

1 Simhaka Śrī Śaṭakarnī or Śomuka (28), Kṛṣṇa (18), Śrīmalla (10, 18 or 56), Purjotsanga (18), Śrīśaṭakarnī (56 or 40), Skandhaśaṭambhin (18), Lambodara (18), Apīṭaka or Apīlaka or Vikāla (12), Meghasvāṭī or Sanghasvāṭī or Sauḍhāsa (18), Śaṭasvāṭī or Svāṭī (18), Skandhasvāṭīkarra or Skandhasaṭakarnī (7), Mṛgendra (8), Kuṇṭala (8), Saumya or Puṣpasena (12), Śāṭa or Svāṭīkarṇa (1), Puloma or Pulomāvi (36 or 24); Megha or Meghasvāṭī (88), Aṛiṣṭa (25), Hāla (8), Maṇḍalaka or Bhāvaka or Pulaka or Tulaka (5), Purindrasena or Purikasena or Pulindhasena or Pravilla (1); Oakora (6 months), Mahendra (8 months or 8 years), Śiva or Śivasvāṭī (28), Gauṭami-puṭra (51 or 25), Puloman II (32 or 28), Śivaśrī (7), Śivaskandha (7), Yagnaśrī (19), Vijayaśrī (6), Candrasrī (8), Puloman III (7) See para 198 post

2 Candragupta I or Vijayāditya (7), Samudragupta or Aśokaḍḍitya (51), Candragupta II, Vikramāditya (38 or 36), Kumāragupta (42), Skandagupta (25), Naraśimha-gupta (40), Kumāragupta II (44)

एक सवत्सर शातः शात कर्णिविष्यति ।
 पुलोमशातकर्णिश्च षट्त्रिंशद्भविता समाः ॥
 अष्टाविंशत् समा मेघशातकर्णि भविष्यति ।
 अरिष्टशातकर्णिश्च पञ्चविंशतिवत्सरान् ॥
 यमेवाऽऽहु नैमिकृष्णमितिहासविचक्षणाः ।
 ततो हालो महाभागः कविकल्पामरद्रुम ॥
 शासिष्यति महीं पञ्च वर्षाणि सुमहायशाः ।
 ततो मण्डलको राजा भविता पञ्च वै समा ॥
 पुरीन्द्रसेनो भविता समाः सोऽप्येकविंशतिम् ।
 सुन्दरः शातकर्णिस्तु वर्षमेक भविष्यति ॥
 चकोरशातकर्णिश्च षण्मासान् भोक्ष्यते महीम् ।
 वाशिष्ठीपुत्रनाम्ना यः प्रख्यातिं भुवि यास्यति ॥
 महेन्द्रशातकर्णिस्तु त्रीन् मासान् भोक्ष्यते ततः ।
 अष्टाविंशति वर्षाणि शकसेनो भविष्यति ।
 यमाहुर्माढरीपुत्रं शिवस्माति महाजनाः ॥
 श्रीशातकर्णिर्भविता पञ्चविंशतिवत्सरान् ।
 गौतमीपुत्रनाम्ना तु यो वै ख्यातिं गमिष्यति ॥
 पुलोमश्रीशातकर्णि द्वौत्रिंशद्भविता समाः ।
 वाशिष्ठीपुत्रनाम्ना तु शास्त्रेषु य उच्यते ॥
 शिवश्रीशातकर्णिश्च तस्य भ्राता महामतिः ।
 भविष्यति समा राजा ससैव हि कलौ युगे ॥
 शिवस्कन्दः शातकर्णिस्तिष्ठो भावी ततः समाः ॥
 यज्ञश्रीशातकर्णिश्च गौतमीपुत्रनामकः ।
 एकोनविंशति राजा भविष्यति समा भुवि ॥
 विजयश्रीशातकर्णिः षडेव भविता समाः ।
 चन्द्रश्रीशातकर्णिस्तु त्रीणि वर्षाणि भोक्ष्यति ।
 वाशिष्ठीपुत्रनाम्ना तु ख्यातो यश्च भविष्यति ॥
 पुलोमाऽपि तथा चाऽन्यः समाः सप्त भविष्यति
 घटोत्कचस्य पुत्रेण चन्द्रगुप्तेन पालितः ॥

एते द्वात्रिंशदान्ध्रास्तु भोक्ष्यन्ति वसुधामिमाम् ।
 शतानि पञ्च पूर्णानि तेषां राज्यं भविष्यति ॥
 तेषां तु संस्थिते राज्ये भूमिर्गुप्तान् गमिष्यति ।
 श्रीपार्वतीयान्ध्रभृत्या इत्याख्यां यान्ति ये नृपाः ॥
 अन्ध्राणामेव काले तु बहवो म्लेच्छवंशजाः ।
 सिन्धु र्तातर्वा ऽभियास्यन्ति मारतश्रीजिघृक्षया ॥
 सप्तषष्टिं समा भाव्या दशाऽऽसीरा महर्जसः ।
 द्विसप्ततिं गर्दमिनः सप्तैवाऽसुरयोनयः ॥
 शतानि त्रीण्यशीति च शकास्त्वष्टादशैव तु ।
 सप्ताशीतिं समा ह्यष्टौ मोक्तारो यवना महीम् ॥
 शतानि त्रीणि भोक्ष्यन्तिद्रूणा श्वैकादशाऽथ वै ।
 त्रयोदश भविष्यन्ति मरुण्डा द्वे शते समाः ॥
 पञ्चवर्षशतानीह तुषाराख्याश्चतुर्दश ।
 पार्थिवैर्वृषलैः सार्धं भविष्यन्ति विदेशजाः ॥
 तैरेव साकं गुप्तानां राज्यं सर्वं विनङ्क्ष्यति ।
 ततः प्रभृति भूरेषा म्लेच्छक्रान्ता भविष्यति ॥

Thus, these 32 kings of the Āndhra Dynasty reigned for a total period of 506 years, although in summing up their total period of reigns, it states in round figures that they ruled for full 500 years (instead of 506 years); and their kingdom passed into the hands of Candragupta, son of Ghaṭōkaca Guṇṭa and grandson of Śrī Guṇṭa, who appears to have come from Śrī Parvata or Nepāl and originally entered the service of Vājayaśrī Śāṭakarṣi as one of his generals and with whose help he managed to maintain his tottering kingdom,

45 Before proceeding to consider the merits of Purāṇic history as reviewed by orientalists a brief statement of the cosmogonic and political calculations of time adopted in India may be useful

“According to the Purāṇas, 360 lunar Samvatsaras or human years constitute one divine year, Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali—a cycle of these four Yugas and their Sandhyās and Sandhyāmsas, consisting of 12000 divine years or 4,320,000 human years, constitutes one Mahayuga 1000 Mahāyugas constitute one Day of Brahmā or one Kalpa. An equal period of time (viz, $1000 \times 4,320,000 = 4,320,000,000$ human years) is also reckoned as one Night of Brahmā 30 such days and nights make a month of Brahmā, and 12 such months his year, and 100 such years make the full period of Brahmā's life The two halves of Brahmā's age are respectively called Pūrva-Parārdha and Uttara-Parārdha The 1st or the Prathama-Parārdha has expired, the second or the Dvītya-Parārdha has commenced with our present or Varāha-Kalpa At the *beginning* of the first Parārdha was Brāhma-Kalpa, when Brahmā or the present Kosmos was born At the *end* of the first Parārdha was Pādma-Kalpa, when the Lōka-Padma (the Lotus of Lōkas) appeared at the navel of Hari The first Kalpa of the Dvītya-Parārdha which is the present Kalpa is called Varāha Kalpa, when Hari incarnated as Varaha or the Wonderful Boar We are now in the 1st day of the fifty-first year of Brahmadeva, called Sveta, and each of the days of the month of Brahmā bore a different name, like (1) Śveta, (2) Nīllohita, (3) Vāmadeva, (4) Rathantara, (5) Raurava, and so on So the present Kalpa called the “Śveta-Varāha-Kalpa” forms the 18001st Kalpa of the Brahmā, a day and night of Brahma being calculated *here* as one Kalpa

14 Manus reign during the day of Brahmā, each Manu reigning for $71\frac{3}{4}$ Mahāyugas Each Manvantara, therefore, consists of 857, 142½ divine years or 337, 142, 657½ human or lunar years With every day and night the age of Brahmā declines The present Manvantara is the seventh Manvantara of Varāha-Kalpa, the first six Manvantaras having already elapsed The first six Manvantaras are known after the name of the respective Manus, as (1) Svāyambhuva, (2) Svārōchisha, (3) Auttama, (4) Tāmasa, (5) Raivata and (6) Chākshusha, and the present or the seventh Manvantara is called Varvasvata Manvantara. The present Kali-Yuga is the fourth or the last quarter of the 28th Mahāyuga of this Varvasvata Manvantara, and 5018 years of this Kali Yuga have expired by the 13th day of April 1917,”

Kali-Yuga, begins from the year 3102 B C., the year 1, expired or completed, being 3101 B C. The four Yugas, or Ages, which comprise one Mahāyuga, have the following periods —

Kṛta-Yuga	...	1,728,000	360	4800 years of Gods.
Tretā-Yuga	.	1,296,000	360	3600 "
Dwāpara-Yuga	..	864,000	360	2400 "
Kali-Yuga	.	432,000	360	1200 "

One Mahā-Yuga .. 4,320,000 360 12000 years of Gods

The Kali Age is said to embrace Six Śakas. Thus it is said in Pancānga-Saraṇi —

अस्मिन् कलियुगे षट्शका वर्तन्ते—

युधिष्ठिरो विक्रम-शालिवाहनौ ततो नृपस्याद्विजयामिनन्दन !
ततस्तु नागार्जुनभूपतिः कलिः कलौ युगे षट् शककालवर्धकाः ॥

एतेषां प्रमाणाब्दाः—

क्रमेण वेदाङ्गिञ्जुन्यरामा (3044)

शराभिचन्द्रा (135) खखुखाहिभूमय (1800)

ततोऽप्युत (10000) लक्षचतुष्टयं च (400000)

शशाङ्कनेत्राष्ट (821) मिताः शकाब्दाः ॥

“In the Kali-age there are six founders of eras. First there was Yudhishtira in Indraprastha, whose era lasted for 3044 years The second was Vikrama at Ujjain, whose era had run for 135 years The third was Salivahana at Pratisthana. Here the era of Yudhishtira is made the same as that of the Kaliyuga, which also dates from 3044 years before the era of Vikrama. The Yudhishtira era also is obtained by adding 3179 to the Saka year, (i e, the Saka begins with the 3180th year of the Yudhishtira era) and “by adding 3044 to the Vikrama Samvat which, in its turn, is got by adding 135 to the Saka date”

46 Vikrama or Samvat Era began in 56 B C “A Hindu legend tells us that a celebrated king Vikrama or Vikramaditya of Ujjain, in Malwa, began to reign in that year, and founded the era, which, in that view, runs from the commencement of his reign. Another version of it asserts that he died in that year, and that the reckoning runs from his

1 See T V SrinivasaiAiyangar, *The Present Kaliyuga*, JOR, III, 225.

2. See S. P L. Narasimhaswami, IA, XL 162 and B. R. Bhagwat, JRAS, XX, 150.

death It is common to both the Digambaras and the Svetambaras And the GATHAS or Prakrit verses, upon which the earlier portions of some of the Jain PATTAVALIS or successions of the pontiffs are based, pretend to put forward such details about Vikramaditya as that "for eight years he played as a child for "sixteen he roamed over the country, for fifty-six"—(? fifteen)—"he exercised rule, being given over to false doctrine, for fifty years he was devoted to the religion of the Jina and then obtained heaven," An addition to the legend connects Vikramaditya with some foreign invaders of India who were called Sakas, and this, again, appears in two versions, one version represents him as regaining the kingdom of Ujjain after the Saka kings and dispossessed his father and had reigned there for four years prior to B.C. 57, and the other, as reported by Alberuni in the eleventh century A.D.,—brings the Sakas on the scene a hundred and thirty-five years later, and asserts that Vikramaditya marched against the Saka king, and put him to flight and killed him "in the region of Karur, between Multan and the castle of Loni," and that in celebration of this, there was established the Saka era commencing A.D. 78 And another addition asserts that at the court of Vikramaditya there flourished "the Nine Gems," namely, the poet Kalidasa, the astronomer Varahamihira, the lexicographer Amarasingha, and the various authors Dhanvantari, Ghatakarpura, Kshapanaka, Sanku, Vararuchi and Vetajabhata "2

47. **Salivahana-Saka**, is "the Śaka or era of Śālivāhana," the Śaka or era of the glorious and victorious king Śālivāhana, the year of the Śaka or era established by Śālivāhana And the popular belief, in that the Śaka era was founded by a king Śālivāhana reigning in A.D. 78 at Pratiṣṭhāna, which is the present Paṭhan on the Gōdāvari, in the Nizam's territory "3

1. J. F. Fleet, *IA*, XXX. 1, *JRAS*, (1916), 809.

"See Professor Keilhorn's examination of this question in the *Int Ant* vol. 20 (1891), p. 404 ff. His earliest instance of the word *vikrama* being used in connection with the era, in a not quite clear sense, namely, in the expression *vikramākhya kālā*, "the time called *vikrama*," is one of the year 998, in A.D. 842, from an inscription at Dhulpur (p. 406 No. 10). His earliest instance of the era being plainly attributed to a king Vikrama was a literary one of the year 1050, in A.D. 998 (Ibid. No. 40) An earlier instance is known now from the Eklingji inscription, which is dated in the year 1028 of king Vikramaditya in A.D. 971. *JRAS*, vol. 22, p. 166."

2. J. F. Fleet, *JRAS* (1916), 809.

"The exact expression Śālivāhana Saka is mostly confined to dates recorded in prose. In dates in verse, other ways of introducing the name Śālivāhan were follow-

Sakakāla, Śalābda or Saka era commenced thus in 78 A.D. It is either "the Era of the Śaka king Kanishka, who conquered Kashmir and Western India in the 1st century after Christ" or the era of the defeat of the Sakas by a Hindu king

"The astronomer, Varahamihira who lived in the sixth century A.D. cited the Saka Era as the Saka Bhupa Kala or Sakendra Kala, i.e., the Era of the Saka king. His commentator explains this as the Era when the barbarians called Sakas "were discomfited by Vikramaditya. Again, the astronomer Brahmagupta, who flourished in the seventh century A.D., cites the Era as Saka Nripante, i.e., after the Saka king. His commentator explains this as after the reign of Vikramaditya, who slew a people of Barbarians called Sakas"¹

[“Manu says (Ch. X, 144-145) that the Sakas, Yavanas, Kambhojas, Paradas and Pahlavas were originally Kshatriyas, but became outcastes by neglecting their Vedic duties, etc. The Mahabharata (Adiparvan, Ch. 85) speaks of these tribes as descendants of Kshatriyas and as having taken part in the Great War between the Pandavas and Kauravas. The Ramayana of Valmiki (Balakanda, Sarga 55) mentions them among the tribes who fought during the war of Visvamitra with Vasishtha. The Gautama Dharma Sutra (Ch. IV, 21) speaks of the Sakas, Yavanas, etc., as a Pratiloma caste of the Aryas. It is stated in the Padma Purana (Svarga-khanda, Ch. 15) that the Sakas etc., were driven out by king Sagara, a descendant of Ikshvaku, to the countries beyond the borders of India, after getting their heads etc., shaved under the advice of Vasishtha, although they were Kshatriyas. The Vishnu Purana (Amsa II, Ch. 3) describes the Yavanas as living in the west, the Sakas in the north-west, the Kiratas in the east, and the four Indian castes in the middle of India during the time of the Great War. The Matsya Purana also refers to Sakas, Yavanas, etc., as degraded

ed, and the shorter form Sālivāha was sometimes used, to suit the metro. see e.g., Professor Kielhorn's List of the Inscriptions of Southern India in *Ep. Ind.* vol. 7, appendix, Nos 465, 475, 503, 519, 1004, 1005. This clipped form is also found occasionally in prose see, e.g., *Ibid.*, No 527. Compare Satavāha as the shorter form of Satavāhana.”

1 Colebrooke's Algebra, etc., from the Sanscrit, p. xlii, London

See on this era, Dutt's *Civ.* 1. 21, Fleet, *Traditional Date of Kanishka*, *JRAS*, (1906), 986, J. H. Marshall, *Date of Kanishka*, *JRAS* (1906), 192.

Aryan tribes living on the frontiers of Bharata Varsha Panini refers in his *Ashtadhyayi* (II 2-84) to Sakas and Yavanas and requires शक to be placed before यवन, and Panini even according to Western Orientalists lived long before the time of Alexander the Great The Sakas, therefore, could under no circumstances, be identified with any foreign tribes that invaded India after Alexander's time"]

48 Harsa Era of Nepal began in 457 B.C.,¹ and that is the date that is referred to in *Nepālavamsāvali*.²

Cedi or Kalacuri Era began in 249 A.D.

Hamsa Samvat or Era of Harsavardhana began in 606 A.D.³

Valabhi Era began in 319 A.D.⁴

49 Brhaspatiacakra or Jovian cycle of sixty years "The Hindu Cycle of 60 years, technically known as the *Brihaspati Chakra* or Cycle of Jupiter," begins with the year *Prabhava* and ends with the year *Kshaya* (60)

"In Northern India a year of the Jovian cycle is omitted once on an average of 85 $\frac{5}{22}$ years, or 22 in 1875 years, hence it has advanced on the southern system by 11 in about 950 years The year of the cycle in Northern India is found by multiplying the Saka year by 22 adding 4291 and dividing the sum by 1875, then adding the Saka date to the integral of the quotient, and dividing by 60, the remainder is the year of the cycle Thus, for Saka 1772 the first operation gives 23 and a remainder of 260, then $1772 + 23$ divided by 60 gives as a remainder the 55th year of the cycle or *Durmati* current If the *Kaliyuga* year is used, the usual rule is to multiply it by 1,0117, and to the integers of the product add 26 and divide the sum by 60 as before"

50. Kollam or Malabar Era began in 25th August 825 A.D. on the sun's entry into *Kanyā* according to the *Chronogram*,

आ	चा	य	वा	ग	मे	धा
0	6	1	4	3	4	1

1 See Alberuni's *India* (Sachau's Transl. II, xlix 7) and Bhagwanlal Indraji's *Nepāla-Vamsāvali* in *IA*, XIII, 411-28

2 *IA*, XLII, 207; XVII, 224, XVIII, 265.

3 *IA*, XV, 105, 138,

4. From Senapati Bhattarka. See *Mys. Arch. Rep* (1928), and *IA*, I, 45, IV, 104, 174, V, 904, 206, XV, 187 *post*. For Gupta-Valabhi Era, see *IA*, XIV, 9.

By that day 1434160 days of Kali had expired This is current in north Malayalam, but in Travancore and Cochin, the year begins on sun's entry into Simha

"The chief difference between the northern and southern systems is, that if the sun enters a sign of the zodiac during the day time, that day is reckoned in the northern calender as the first day of the month corresponding to that sign, whereas in the south the sun must have entered the sign within the first 3 of the 5 parts into which the day is divided, otherwise the day next is reckoned the first of the month "

"The ANDU year obtains in the Malayalam Country and in the Tinnevely District In the former, they are known as Kollam Andu and in the latter merely as Andu. The Andu commences in the South Malayalam Country (Travancore and Cochin) and in the Tinnevely District with Chingan (Avani), i e, on the first day of the fifth month of the Solar Calender (Tamil), and in the North-Malayalam country (British Malabar) with Kanni, i e, on the first day of the sixth month of the same Calender The Andu year is thus not synchronous with the Cyclic, Kali or Saka year Andu years would appear to have been originally reckoned in Cycles of 1,000 years each, and the second of them is stated to have expired in 825 A D However this may be, the current Cycle, which was begun in 825 A D, has now been carried beyond the limit of 1,000 years, and it may be that this was done in ignorance of the above convention, if any such had existed "

51 Chronograms. A number of devices have been adopted in Hindu Works for expressing the number of years, an expression by chronograms They were either expressed by significant words, words which denote their own number as the equivalent or by the use of letters on an algebraical formula.

"The first complete list is that given by Alberuni (A D 1031) , the following is from his list, as translated by Woepoke supplemented from Brown's "Cyclic Tables" and Inscriptions. As no limits can be placed to a fanciful practice like this, I cannot give this list as complete list.

Cipher . Sunya, kha, gagana, viyat, akasa, ambara, abhara, ananta; vyoma.

1 .. . Adi, sasin, indu, kshiti, urvara, dhara, pitamaha; chandra, sitamsu, rupa, rasmi, prithivi, bhu, tanu, soma, nayaka; vasudha; sasanka, kshma, dharani.

2 Yama , Asvin , ravichandrau , lochana , akshi , Das
yamala , paksha , netra , bahu , karna , kutumba , kara , drishti

3 Trikala , trijagat , tri , triguna , loka , trigata , paval
vaisvanara , dhana , tapana , hutasana , jvalana , agni , vahni , tri
chana , trinetra , Rama , sahodara , sikhin , guna

4 . Veda , samudra , sagara , abdhi , dadhi , dis , jalasay
krita , jalamdhi , yuga , bandhu , udadhi

5 Sara , artha , indriya , sayaka , bana , bhuta , ishu , Pa
dava , tata , ratna , prana , suta , putra , visikha , kalamba , margana.

6 Rasa , anga , ritu , masarddha , raga , ari , darsana , tark
mata , sastra.

7 . . Aga , naga , parvata , mahidhara , adri , muni , rishi , as
svara , chhandas , asva , dhatu , kalatra , saila.

8 Vasu , ahi ; gaja , dantin , mangala ; naga , bhuti , ibha
sarpa.

9. . Go ; nanda , randhra , chhidra , pavana ; antara , graha
anka ; nidhi , dvara.

10. . . Dis , asa , kondu , ravanapura ; avatara , karma

11. Rudra , svara , Mahadeva ; akshaubhini , labha.

12 Surya , arka , aditya , bhanu , masa ; vyaya.

13 Visva , Manmatha , Kamadeva.

14. . . . Manu , Loka , Indra

15. . . Tithi , pakshi ; ahan.

16 Ashtu , nrupa , bhupa , kala

17. Atyashti

18.... .. Dhriti

19... Atidhriti.

20 Nakha , kriti.

21 Utkriti , avarga.

22 Jati,

24 . . Jina

25 .. Tattva

Alberuni (1031 A D) says that numbers beyond twenty-five were
noted in this way The following, however, occur but in late docu-
ments only

27,.....Nakshatra.

32 . . . Danta, Rada

33 . Deva

40 . Tana,

The list might be made much more extensive, as it is obvious that any synonyms of any word that can be used to signify a number can be used, e g , any word signifying 'moon' besides those mentioned as equivalent to 1, may be used for the same purpose, and so with the others. The ordinary numbered words are commonly mixed with the words given above.

In making numbers of this system units are mentioned first and then the higher orders, e g , Rishinagakhendusamvatsara is year 1087 gaganasastrakhendugante samvatsara is equal to 1063, dahanadri-khendugantasamvastara is equal to 1073. It appears, however, that occasionally in recent inscriptions the words are put in the same order as the figures are written."

The algebraical formulæ are —

- i. कादिनव । क (1) । ख (2) and so on to ञ (9)
- ii. टादिनव । ट (1) । ठ (2) and so on to ढ (9)
- iii. पादिपञ्च । प (1) । फ (2) and so on to म (5)
- iv. याद्यष्टौ । य (1) । र (2) and so on to ह (8)

The order of the letters is from right to left, in conjunct letters, the last pronounced consonant only counts value and vowels have no value. Thus विष्णु mean 54 and धर्मोन्ष्ट means 1059¹.

52. Santracottus It was Sir William Jones, the Founder and President of the Society instituted in Bengal for inquiry into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences and Literature of Asia, who died on 27th April 1794, that suggested for the first time an *identification* to the notice of scholars. In his 'Tenth Anniversary Discourse' delivered by him on 28th February 1793 on "Asiatic History, Civil and Natural," referred to the so-called *discovery* by him of the identity of Candragupta, the Founder of the Maurya Dynasty of the Kings Magadha, with Sandracottus of the Greek writers of Alexander's adventures, thus

"The Jurisprudence of the Hindus and Arabs being the field, which I have chosen for my peculiar toil, you cannot expect, that I should greatly enlarge your collection of historical knowledge, but I

1. See IA, II. 361

may be able to offer you some occasional tribute, and I cannot help mentioning a *discovery* which accident threw in my way, though my proofs must be reserved for an essay, which I have destined for the fourth volume of your Transactions. To fix the situation of that Pālībothra, (for there may have been several of the name) which was visited and described by Megasthenes, had always appeared a very difficult problem, for, though it could not have been *Prayāga* where no ancient metropolis ever stood, nor *Cānyacubja* which has no epithet at all resembling the word used by the Greeks, nor *Gaur*, otherwise called *Lacshmanavati*, which all know to be a town comparatively modern, yet we could not confidently decide that it was *Pātalīputra*, though names and most circumstances nearly correspond, because that renowned capital extended from the confluence of the *Sone* and the *Ganges* to the site of Patna, while *Pālībothra* stood at the junction of the *Ganges* and *Erranaboas*, which the accurate M D'Anville had pronounced to be "Yamunā", but this only difficulty was removed when I found in a Classical Sanskrit book near two thousand years old, that *Hiraṇyabāhu* or golden-armed, which the Greeks changed to Erranaboas, or the *river with a lovely murmur*, was in fact another name for the *Sona* itself, though Megasthenes from ignorance or inattention, has named them separately¹ This discovery led to another of greater moment, for Chandragupta, who, from a military adventurer, became like Sandracottus, the sovereign of Upper Hindustan, actually fixed the seat of his empire at Pāṭalīputra, where he received ambassadors from foreign princes, and was no other than that very Sandracottus who concluded a treaty with Seleucus Nicator, so that we have solved another problem to which we before alluded, and may in round numbers consider the twelve and three hundredth years before Christ as two certain epochs between Rāma who conquered *Silān* a few centuries after the flood, and Vicramāditya who died at Ujjayini fifty-seven years before the beginning of our era."

53 The passage regarding Candragupta's date is found in Justinus, *Epitoma Pompei Trogi*, xv 4 and Mr. McCrindle translated it as follows²

"[Seleucus] carried on many wars in the East after the division of the Macedonian kingdom between himself and the other successor of Alexander, first seizing Babylonia, and then reducing the Bactrians, his power being increased by the first success Thereafter he passed into

1. *Asiatic Researches*, IV. 10-11.

2. Mendelssohn's edition (Leipzig, 1879), I. 426.

India, which had, since Alexander's death, killed his prefects, thinking that the yoke of slavery had been shaken off from its neck. The author of its freedom had been Sandrocottus, but when victory was gained he had changed the name of freedom to that of bondage. For, after he had ascended the throne, he himself oppressed with servitude the very people which he had rescued from foreign dominion. Though of humble birth, he was impelled by innate majesty to assume royal power. When king Nandrus,¹ whom he had offended by his boldness, ordered him to be killed, he had resorted to speedy flight. Sandrocottus, having thus gained the crown, held India at the time when Seleucus was laying the foundations of his future greatness. Seleucus came to an agreement with him, and, after settling affairs in the East, engaged in the war against Antigonus."

The same transactions are referred to by Appianus

"[Seleucus] crossed the Indus and waged war on Androcottus king of the Indians who dwelt about it, until he made friends and entered into relations of marriage with him."

According to Strabo, Seleucus ceded to Chandragupta a tract of land to the west of the Indus and received in exchange five hundred elephants.²

The inference drawn is this. Seleucus I Nikator of Syria (B.C. 312-280), "arrived in Cappadocia in the autumn of 302 [the year preceding the battle of Ipsos]. The march from India to there must have required at least two summers. Consequently, the peace with Chandragupta has to be placed about the summer of 304, or at the latest in the next winter."³ We know from various sources that Megasthenes became the ambassador of Seleucus at Chandragupta's court.⁴

It follows from these statements that Chandragupta ascended the throne between Alexander's death (B.C. 323) and the treaty with Seleucus (B.C. 304)."

54 Earlier in the same discourse Sir William had mentioned his authorities for the statement that Candragupta became sovereign of upper Hindusthan, with his Capital at Pataliputra. "A most beautiful

1 McOrindle's translation, 114.

2 V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., p. 150 f., Krom, *Hermes*, 44, 164 ff.

3 Beloch's *Griech. Gesch.*, 3, 1, 146, n. 3.

4 Schwanbeck, *Megasthenes Indica* (Bonn. 1876), p. 19, O. Muller, *Fragmenta Historiarum Græcorum*, vol. II (Paris 1848), p. 398, McOrindle, *IA*, VI, 115.

poem " said he " by Somadeva, comprising a long chain of instructive and agreeable stories, begins with the famed revolution at Pataliputra by the murder of king Nanda with his eight sons, and the usurpation of Chandragupta, and the same revolution is the subject of a tragedy in Sanskrit entitled ' The Coronation of Chandra ' " ¹ Thus he claimed to have identified *Palibothra* with *Pataliputra* and *Sandrokottus* with Chandragupta, and to have determined 300 B C " in round numbers " as a certain epoch between two others which he called the conquest of *Silan* by Rāma "1200 B C" and the death of Vikramāditya at Ujjain in 57 B C

In the Discourse referred to, Sir William barely stated his discovery, adding " that his proofs must be reserved " for a subsequent essay, but he died before that essay could appear

55 The theme was taken immediately by Col. Wilford in Volume V of the Asiatic Researches Wilford entered into a long and fanciful disquisition on *Palibothra*, and rejected Sir William's identification of it with *Pataliputra*, but he accepted the identification of *Sandrokottus* with Chandragupta in the following words — " Sir William Jones from a poem written by Somadeva and a tragedy called the Coronation of Chandra or Chandragupta discovered that he really was the Indian king mentioned by the historians of Alexander under the name of Sandrocottus These poems I have not been able to procure, but I have found another dramatic piece entitled *Mudra-Rachasa*,² which is divided into two parts, the first may be called the Coronation of Chandra " ³

Wilson further amended the incorrect authorities relied on by Sir William Jones, and said in his Preface to *Mudra-Rakshasa*,⁴ that by Sir William's " a beautiful poem by Somadeva " was " doubtless meant the large collection of tales by *Somabhatta* the *Vrihat-katha* " ⁵

1. Ibid 6.

1. This spelling shows that Wilford saw not the Sanskrit drama but some vernacular visions of it

2. Asiatic Researches, V 262 Wilford wrongly names the author of the drama as Amanta (or Ananta).

3 Theatre of the Hindus, Vol II.

4. Wilson again is not quite correct in his Bibliography. Somadeva's large collection of tales is entitled *Kathasarit sagara* and is an adaptation into Sanskrit verse of an original work in the Paisaci language called *Brihat Katha*, composed by a Guṇādhya.

56. Max Muller then elaborated the discovery of this identity in his *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*. To him this identity was a settled incontrovertible fact. On the path of further research, he examined the chronology of the Buddhists according to the Northern or the Chinese and the Southern or the Ceylonese traditions, and summed this up "Everything in Indian Chronology depends upon the date of Chandragupta. Chandragupta was the grand-father of Asoka, and the contemporary of Selukus Nikator. Now, according to the Chinese chronology, Asoka would have lived, to waive the minor differences, 850 or 750 B.C., according to Ceylonese Chronology, 315 B.C. Either of these dates is impossible because it does not agree with the chronology of Greece." '*Everything in Indian Chronology depends upon the date of Chandragupta*' is the declaration. How is that date to be fixed? The Puranic accounts were of course beneath notice. The Buddhist chronologies were conflicting, and must be ignored. The Greek synchronism comes to his rescue. "There is but one means by which the history of India can be connected with that of Greece, and its chronology must be reduced to its proper limits," that is, by the clue afforded by "the name of Sandrocottus or Sandrocyptus, the Sanskrit Chandragupta."

From classical writers—Justin, Arrian, Diadorus Siculus, Strabo, Quintus Curtius, and Plutarch—a formidable array all of whom however borrowed their account from practically the same sources—he puts together the various statements concerning Sandrocottus, and tries to show that they all tally with the statements made by Indian writers about the Maurya king Candragupta. "The resemblance of this name" says he "with the name of Sandrocottus or Sandrocyptus was first, I believe, pointed out by Sir William Jones. Wilford, Wilson, and Professor Lassen have afterwards added further evidence in confirmation of Sir W. Jones's conjecture, and although other scholars, and particularly M. Troyer in his edition of the *Rajatarangini*, have raised objections, we shall see that the evidence in favour of the identity of Chandragupta and Sandrocottus or Sandrocyptus is such as to admit of no reasonable doubt." Max Muller only repeats that the Greek accounts of Sandrocottus and the Indian accounts of Chandragupta agree in the main, both speaking of a usurper who either was base-born himself or else overthrew a base-born predecessor, and that this essential agreement would hold whether the various names used by Greek writers—Xandrames, Andramas, Aggraman, Sandrocottus and Sandrocyptus—should be made to refer to two kings, the overthrown and the overthrower,

or all to one namely the overthrower himself, though personally he is inclined to the view that the first three variations refer to the overthrown, and the last two to the overthrower. He explains away the difficulty in identifying the sites of Palibothra and Pataliputra geographically by "a change in the bed of the river Sone". He passes over the apparent differences in detail between the Greek statements on the one hand and the Hindu and Buddhist versions on the other quite summarily, declaring that Buddhist fables were invented to exalt, and the Brahmanic fables to lower Chandragupta's descent! Lastly with respect to chronology the Brahmanic is altogether ignored, and the Buddhist is "reduced to its proper limits" that is, pulled down to fit in with Greek chronology.

57 Priyadasi Next came inscriptions of Priyadāsi.¹ These edicts published in the tenth and twelfth years of Asoka's reign (253 and 251 B C) are found in distinct places in the extreme East and West of India. As revealed in these engraved records, the spoken dialect was essentially the same throughout the wide and fertile regions lying between the Vindhya and Himalayas and between the mouths of the Indus and the Ganges. The language appears in three varieties, which may be named the *Punjabī*, the *Ujjainī* and the *Magadhī*. These may point to a transitional stage between Sanskrit and Pali. "The language of the inscriptions," says Prinsep "although necessarily that of their date and probably that in which the first propagators of Buddhism expounded their doctrines, seems to have been the spoken language of the people of Upper India than a form of speech peculiar to a class of religionists or a sacred language, and its use in the edicts of Priyadasi, although incompatible with their Buddhistic origin, cannot be accepted as a conclusive proof that they originated from a peculiar form of religious belief."

Asoka's name does not occur in these inscriptions, but that these purport to emanate from a king who gives his formal title in various Prakrit forms of which the Sanskrit would be DEVANAMPRIYAH Priya-

1. The Edicts are edited in *IA*, 6, 10, 14, 17, 18, 19, 22, 84, 87, 88. On the Edicts, see *IA*, XIII 804, XX 1, 85, 229, XXXV 220, XXXIV 246, XXXVIII 151, XLVII, 48.

Also, D R. Bhandarkar, *Asoka*, Calcutta, V A Smith, *Asoka*, Oxford, F W. Thomas, *Les Vvāsi de Asoka*, *JA*, (1910), E Hultzsch, *Date of Asoka*, *JRAS*, (1914) 948. E H Wilson, *Identity of Asoka*, *JRAS*, (o s), XXII, 177-243, (1901) 827-858, V. A Smith, *Authorship of Priyadasi inscriptions*, *JRAS*, (1901), 485; Asokavadana, *JRAS*, [1901] 545, Bindusara, *JRAS*, (1901), 384.

darsi raja. It was James Prinsep that first ascribed Asoka's edicts to Devanāmpīya-Ṭissa of Ceylon.¹ The discovery of the Nagajuna Hill cave-inscriptions of Sashalata Devānāmpīya, whom he at once identified with Dasāratha, the grandson of the Maurya king Asoka and the fact that Turnour had found Piyadassi or Piyadassana used as a surname of Asoka in the Dīpavamśa, induced Prinsep to abandon his original view, and to identify Devanampriya Priyadarshan with Asoka himself.

In February 1838, Prinsep published the text and a translation of the second rock edict, Gīrnār version of it (l. 3) the words *Amṭiyako Yonarājā* and in the Dhauli version (l. 1) *Amṭiyoke nāma Yona-lājā*, and identified the Yōna king Amṭiyaka or Amṭiyoka with Antiochus III of Syria.² In March 1838, he discovered in the Gīrnār edict viii (l. 8), the names of Turamāya, Amṭikona,³ and Magā, whom he most ingeniously identified with Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt, Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia (?) and Magas of Cyrene. At the same time he modified his earlier theory and now referred the name Amṭiyoka to Antiochus I or II of Syria, preferably the former.

On the Gīrnār rock the name of a fifth king who was mentioned after Magā is lost. The Shāhbāzgarhī version calls him Alikasundara E. Norris recognized that this name corresponds to the Greek Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, and suggested hesitatingly that Alexander of Epirus, the son of Pyrrhus, might be meant by it.⁴ This identification was endorsed by Westergaard,⁵ Lassen,⁶ and Senart.⁷ But Professor Beloch thinks that Alexander of Corinth, the son of Craterus, had a better claim.⁸

"The mention of these five contemporaries in the inscriptions of Devānāmpriya Priyadarshi," says E. Hultzsch, "confirms in a general

1. E. Hultzsch, *Date of Asoka*, *JRAS*, (1914), 948

2. *JASB*, VII 156

3. In reality Gīrnār and Kālsī read *Amṭikona*, Shāhbāzgarhī *Amṭikini*. Buhler (*ZDMG*, 40 137) justly remarked that these two forms would rather correspond to Antigēnes than to Antigonus. But no king named Antigēnes is known to us, though it was the name of one of the officers of Alexander the Great, who was executed, together with Hēmenes, in B.C. 316, being then satrap of Susiana.

4. *JRAS*, (o.s.), 205

5. *Zwei Abhandlungen*, translated from the Danish into German by Stenzler (Breslau, 1862), p. 120 f.

6. *Ind. Alt.*, 253 ff.

7. *IA*, XX. 242

8. *Griech. Gesch.*, 8, 2, 105.

way the corrections of Prinsep's identification of the latter with Asoka, the grandson of Chandragupta, whose approximate time we know from Greek and Roman records Antiochus I Soter of Syria reigned B C 280-261, his son Antiochus II Theos 261-246, Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt 285-247, Antigonus Gonates of Macedonia 276-239, Magas of Cyrene c 300—c. 250, Alexander of Epirus 272—c 255, and Alexander of Corinth 252—c 244 "

58 This identification of Sandrocottus with Candragupta Maurya furnished a very certain starting point in investigating what appeared to be such a huge field of uncertainties as Indian Chronology Thus, according to Buddhist traditions, it is said, Buddha died 162 years before Candragupta. Max Muller supposes that "Chandragupta became king about 315 B C, and so he places the death of Buddha 162 plus 315 or 477 B C Or again 32 years after Chandragupta, Asoka is said to have become king, that is 315—52 or 263 B C , and his "inauguration" is said to have taken place in 259 B C At the time of Asoka's inauguration 218 years had elapsed since the conventional date of Buddha's death " Hence Buddha must have also died in 477 B C

59 Thus came in the ANCHOR SHEET OF INDIAN CHRONOLOGY. It fell to the glorious lot of Vincent E Smith to sponsor this hypothesis and instal it on a firmer pedestal. Glory is god-made and V. S Smith was destined for it.¹ He took the chronological identity so premised by the predecessors in this historical heirarchy as the basis of further calculation of the exact dates of the different dynasties that ruled over Magadha before and after the Mauryas He was able to invoke the aid of numismatics in addition to epigraphy He could interpret the eras, particularly the Gupta era of the inscriptions and the legends on the coins, and discover a confirmation of the earlier opinions He could not however get over, as if by compunction, the need to follow the Purānas in the enumeration of the kings and their dynasties, he took the dynasties and the succession of kings as they were, he did not call them fictitious He had objection to the long

1 The reader may well be reminded of the famous address of Gopi to Śrī Kṛṣṇa

उर्व्यां कोऽपि महीधरो लघुतरो दोभ्यां धृतो लीलया
तेन त्व दिवि धृतले च सतत गोवर्धनो गीयसे ।
त्वां त्रैलोक्यधर वहामि कुचयोरग्रे न तद्रूपयते ।
किं वा केशव भाषणेन बहुना पुण्यैर्यशो लभ्यते ॥

periods of years that these Purāṇas sometimes assigned to particular kings or dynasties. They were improbable and fanciful and so on their face unreliable ! So he set out to sift the intervals of time and adjust the dates and periods on a rational basis, a basis that would quite convince the modern mind of a reasonable probability. The device of reduction of time is in short this

Where the Purāṇas have different readings the shortest number of years is adopted, where the Purāṇas give a long period to any reign, it is reduced to 20 years as the average ascertainable in royal histories elsewhere, where the Purāṇas give only brief terms of a few years or a few months, that is adopted as correct. The result of these reductions will be seen below —

		PURANAS	V. SMITH
Nandas	.	100 (1635-1535 B C)	45
Mauryas	.	316 (1535-1219 B.C)	137
Sungas	...	300 (1219—919 B C)	112
Kanvas	...	85 (919—834 B.C)	45
Āndhras	...	506 (834—328 B.C)	289
Gupṭas	...	245 (328—83 B.C.)	149

Thus, according to Vincent Smith's Candragupṭa became king in 322 B C, and Buddha died in 487 B C, this allows 50 years for the *Nandas*, before Candragupṭa, and 250 years for the *Saisunagas* before the Nandas. And so he begins his *Early History* from about 602 B C. Likewise, starting from 322 B C, V. Smith allows 137 years for the Maurya Dynasty and places Sunga kings in 185-73 B C and Kanva kings in 73 to 28 B C., and so on bringing the list down to Āndhras and Guṭṭas. I extract the passage

“Although the discrepant traditionary materials available do not permit the determination with accuracy of the chronology of the Saisunaga and Nanda dynasties, it is, I venture to think, possible to attain a tolerably close approximation to the truth, and to reconcile some of the traditions. The fixed point from which to reckon backwards is the year 322 B C, the date for the succession of Chandragupṭa Maurya, which is certainly correct, with a possible error not exceeding three years. The second principal datum is the list of ten kings of the Saisunaga dynasty as given in the oldest historical entries in the Puranas, namely those in the MATSYA and the VĀYU, the general correctness of which is confirmed by several lines of evidence, and the third is the probable date of the death of Buddha,

Although the fact that the Saisunaga dynasty consisted of ten kings may be admitted, neither the duration assigned by the Puranas to the dynasty as a whole, nor that allotted to certain reigns, can be accepted. Experience proves that in a long series an average of twenty-five years to a generation is rarely attained, and that this average is still more rarely exceeded in a series of reigns as distinguished from generations.

The English series of ten reigns from Charles II to Victoria, inclusive, 1649-1901 (reckoning the accession of Charles II from the death of his father in 1649), occupied 252 years, and included the two exceptionally long reigns of George III and Victoria, aggregating 124 years. *The resultant average, 25.2 years per reign, may be taken as the maximum possible, and consequently 252 years are the maximum allowable for the ten Saisunaga reigns.* The Puranic figures of 321 (MATSYA) and 332 (VAYU) years, obtained by adding together the durations of the several reigns may be *rejected* without hesitation as being incredible. The MATSYA account concludes with the statement, 'These will be the ten Saisunaga kings. The Saisunagas will endure 360 years, being kings with Kshatriya kinsfolk.' Mr Pargiter suggests that the figures '360' should be interpreted as '163'. If that interpretation be accepted the average length of reign would be only 16.3, and it would be difficult to make Buddha (died cir 487) contemporary with Bimbisara and Ajatasatru. It is more probable that the dynasty lasted for more than *two centuries*.

As stated in the text, the traditional periods assigned to the Nanda dynasty of either 100 or 150 years for two generations cannot be accepted. *A more reasonable period of fifty years may be provisionally assumed.* We thus get the 302 (252 plus 50) as the maximum admissible period for the Saisunaga and Nanda dynasties combined, and, reckoning backwards from the fixed point, 322 B.C., The Year 624 B.C., is found to be the earliest possible date for Sisunaga, the first king. But of course the true date may be, and probably is, somewhat later, because it is extremely unlikely that twelve reigns (ten Saisunaga and two Nanda) should have attained an average of 25.16 years.

The reigns of the fifth and sixth kings, Bimbisara or Srenika, and Ajatasatru or Kunika, were well remembered owing to the wars and events in religious history which marked them. We may therefore assume that the lengths of those reigns were known more or less accu-

ately, and are justified in accepting the concurrent testimony of the VAYU and MATSYA Puranas, that Bimbisara reigned for twenty-eight years

Ajatasatru is assigned twenty-five or twenty-seven years by different Puranas, and thirty-two years by Tibetan and Ceylonese Buddhist tradition I assume the correctness of the oldest Puranic list, that of the MATSYA, and take his reign to have been twenty-seven years The real existence of Darsaka (erroneously called Vamsaka by the MATSYA) having been established by Bhasa's VASAVADATTA, his reign may be assigned twenty-four years, as in the MATSYA Udaya, who is mentioned in the Buddhist books, and is said to have built Pataliputra, is assigned thirty-three years by the Puranas, which may pass

The VAYU and MATSYA Puranas respectively assign eighty-five and eighty-three years to the sum of the reigns of kings numbers 9 and 10 together These figures are improbably high, and it is unlikely that the two reigns actually occupied more than fifty years *The figure 46 is assumed*

The evidence as far as it goes, and at best it does not amount to much, indicates that the average length of the later reigns was in excess of the normal figure We may *assume*, therefore, that the first four reigns, about which nothing is known must have been comparatively short, and did not exceed some seventy or eighty years collectively. An assumption that these reigns were longer would unduly prolong the total duration of the dynasty, the beginning of which *must be dated* about 600 B C, or a little earlier

The existence of a great body of detailed traditions, which are not mere mythological legends, sufficiently establishes the facts that both Mahavira, the Jain leader, and Gautama Buddha were contemporary to a considerable extent with one another and with the kings Bimbisara and Ajatasatru

Tradition also indicates that Mahavira predeceased Buddha The death of these saints form well-marked epochs in the history of Indian religion, and are constantly referred to by ecclesiastical writers for chronological purposes. It might therefore be expected that the traditional dates of the two events would supply at once the desired clue to the dynastic chronology. But close examination of conflicting

traditions raises difficulties. The year 527 (528-7) B.C., the most commonly quoted date for the death of Mahavira, is merely one of several traditionary dates, and it seems to be impossible to reconcile the Jain traditions either among themselves or with the known approximate date of Chandragupta."

60. This exposition of V E Smith has become the unalterable standard for later scholars.¹ Great and sincere as many of these scholars have been, they did not dare or care to go behind Smith's fiat and if any did differ from him, it was over the insignificant question of the particular year in which Chandragupta was crowned, if it was 312, 315, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326 or 327 B C.² Thus Fleet says —

Now, in all matters of the most ancient Indian chronology, the great "sheet anchor" is, and has been ever since 1798, the date of Chandragupta, the grandfather of Asoka the Maurya, as determined by the information furnished by the Greek writers. In recent years, indeed, there has been a tendency to believe that we have something still more definite in the reference to certain foreign kings in the thirteenth rock-edict of Asoka. But, as may be shown on some other occasion, there is nothing in that, beyond proof that that edict, framed not earlier than the ninth year after the *abhisheka* or anointment of Asoka to the sovereignty, and most probably in the thirteenth year, was framed not before B C 272, and that does not help as much, because the *abhisheka* of Asoka might, so far as that goes, be put back to even as early a year as B C. 284. In all that we have as yet been able to determine about Asoka, there is nothing that enables us to improve upon what we could already determine about Chandragupta. From the Greek writers, we know that Chandragupta became king of Northern India at some time between B C. 326 and 312. Within those limits, different writers, have selected different years; B.C. 325, 321, 316, 315 and 312. The latest selection is, I suppose, that made by Mr. Vincent Smith in his *Early History of India*, 173, namely, B.C. 321."³

1. V R Ramachandra Dikshitar, *Matsyapurana*, Madras, R D Banerjee, *Age of Imperial Guptas*, Benares, Dineschandra Sircar, *Successors of Śālavāhanas*, *Jl. of Dept of Letters*, Calcutta, Vol. 26, Dhirendranath Mukhopadhyaya, *True Dates of Buddha and Connected Epochs*, *Ibid* Vol 27

2. See M Senart, *IA*, XX 229; S Gopala Iyer, *IA*, XXXVII. 241, Buhler, *IA*, VI 149, *EI*, III, 134, Fleet, *JRAS*, (1904) 1, (1906) 988, V Smith, *EHI*, 173.

3. Fleet, *JRAS*, (1906), 984.

61 The deductions and inferences of V. Smith have come to stay But the traditional reputation has been too staring in its assertion that Mahābhārata War happened at the end of Dvāparayuga, 37 years before the advent of Kaliyuga in 3102 B.C. Later scholars, to whom the tradition was a fraud resorted to the only alternative viz. to post-date the beginning of Kaliyuga so as to preserve the Purāṇic Synchronism of Mahābhārata War with about the end of Dvāparayuga Even there the sayings of V. Smith were adopted as canons of indubitable truth and the dates were worked up on their basis only and this had been done in wholesale disregard of the care and precision with which the Purāṇas recorded the calculations of political history

62 The Purāṇas uniformly give two methods, which are corroborative of each other, in calculating the dates of these Hindu Dynasties. One starts from the close of the Mahābhārata War and almost co-evally with the commencement of the Kaliyuga, from which time the number of years that each king reigned is given The other starts from the Saptarṣi Era or the Laukikābda, whose cycle consisting of 2700 years is accepted by all authorities to have commenced about 4992 years ago corresponding to 3676 B.C. Now the Purāṇas state the First cycle of this Saptarṣi Era or Laukikābda commenced at the time of Parīkṣit, that the Saptarṣis were in Māgha at his time, that they move in a retrograde motion and take 100 years to pass from one Nakṣatra to another, that they were in Purvāṣāḍha (or the 16th Nakṣatra from Māgha) at the time of the commencement of the Nanda dynasty, that they were in Citrā-Nakṣatra (or the 24 Nakṣatra from Māgha) at the commencement of the Āṇḍhra Dynasty and that at the beginning of the reign of the 27th king of the Āṇḍhra Dynasty, the cycle repeated itself, the Saptarṣis having come back to Māgha So there must have elapsed at least 1500 years between Parīkṣit and Mahāpadma Nanda, 2300 years between Parīkṣit and Āṇḍhra Simuka (Śrī Śātakarṇi) the Founder of the Āṇḍhra Dynasty and 270 years between Parīkṣit and Śivasrī Śātakarṇi, the 27th king of the Āṇḍhra Dynasty, and that this king Śivasrī must have commenced his reign in the year 377 B.C.

63 The Mahābhārata War starts the Purāṇic chronology, that is, at 3139 B.C. The periods assigned to the eight dynasties that ruled over Magadha, Bārhadratha to Āṇḍhra is made up 2811 years thus.—

	Dynasty	No of Kings	years
1	Bārhadraṭha (post-Bhāraṭa)	22	1006
2	Pradyoṭa	5	138
3	Saiśunāga	10	360
4	Nanda	9 (2 generations)	100
5	Maurya	12	316
6	Sunga	10	300
7	Kanva	4	85
8	Anḍhra	32	506
Total ¹ ...			2811

2811 years after the Mahābhārata War or about 328 B C., the sovereignty of Magadha passed into the hands of a line called *Pārvaṭiyā* and *Anḍhrabhr̥tya*, the first king of which was Candragupta.

64 This Sapṭarṣi Era is fully described in all the Purāṇas in words almost similar to one another and the following passage from the Kalyuga-Rāja-Viṭṭāṇa may suffice as an example :—

सप्तर्विंशतिपर्यन्ते कृत्स्ने नक्षत्रमण्डले ।
 सप्तर्षयस्तु तिष्ठन्ति पर्यायेण शत शतम् ॥
 सप्तर्षीणां युगं ह्येतद् दिव्यया संख्यया स्मृतम् ।
 समा दिव्या. स्मृताः सप्त दिव्या मासा. षडेव हि ॥
 ऋक्षादंशं शतेनाऽन्दैर्योन्ति चित्रशिखण्डिनः ।
 दिव्य सप्तर्विकालेऽयं क्रमादेवं प्रवर्तते ॥
 सप्तर्षीणां तु यौ पूर्वौ दृश्यते ह्यदितौ दिवि ।
 तयोस्तु मध्ये नक्षत्रं दृश्येते यत् समं निशि ॥
 तेन सप्तर्षयो युक्तास्तिष्ठन्त्यन्तश्चतुर्दशतमं वृणाम् ।
 नक्षत्राणामृषीणाञ्च योगस्यैतन्निर्दिष्टम् ॥
 यदा देवर्षयः सप्त मघासु विचरन्ति हि ।
 तदा प्रवृत्तश्च कलिर्द्वादशाब्दश्चतुर्दशतमकः ॥

1. As summed up in Kalyuga Rājaviṭṭāṇa or 2886 according to Matsya ?

Vincent Smith commits an egregious blunder in making the first 10 or 11 kings of the Anḍhra dynasty contemporaneous with the preceding dynasties and holding that the slayer of the last Kaṣṭha king "apparently must have been one or other of three Anḍhra kings namely No. 11, 12 or 13" *Early History* p 206.

यस्मिन् कृष्णो दिवं यातस्तस्मिन्नेव हि वत्सरे ।
प्रतिपन्नं कलियुगमिति प्राहुः पुराविद ॥

यावत् स भगवान् विष्णु पस्पशेमा वसुन्धराम् ।
तावत् पृथ्वीं पराक्रांतुं समर्थो नाऽभवत् कलि ॥

यदा मघाभ्यो यास्यन्ति पूर्वाषाढा महर्षय ।
ततः प्रभृत्येव कलिवृद्धिं यास्याति निश्चितम् ॥

यदा युधिष्ठिरो राजा शक्रप्रस्ये प्रतिष्ठित ।
तदा सप्तर्षय प्रापुर्मघा पितृहिते रता ॥

पञ्चसप्ततिवर्षाणि प्राक् कले सप्त ते द्विजा ।
मघास्त्रासन् महाराजे शासत्युर्वी युधिष्ठिरे ॥

पञ्चविंशतिवर्षेषु गतेष्वथ कलौ युगे ।
समाश्रयिष्यन्त्याश्लेषां मुनयस्ते शतं समा ॥

तदैव धर्मपुत्रोऽपि महाप्रस्थानमास्थित ।
भुवं परिभ्रमन्ते स्वर्गमारोक्ष्यति भुवम् ॥

तदैव लौकिकाब्दोऽपि सप्तविंशत्तात्मक ।
धर्मपुत्रज्ञापकार्थं लोके तावत् प्रवर्तित ॥

सप्तविंशान्धनृपतेः काले भाव्यस्य ते पुन ।
आश्लेषा सम्प्रयास्यन्ति युगस्यान्ते सूरर्षय ॥

सप्तर्षयो मघायुक्ताः काले यौधिष्ठिरे शतम् ।
श्रवणे ते भविष्यन्ति काले नन्दस्य भूपते ॥

चतुर्विंशेऽथ नक्षत्रे भविष्यन्ति शत समा ।
आन्ध्रराज्यारम्भकालादारभ्यैते सूरर्षय ॥

महापद्मामिषेकात्तु यावज्जन्म परीक्षितः ।
एवमेव सहस्रं तु ज्ञेय पञ्चशतोत्तरम् ॥

आन्ध्रराज्योपक्रमान्तु यावन्नन्दाभिषेचनम् ।
अन्तरं तच्छतान्यष्टौ प्रमाणज्ञैः समा स्मृता ॥

यदा पुनर्वसु यास्यन्त्येते सप्तर्षयः पुन ।
तदा श्रीशुसर्वश्यानां राष्ट्रं दैन्यं गमिष्यति ॥

पूर्वाभाद्रा यदा ते तु प्रवेक्ष्यन्ति पुनर्द्विजा ।
शुसेभ्यो मागधं राज्यं तदा पालान् गमिष्यति ॥

The above passage may be freely translated as follows

'In the circle of the lunar asterisms (Nakshatras) wherein the great constellation of the Sapta Rishis (constituting the Great Bear or the Ursa Major) revolve, and which contain 27 asterisms (like Āśvini, Bharani, Krittikā, etc.) in its circumference (ecliptic) consisting of 360° , each Nakshatra or lunar asterism being equal to $13^\circ 20'$ of the ecliptic, the Seven Sages remain for 100 years in each asterism in turn (the Rishis taking 2700 years to make a circuit of the heavens)

This is the Cycle of the Seven Seers (consisting of 2700 human years) and is reckoned in the terms of Divine years (860 human years being equal to 1 Divine year). And the total period is equal to 7 Divine years and 6 Divine months (i.e., $7\frac{1}{2}$ times 860 or 2700 human years)

The constellation of the Seven Saints (or the Seven Stars of the Wain, consisting of Marichi, Vaisishtha accompanied by the Sukshmatārā Arundhatī, Angiras, Atri, Pulastya, Pulaha and Kratu) takes a period of 100 years to go over each of the 27 asterisms, (and it goes through these 27 asterisms in a retrograde order, as the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac which comprise these 27 asterisms are arranged in a retrograde order around the ecliptic). Thus the Saptarshi Kala (or the Samvat of the Haft Rukhesbar), consisting of a cycle of 2700 years, has come to be constituted

The two front stars (Pulaha and Kratu) of the great constellation of the Seven Sages which are seen (in the northern region) when risen at night, the lunar asterism or Nakshatra which is seen situated equally between them in the sky is said to govern the same—the constellation of the Sapta Rishis being known as conjoined with that asterism for 100 human years. This is the exposition of the conjunction of the lunar asterisms and the constellation of the Sapta Rishis

When the constellation of the Seven Sages remained conjoined with the asterism of Maghās, then the Kali Age (the sinful Kaliyuga) comprising 1200 Divine years (or 432,000 common human years) began

When Lord Kṛishṇa returned to Heaven (i.e., left this mundane world), then in that very same year (on the first day of Chaitra of the year Pramathin according to the Southern school of Astronomers),—say the knowers of the ancient history—the present Kaliyuga (of the 28th Mahayuga comprising 12,000 Divine years) commenced

As long as the Great Incarnation of the Divine Vishṇu continued to touch the Earth (with His holy feet), so long the Kali Age was unable to approach the Earth

When the Seven Rishis shall pass from the Maghas and reach the asterism of Purvāshādhā, then will, indeed, the Kali Age begin to grow.

When Prince Yudhishthira was for the first time crowned as king at Indraprastha (and established himself with his brothers, as master of half of the kingdom belonging to his father Panḍu), then the Seven Rishis of the constellation of the Ursa Major entered the lunar asterism of Maghas which were sacred and propitious to the Pitṛis

The Seven Rishis (of the Great Bear) entered the asterism of the Maghas, just 75 years before the beginning of the Kaliyuga (in the year 8177 B.C.) at the commencement of the reign of the great king Yudhishthira who ruled the Earth during the said period

These Seven Sages will enter the asterism of Āśleṣha on the expiry of 25 years from the commencement of the Kali Age (in the year 8077 B.C.) and they will continue to remain in that asterism for a period of 100 human years (from 8077 B.C. to 2977 C.)

In that very same year (3077 B.C.) will Dharmaputra (Yudhishtira, the eldest of the five Paṇḍava brothers) ascend to Heaven (Svargarohana) after wandering over the earth for a long time (having abdicated the throne in favour of Parikshit, the grandson of his brother Arjuna and started on his Mahaprasthana with his brothers and wife on hearing the sad and sudden news of the departure of Śrī Kṛishna from the world)

Then will the Laukikabda or the Laukika Era consisting of a cycle of 2700 years be started in the world in commemoration of the Ascension of Dharmaputra into Heaven

These Divine Sages (consisting the constellation of the Ursa Major) will reach (the lunar asterism) Āśleṣha a second time (in their revolution) at the time of the commencement of the reign of the 27th King of the Andhra Dynasty (Śivaśrī Śatakarṇi who began to rule Magadha in the year 2762 A. Y. corresponding to 377 B.C. —one complete cycle of 2700 years having elapsed since the expiry of the 26th year of the Kali Yuga, when they first reached Āśleṣha after the Mahabharata War)

These Seven Sages were conjoined with the asterism Magha for a period of 100 years during the time of Yudhishtira and at the time of the commencement of the reign of King Nanda (Mahapadma), they will be conjoined with the asterism Śravana (the 15th Nakshatra from Magha calculated, of course, in a reverse order)

From the commencement of the Andhra Dynasty (at Magadha) the Seven Rishis (of the Great Bear) will be found conjoined with (Chitra) the 24th lunar asterism (calculated from and inclusive of Magha)

The interval of time between the birth of Parikshit (son of Abhimanyu by Uttara, and grandson of Arjuna, who was in the womb of his mother at the time of the Mahabharata War) and the inauguration of Mahapadma Nanda (the Founder of the Nanda Dynasty) is to be known as 1500 years

According to competent authorities (Pramāṇas) the interval of time between the coronation of Mahapadma Nanda (who came to the throne of Magadha in 1504 A. Y.) and the commencement of the Andhra Dynasty (which began to rule Magadha in 1805 A. Y.) is stated to be full 800 years.

When the great constellation of the Seven sages of the Ursa Major shall again reach the asterism Punarvasu (in its second revolution after the Mahabharata War), the Empire of the great Gupta Kings shall begin to decline and when they shall actually enter the asterism of Purvabhadra thereafter, the kingdom of Magadha will pass from the Guptas to the Pala kings'

65. According to Vāyu and Maṇṣya Purānas the interval between the birth of Parikṣit and coronation of Mahāpadma Nanda, is 1500 years

महापद्मामिवेकात्तु जन्म यावत् परीक्षित ।

एकं वर्षसहस्रन्तु ह्येव पञ्चशतोत्तरम् ॥

But some versions of Bhāgavata Purāna differ and state that interval to be 1115 years. The text reads

आरभ्य भवतो जन्म यावन्नन्दाविवेचनम्

एतद्वर्षसहस्रं तु शतं पञ्चदशोत्तरम् ॥

This will mean "From your birth (Parikṣit is addressed by Śuka) to the inauguration of Nanda 1115 years will elapse" Yet according to the duration of the different intermediate dynasties as enumerated by it in Skānda XII, Chapter I, the interval comes to 1498 years viz ,

Bārhadraṭha kings	1000 years
Pradyōta kings	138 "
Śaṣunāga kings	360 "

Total 1498 years

This mistake has struck the celebrated commentators, Śrīdharaśvāmin and Vīrarāghava and they distinctly suggest that the reading should be—

“एतद्वर्षसहस्रं तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चशतोत्तरम्”

For Śrīdhara in commenting upon this verse states

‘आरभ्येत्यादिना—वर्षसहस्रं पञ्चदशोत्तरं शतं चेति कयाऽपि विवक्षया अवान्तरं सख्येयम् । वस्तुतस्तु परीक्षितन्दयोरन्तरं द्वाभ्यां नूनं वर्षाणां सार्धसहस्रं भवति । यत् परीक्षितसमकालं मागधं मारजारिमारम्य रिपुञ्जयान्तां विशतिराजान् । सहस्रसंवत्सरं भोक्ष्यन्तीत्युक्तं नवमस्कन्धे—

‘“ये बार्हद्रथपूपा लाभ्या साहस्रवत्सरम् ।”—इति । ततः परं पञ्च प्रथोतना अष्टविंशोत्तरं शतम्’ विशुनागाश्च ‘षष्ठ्युत्तरशतत्रयं भोक्ष्यन्ति पृथिवीम् इति अत्रैवोक्तत्वात् ॥’

Thus we have the authority of Śrīdharaśvāmin and Vīrarāghava to say that 1500 years is the interval between Parikṣit and Nanda

66 But having adopted the wrong readings and reduced the period of interval between the birth of Parikṣit and the coronation of Nanda to 1015, 1050 or 1115 years, these Orientalists bring down the date of the commencement of the Kali Yuga itself as low as possible. Assuming the wrong synchronism between Sandracottus of the Greeks and Candragupta Maurya, they place the accession of Candragupta Maurya to the throne of Magadha in 322 B.C., and calculating backwards and forwards from that date (while accepting the Lists of Kings given in the Purāṇas and the regnal periods given of those kings as correct) fix the date of the accession of Nanda to the throne in 422 B.C., just placing him 100 years before the accession of Candragupta to the throne, and conclude that Kali Yuga must have commenced 1015, 1050 or 1115 years before that date, that is in 1437 B.C. or 1537 B.C.

conceding for all practical purposes the commencement of the Kali Yuga to be synchronous with the Birth of Parīkṣit, the Coronation of Yudhiṣṭhira and the Great War of the Mahābhārata This false synchronism between Sandracottus of the Greeks and Candragupta Maurya of the Indians has become so much rooted in the bed of Indian Chronology, that scholars Śrīsa Chandra Vidyārnava and F. E. Pargiter placed the commencement of Kalyuga in 1733 B.C

“The method of calculation”, says Śrīsa Chandra “adopted by the Purāṇas, however, is to take Nanda as the starting point The last of the Śīsunāga was Mahānandin, who had a son by a Sūdrā woman He was known as Mahāpadma or the famous Nanda, whose eight sons succeeded him This Nanda family was brought to an end by the Indian Machiavelli, Kautilya or Chāṇakya Chandragupta was placed on the throne of the Nandas by this Kautilya or Chāṇakya About this event V. Smith says —

‘Mahānandin, the last of the Dynasty, is said to have had, by a Sūdrā or low caste woman, a son, named Mahāpadma Nanda who usurped the throne, and so established the Nanda family or dynasty. This event may be dated in or about 372 B.C * *

The Greek or Roman historians * * * ranking as contemporary witnesses throw a light on real history When Alexander was stopped in his advance at the Hyphasis, in 326 B.C, he was informed * * that the king of the Prachi etc * * * was Xandrames or Agramis’

The reference to this king is evidently to one of the Nandas The date of the accession of Nanda is calculated from that of Chandragupta Maurya, who ascended the throne in 322 B.C The Nanda Dynasty according to Mr. Vincent Smith, lasted for 50 years, when it was replaced by the Maurya So adding 50 to 322, the above figure 372 B.C, is arrived at by Mr. V. Smith as the date of the accession of Mahāpadma Nanda But all the Purāṇas are unanimous in stating that the nine Nandas reigned for 100 years, and we have taken that in our calculations The date of accession of Mahāpadma Nanda would, therefore, be 422 B.C instead of 372 B.C

Thus 422 B.C is the starting point backwards and forwards in the Purāṇic calculations

Chandragupta Maurya displaced the Nanda family The nine Nandas reigned for 100 years Before that, there was the Śīsunaga Dynasty, and before that was the Pradyōta Dynasty, and before that

the Bṛihadrathas The following table shows the periods of the reigns of these dynasties —

(1) Chandragupta's accession	322 B.C
(2) Nanda Dynasty	100
(3) Śisunāgas	360
(4) Pradyōtas	152 (?)
(5) Bārhadrathas from the time of Chaidyōparichara	1000
	<hr/>
Total	1612
Deduct from Chaidya to Sahadēva	171
	<hr/>
Balance	1441, and
adding	322
	<hr/>
	1763 B C, the year of the Great War

The Mahābhārata War took place when Sahadēva of Bārhadratha family, was king From Vasu Chaidya Uparichara up to Sahadēva there were 13 kings, namely, (1) Vasu Chaidya Uparichara, (2) Bṛihadratha, (3) Kusāgra, (4) Vṛishabha, (5) Funyavan or Pushpavan, (6) Punya or Pushya, (7) Satyadhṛiti, (8) Dhanusha, (9) Sarva, (10) Sambhava, (11) Bṛihadratha, (12) Jarāsandha, and (13) Sahadēva After Sahadēva there were 19 or 32 kings (or 22 according to Mr Pargiter) up to Ripunjaya the last The Great War, therefore, took place, on the above assumption, *one thousand four hundred and forty one years before the accession of Chandragupta in 322 B C., or in other words that the Great War took place in or about 1763 B.C"*

67 Mr Pargiter, however, in his *Dynasties of the Kali Age* arrives at the year 1810 B C as the date of the Great War of Mahābhārata. He says that from Sōmādhī to Ripunjaya there were 22 kings in the Bārhadraṭha Dynasty who reigned for 920 years. The Pradyōtas after Ripunjaya were 5 kings who reigned for 138 years. The Śausunāgas who came after the Pradyōtas were 10 kings and reigned for 330 years Adding up the above mentioned three figures, 920 plus 138 plus 330, he gets the sum 1388 years, which according to his calculation, was the interval between the installation of Mahāpadma Nanda and the birth of Parīkṣit or the Great War Adding 422 B C., the year of the installation of Mahāpadma Nanda (which is of course assumed as a

postulate of Indian History). Mr Pargiter comes to the figure 1810 B C as the date of the Mahābhārata War

The fanciful speculations involved in these theories regarding the date of the Mahābhārata War will be manifest to any disinterested reader of the Purāṇas and Itihāsas. The conclusions were so uncertain that Śrīśa Chandra Vidyārnava reviewed his own original theory at a later stage and refixed the date of the Great War in 1922 B C (still following, the false synchronism between Candragupṭa Maurya and Sandracottus)

68 Thus, we see that Vincent Smith is the modern protagonist of this identity, *the Anchor-Sheet of Indian Chronology*. It is he that is quoted and followed without inquiry by our Indian Professors of history and it is that chronology that is and *must be* taught in our schools. By sheer repetition by men in authority and in the works that emanate from them, 'the theory had almost become an axiom and rarely does any thought occur for any fair investigation. Day after day the assumed identity takes a firmer root and it is considered a matter of senility or superstition to express a need for a reconsideration. Hasty generalisations lead to prepossessions and it is rarely human to attempt to demonstrate their reality. It may appear therefore, a futile cry to seek to go behind these established opinions and to ask the reader to forbear and see for himself on the original bases of this theory, if, after all, the narratives of the Purāṇas, so honestly planned, are 'pious frauds'. For the vindication of the morality of our sages and the merit of our traditional lore, a lore adored by the millions of Hindu India, an attempt must be made, be the effect what it may¹

69 Max Muller himself was not slow to condemn in others this tendency to generalise. Says he "Men who possessed the true faculty of an historian like Niebuhr, have abstained from passing sentence on the history of a nation whose literature had only just been recovered, and had not yet passed through the ordeal of philological criticism. Other historians however thought they could do what Niebuhr had left undone; and after perusing some poems of Kalidasa, some fables of Hitopadesa, some verses of the Ananda-lahari, or the mystic poetry of

1 See also R. K. Mookerji, *Later Gupta History and Chronology, JI. of Ind History*, IV. 17, Dineschandra Sircar, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Jyotirmoy Sen, *Riddle of Pradyota Dynasty*, IHQ, (1980), 678, H. D. Bhude, *Pradyota Dynasty*, JBORS, (1921), K. P. Jayaswal, *Chandragupta II and his predecessors*, JBARS, XVIII. 17

the Bhagavad-gita, they gave with the aid of Megasthenes and Appollonius of Tyana a so-called historical account of the Indian nation without being aware that they were using as contemporary witnesses authors as distant as Dante and Virgil. No nation has in this respect been more unjustly treated than the Indian. Not only have general conclusions been drawn from the most scanty materials but the most questionable and spurious authorities have been employed without the least historical investigation." H. H. Wilson, earlier, in the preface to his translation of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, had remarked "Impatience to generalise has availed itself of whatever promised to afford materials for generalisation, and the most erroneous views have often been confidently advocated because the guides to which their authors trusted were ignorant or inefficient."

70 The various accounts given of Candraguṭṭa and Aśoka by Hindu and Buddhist writers, have contributed to a large extent to the manipulation of Indian chronology at the historian's pleasure. In his play *Mudrārākṣasa* Viśākhaḍaṭṭa who wrote about 5th century A.D. dramatises the events relating to Candraguṭṭa and his account is mostly in agreement with the Purāṇic tale. He calls Candraguṭṭa a Maurya and does not describe his parentage.

The object of the play, says Wilson, "is to reconcile Rākṣasa, the hostile minister of Nanda, the late king of Palibothra (*Pāṭaliputra*), to the individuals by whom, or on whose behalf, his sovereign was murdered,—the Brāhman Chāṇakya and the Prince Chandraguṭṭa. With this view, he is rendered by the contrivances of Chāṇakya an object of suspicion to the Prince with whom he has taken refuge, and is consequently dismissed by him. In this deserted condition, he learns the imminent danger of a dear friend, whom Chāṇakya is about to put to death, and in order to effect his liberation, surrenders himself to his enemies. They offer him, contrary to his expectations, the rank and power of prime minister, and the parties are finally friends."

71 The Buddhist accounts such as *Mahāvamsa* and *Dīpavamsa* give a description of the first three kings only of the Dynasty. The accounts given of Candraguṭṭa's origin and parentage are various and contradictory. By one account it is said that *Murā*, the mother of Candraguṭṭa, was the servant girl of *Dhana Nanda*, the last of the Nanda Dynasty, and by her influence she had her son placed on the throne of Magadha at *Pāṭaliputra*. Another account makes him a member of an *Āṇḍhra* family, and says that he acquired the sovereign power by his

own skill and exertion. The writer evidently confuses here the accounts of the two Candragupṭas, Candragupṭa of the Maurya Dynasty with Candragupṭa the Founder of the Gupta Dynasty, and an illegitimate son of the Āndhra family, for the Āndhra family itself came into existence about 700 years after the accession of Candragupṭa Maurya.

According to Northern Buddhistic accounts Candragupṭa was a member of the Sākya family which in consequence of some political intrigues was driven away from its territory. The family repaired to a forest in the Himavanta and there constructed a new town in a delightful and beautiful locality. The streets and houses in the town having been laid after the pattern of a peacock's neck, it was called by the name of Mōriya-nagara, and the family by the name of *Moriya*, and the kingdom founded by it Mōriya Dynasty. The explanation is ingenious and is probably based upon a confusion of the Prākṛit forms of the words Maurya (मौर्य) and Mayūra (मयूर).

The Tika on this Buddhistic account gives a curious origin of the name of this prince Candragupṭa. It is stated that while Candragupṭa was still in the womb, his father's dominions were taken possession of by another powerful neighbouring chief, and his father himself was killed in the contest. "His mother, the queen consort of the monarch of the Mōriya-nagara (मयूरनगर), the city before mentioned, was fully pregnant at the time when that powerful provincial Rāja conquered that kingdom, and put the Mōriyan king to death. In her anxiety to preserve the child in her womb, she departed for the capital of Pupphapura (Pushpapura) under the protection of her elder brothers, and under disguise she dwelt there. At the completion of the ordinary term of pregnancy, she gave birth to a son, and relinquishing him to the protection of the *dēvos*, she placed him in a vase, and deposited him at the door of a cattle-pen. A bull named Chando (चन्द्र) stationed himself by him, to protect him. A herdsman, on observing this prince, moved by affection, like that borne to his own child, took charge of and tenderly reared him, and in giving him a name, in reference to his having been watched by the bull Chando, he called him 'Chanda-guttō' (चन्द्रगुप्त), and brought him up."

But all the Buddhistic works are agreed on one point that Candragupṭa owed his sovereignty entirely to Cānakya alias Kautilya, and not 'called to royalty by the power of the gods and by prodigies' as stated by Justin with reference to his Sandracottus. Nor is there any reference either in the Hindu or the Buddhistic accounts to

Candragupta Maurya's "having traversed India with an army of 600,000 men and conquered the whole" as stated by Plutarch

72 The Buddhistic accounts of Aśoka, as given by the two great schools of Buddhism—*Mahāyāna* and *Hīnayāna*—not only differ from each other but also from the accounts given of Aśoka, the grandson of Candragupta Maurya by the Purāṇic accounts of the Hindus "There is a good deal of confusion in these Buddhistic works as regards the very family and geneology of Aśoka, the Buddhistic king, and one can easily trace that the life and time of Aśoka must have been constructed by the Buddhistic writers who flourished several hundreds of years after him, by jumbling up the lives of three different Indian kings, viz, (1) of Aśoka, (Dharmaśoka) the third in ascent from Kanishka belonging to the First Gōnanda Dynasty of Kasmīr kings as described in the First Book of Kalhaṇa's *Rāja-Tarangīnī* who is said to have freed himself from sins by embracing the faith of Gautama Buddha and by constructing numerous *Vihāras* and *Stūpas*, and by building the town of *Śrīnagarī* with its ninety-six lakhs of houses resplendent with wealth, (2) of Aśokavardhana (Chandāsoka) the grandson of Chandragupta Maurya, as described in the *Purāṇas*, and (3) of Samudragupta or Aśoka the Great, (Mahāsoka) the son of Chandragupta the Founder of the Gupta Dynasty, described by Mr Vincent A Smith himself as the Indian Napoleon, as narrated by his biographer Harishēna, and in the *Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta*, and as corroborated by his numerous coins and inscriptions recently unearthed by European scholars themselves"

The *Mahāvamsa*, (according Wijesinha's revised edition of Tur-nour translation) says "One Kālāsoka had ten sons, who after his death ruled the kingdom righteously for 22 years They were succeeded by other nine brothers, who likewise, in order of seniority, ruled the kingdom for 22 years A Brahman named Chāpakya, who had conceived an implacable hatred against Dhana Nanda, the last survivor of the nine brothers, put that king to death, and placed upon the throne Chandragupta, a member of the princely Mōriya clan descended from the line of the Śākya, who ruled the country for 34 years He was succeeded by his son Bindusāra, who ruled the land for 28 years The sons of Bindusāra, the offspring of sixteen mothers, numbered one hundred and one, of whom the eldest was named Sumana, and the youngest Tishya A third son, Aśoka, uterine brother of Tishya, had been appointed Viceroy of Ujjain by his father On receiving news of King Bindusāra's mortal illness, Aśoka hastened to Pātālīputra, slew his

eldest brother Sumana and his 98 other brothers and ruled the country for 37 years "

The *Dipavaṃsa*, on the other hand, substitutes Śuśunāga for Kā-asoka and makes Asōka, the son of Śuśunāga himself, and omits all mention of the nine Nanda brothers

The *Aśōkavadāna* (according to the prose version in the *Divyāvadāna*) gives the following account of the lineage and family of Asōka —

"(1) King Bimbisāra reigned at Rājagṛha His son was (2) Ajātasatru, whose son was (3) Udayibhadra, whose son was (4) Munda, whose son was (5) Kākavarṇin, whose son was (6) Sahālin, whose son was (7) Tulakuchi, whose son was (8) Mahāmandala, whose son was (9) Praśēnajit, whose son was (10) Nanda, whose son was (11) Bindusāra King Bindusāra reigned at Pāṭalīputra and had a son named Susīma To him was born of Subhadrāṅgī, the daughter of a Brāhman, two sons, the elder named Asōka, and the younger named Vigatāsoka Asoka secured the throne by putting to death the legitimate prince Susīma by a stratagem devised by Rādhāgupta by which Susīma was inveigled while marching against the capital, so that he fell into a ditch full of burning fuel and there miserably perished "

Here it will be observed that Candragupta is altogether omitted, and Bindusāra, the father of Asōka, is represented as being the son of Nanda The metrical *Aśōkavadāna*, on the other hand, substitutes Mahīpala for Ajātasatru, and exhibits numerous other variations, which deprive these Buddhist accounts of historical worth The conquests ascribed to Asōka in the various Buddhist accounts are no doubt taken from the conquests of Samudragupta or Asōka the Great, and the embassy of the Ceylon king is also tracable to the same origin The story of his having embraced the faith of Buddha, of his having built stūpas and Vihāras, of his having reconstructed the city of Pāṭalīputra and of his having introduced several reforms in the affairs of the kingdom and in the matter of the appointment of officers of state are all taken from the accounts of Asōka and his successors as given by Chhavillākara and by Kalhaṇa in his *Rājataranginī*

73 Inferences have been drawn in support of this imaginary synchronism by the dates assigned to Buddha-Nirvāṇa Opinions are various on that event "The Northern Buddhists give dates ranging from 2422 to 546 B C, and the *Ain-i Akbari* of Abul Fazl fixes 1246 B C, for

the event The Tamil *Manimegalai* gives the year 1616 of some unknown era, probably of the Kali, and the Buddhists of Ceylon, Burma and Siam have uniformly been regulating their calendars on the basis that the Nirvana occurred in B C 543 The Western scholars are likewise as much divided in their opinion, though their dates range only from 544 to 370 B C Professors Rhys Davids and Kern give 412 and 388 B C respectively for the Para Nirvāna, whereas Max Muller to the last maintained that 477 B C, was the correct date Dr Fleet considers the event to have taken place in B C 482³ and Professor Oldenberg and M Barth fix it in 480 B.C Mr V A Smith has given us three different dates, B C 508 in his 'Asoka', 487 in his 'Early India', and 480 to 470 B C in a recently published article ⁴

The Maurya dynasty ruled at Magadha according to the Purāṇas in 1535-1219 B C, and Candraguṭṭa ascended the throne in 1538 B C But according to modern orientalists the Gupta era began somewhere about 325 B C There they vary in arranging the date of Candraguṭṭa's coronation between 325 and 312 B C,⁵ such as 325, 321, 316, 315 and 312 For instance, V. Smith, as we have seen, fixes the coronation of Candraguṭṭa in 321 B C But Fleet has a word of condemnation ⁶ "Mr Smith's chronological details are even *inter se* wrong and irreconcilable The most reliable tradition, adopted by Mr. Smith himself for other ends, gives an interval of 56 years from the commencement of the reign of Chandraguṭṭa to the *abhisheka* of Aśoka, yet on the same page, Mr Smith has adopted only 52 years, placing the *abhisheka* of Aśoka in B C 269 And further, he has placed only three years earlier, in B C 272, that which he has termed the "accession"—(in reality, the usurpation)—of Aśoka, regardless of the fact that the same tradition makes that interval one of four years ⁵ A chronology which includes such inconsistencies and errors as these in some of its radical details cannot in any way be accepted as final."

1. *JRAS*, (1906) 179 and 669

2. *Indian Review*, VIII 561.

3. See M Senart, *IA*, XX 229, V Gobala Aiyar, *IA*, XXXVII 841; Buhler, *IA*, VI 149, *EI*, III. 184; Fleet, *JRAS*, (1904), 1, (1906), 968, V. Smith, *EHI*, 178

4. *JRAS*, (1906), 984

5. This is easily arrived at, by deduction, from the *Dīpavaṃsa*, 6, l 20, 21. It is expressly stated by the commentary on that work, the *Mahāvamsa*, in the statement about Aśoka (Turnour 21 f) that —

Vemāṭike bhātāre so hantvā ekunakam satam |
sakale Jambudīpasmim ekarajjam apāpupi ||

In a paper read before the First Oriental Conference in Poona in 1919 on the same subject, the epoch of the Early Guptas, Hiralal Amritlal Shah of Bombay again considered the question, and adducing quite different reasons, arrived at about A.D. 200 for the initial date of the early Gupta era

74. In a scholarly examination of the subject R Shama Sastry thus summarises the results of his research

"(1) Alberuni's statement that the Gupta Valabhi era A D 319-320 was started from the epoch of the extermination of the Guptas is shown to be correct, inasmuch as it is supported by the Prabhāvākharita

(2) The initial date of the early Gupta era, as distinguished from the Gupta-Valabhi era of A.D. 319-320, is fixed to lie in A D 200-201 on the authority of Jinasena's statement that Guptas ruled for 231 years and preceded the rule of Kalki whose birth date is fixed to be in the Mahāmāgha-samvatsara, A.D 402 on the authority of Nemichandra's statement made in his Bāhubalīcharita that Chāmunda-rāya (A D 970-1030) set up the statue of Gomaṭeswara in Belgola on Sunday, the Chaitra sukla panchamī of the year Vibhava in Kalki era 600 expired, corresponding to Sunday the 3rd March of A D 1028

(3) With this starting point for the early Gupta era, the date of Śilāditya VII or Dhruvabhāṭa of Valabhi, Gupta samvatsara 447 comes out to be $200-201+447=A D 647$, making it possible for the Chinese traveller Huen Tsiang to meet him about A D 640

(4) With this initial date of the early Guptas, the last date of Samudragupta's rule will be about A.D 282 when or a little earlier he could possibly conquer the Shahan Shahis and the last king of the Murunda dynasty of Pataliputra, and when he could receive an embassy from Meghavarnābhaya, king of Ceylon, whose date of accession to the throne is A D 254

(5) This initial date of the Early Guptas plus the inscriptional date

Jina-nibbānato pachoḥhā pure tassa=ābhisekato |
 atthārasamī vassa satam dvayam evam vjaniyam ||
 Patvā chatuḥi vasseḥi ekarājā mahāyaso |
 pure Paṭaliputtasmim attanam abhisechayi ||

"Having slain (his) brothers, born of various mothers, to the number of a hundred less by one, he attained sole sovereignty in the whole of Jambudvīpa. After the death of the Conqueror (Buddha), (and) before the anointment of him (Aśoka), (there were) 218 years, thus is it to be understood. Having reached (a point of time marked) by four years, he, possessed of the great glory of sole sovereignty, caused himself to be anointed at the town Paṭaliputtā.

269 of Mahānāman's construction of a Vihara in Bodhgaya is shown to tally with the Ceylonese date of king Dhatusena (469) whose contemporary was Mahānāman, the priest and founder of the Vihara

(6) It has also been shown how the last of the Āndhrabhṛitya kings Sātakarni duṣu-kulananda was contemporary with the first of the Guptas, the successors of the Brihadbāṇas in the north and how Mayurasarman, the first of the Kadambas and conqueror of the Brihadbāṇas in Mysore was contemporary with the same Sātakarni and how Kakutsthavarman living in the 80th year of Kadamba victory was contemporary with Chandragupta II living in the 82nd year of the Gupta era and probably gave his daughter in marriage to Chandragupta II

(7) It is also shown how with this starting point for the Gupta era, Thursday coincides with Ashadha Sukla Dvādasi of Budhagupta's inscriptional date, G S 165 Here the year taken for verification is A.D. 200-201—G S. 165 expired=365-366 The twelfth Tithi of Ashadha (June) A.D. 365 is shown to fall on Thursday

(8) For the assumption that there were two Toramanas and two Mihirakulas, the Chinese accounts of the murder of Simha, the 23rd Buddhist Patriarch, by Mihirakula in about 420 A.D. are to be relied upon It is however immaterial whether this assumption proves acceptable or not, for the burden of proof for the starting point of the Early Gupta era in A.D. 200-201 does not depend upon it

(9) As the Early Gupta era of A.D. 200-201 is shown to be quite different from the Gupta-Valabhi era used by the Huns and probably by the Parivrajaka Mahārājas, my scheme does not come into clash with Dr. Fleet's scheme

(10) This scheme throws a flood of light on what has hitherto been regarded as a dark period between A.D. 200 and 300 in the History of India ²¹

75 Speaking of the Indian sources, Fleet writes (*JA*, XXX 1 :

"We should not be able to deduce the date of Asoka from the Puranas But we should find that the RAJATARANGINI would place him somewhere about B.C. 1260 We shall find, indeed, that the Nepal VAMSAVALI would place him, roughly, about B.C. 2600 As, however, that list does not mention him as a ruler of Nepal but only as a visitor to the country, we should probably infer a mistake in that account, and prefer to select the date of B.C. 1260 And then we should set about arranging the succession of the kings of India, itself, from the Puranas,

1. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1927).

with B C 1260 for the approximate date of the accession of Asoka as our starting-point ”

76 In his dissertation on the Chronology of the Hindus, written in 1788 (As Res Vol II, p iii, reprint of 1799) Sir William Jones took a different starting-point and fixed it in a different way His paper was based on a work entitled PURANARTHAPRAKASA, which was composed shortly before the time at which he was writing, by Pandit Radhakant Sarman and which seems to have been based, in its turn, chiefly on the BHAGAVATAPURANA In the first place he brought forward a verse given to him from a book entitled BHAGAVATAMRITA, composed by “a learned GOSWAMI,” which purported to fix the Kaliyuga year 1002 expired as the date of the manifestation of Buddha With this he coupled an ‘assertion in the same book that, two years before that date, there occurred the revolution which placed on the throne Pradyoṭa, the first king in the third dynasty before that of the Mauryas And he thus exhibited a chronology which, taking the accession of Pradyoṭa in B.C 2100 as its starting-point, placed the accession of Sisunaga in B.C 1962, the accession of Nanda in B.C 1602, and the accession of Candragupta (the grandfather of Asoka) in B.C 1502, and made the dynasty of the Āṇḍhrabhṛtyas run from B.C. 908 to 432 But he considered that the figures put forward by the Puranas were excessive both for generations and for reigns And adjusting those figures according to his own estimate, and taking, as a starting-point B.C 1027 for the date of Buddha as fixed by the Chinese authorities as interpreted by De Geignes he submitted a revised scheme, which placed Pradyoṭa B.C 1029 Nanda B.C 699, and the rise of the Andhrabhṛtyas in B.C 149

77. Patañjali mentions in Mahābhāṣya (I 1, 68) ‘Candragupta-sabhā’ and ‘Puṣyamiṭra-sabhā.’ It is said that he mentions Mauryas in V iii, 39 as the vendors of idol images or beggars carrying these idols but does not connect them with any of the ruling races at all The reading of the word ‘Maurya’ seems to be wrong “The old MSS. (of the Mahabhashya) of the South makes the allusion of making and selling idols apply not to Mauryas but to Pouras, a peculiar tribe also mentioned in the Vishnu Purana (IV xxiv), for example MSS Nos 31, 33 of the Adyar Library, which are, on paleographical examination found to be more than 3 and 4 centuries old respectively, may be consulted If “Pouras” be the right word, so much controversy about the allusion of Patañjali to the Mauryas will vanish at once ”

78. Kalhaṇa's Rājataranginī is not after all an unreliable record. As a chronicle of Kashmir annals it is a true representation. Its importance in literary history lies in the variety and detail of traditional information it gives of past history over a long period of 3500 years. He wrote the introduction to his work in 1148 A.D. He might have been in error in saying that the Mahābhārata war was fought in 663 of Kali, for there were two astronomical views on the movement of Saptarṣis and he chose one of them.¹

Kalhana says that the 24th year of the Laukika corresponded with the year 1070 of Śakakāla. "The year 1 of the Laukika coincided with 1047 of the Saka, or A.D. 1025, and as the cycle was a century one, the first year of each century must have corresponded with the 25th year of each Christian century."

79. Loka Kala, Laukikābda or Sapta-Rṣi-Kāla is so named after the Sapta-Rṣis seven Rṣis or the seven stars of the constellation of Great Bear. It is supposed that the Rṣis move from star to star once in a hundred years, but on the actual reckoning there is a difference of opinion between Vṛddha Garga and Purāṇas on the one side and Varāhamihira and other later astronomers on the other. "By the former it is said the seven rishis were in Māgha between 3177 and 3077 B.C., that is in B.C. 3101 at the beginning of the Kali-yuga, while by the latter they are placed in Māgha just 653 years later, between B.C. 2477 and 2377, that is in B.C. 2448. The reckoning of the Lok-Kal, as now used in Kashmir and the other hill states, is by the common luni-solar years beginning on Chaitrasuddhi 1, or the new moon of Chaitra. The cycle consists of 27 centuries, each counting from 1 to 100 years, when a new reckoning is begun. The first year of each century corresponds with the 25th year of each Christian century."²

80. Modern historians are again uncertain on the date of Kaṇiṣka but the opinion prevails among them that he ruled in about 78 A.D. and according to some his name is connected with the Śāka era. If according to Kalhaṇa, the reigns of kings that ruled in Kashmir after Kaṇiṣka made up a period of 2330 years up to his day, that is, the reign of King Jayasimha, Kalhaṇa would then go up to 78 plus 2330 to 2408 A.D., but we are now in 1937 A.D.³

1 See paras 184-188 on Kalhaṇa.

2 See for an elaborate discussion, Cunningham's *Indian Eras*.

3 On Kaṇiṣka, see V. Gopala Aiyar, *The Chronology of Ancient India*, V. E. Smith, *EH*, 82, 251, and *IA*, X, 218, XIII, 58, XXXV, 88, XLII, 182, XLVI, 261, *IAli*, II, 24, *JA*, XXXII, 417.

81. The story of Candragupta as originally given in the *Bṛhaṭ-kaṭhā* in the *Paīśācī* language by Guṇādhyā, the prime minister of King Śātavāhana of Pratiṣṭhāna, and as we now have it in *Kaṭhāsariṭ-sāgara*, a true translation of the said work in Sanskrit by Śōmadēva, is somewhat different from the accounts given of that prince in the *Purāṇas* on the one hand, and in *Viśākhadaṭṭa's* *Mudrārākṣasa* and its commentary on the other. Here Candragupta is represented as the only son of Nanda, the king of Pāṭaliputra and a contemporary of Kāṭyāyana Vararuci, the celebrated author of *Vārṇikas* and a disciple of Varṣacārya, under whom Pāṇini also first began to study Grammar¹

82. The following are the passages of *Kaṭhāsariṭsāgara*, dealing with King Nanda and Candragupta —

अत्रान्तरे तुषाराद्री कृत्वा तीव्रतर तप ।
 आराधितो मया देवो वरद पार्वतीपति ॥
 तदेव तेन शास्त्र मे पाणिनीय प्रकाशितम् ।
 तदिच्छानुग्रहादेव मया पूर्णीकृतं च तत् ॥
 ...
 वर्षोऽथ मधुखादैश्छन्दो व्यकरणं नवम् ।
 ततः प्रकाशितं स्वामिकुमरिणेन तस्य तत् ॥
 ततो व्याडीन्द्रदत्ताभ्यां विज्ञप्तो दक्षिणां प्रति ।
 गुरुर्वषोऽजवीत् स्वर्णकोटिर्मे दधितामिति ॥
 अगीकृत्य गुरोर्वाक्यं तौ च मामित्यवोचताम् ।
 एहि राज्ञः सखे ! नन्दाद्याचितुं गुरुदक्षिणाम् ॥
 गच्छामो नाऽन्यतोऽस्माभिरियत् काचनमाच्यते ।
 नवाधिकाया नवते कोटीनामधिपो हि सः ॥
 वाचा तेनोपकोशा च प्राग्धर्ममगिनीकृता ।
 अतः स्यात् स ते किञ्चित् त्वदगुणैः समवाच्यते ॥
 इति निश्चित्य नन्दस्य भूपतेः कटकं वयम् ।
 अयोध्यास्थमगच्छाम त्वयः सब्रह्मचारिणः ॥
 प्राप्तमात्रेषु चाऽस्मासु स राज्ञः पचतां गतः ।
 राष्ट्रे कोलाहलं जातं विषादेन सहैव न ॥
 अवोचदिन्द्रदत्तोऽथ तत्क्षणं योगसिद्धिमान् ।
 गतासोरस्य भूपस्य शरीरं प्रविशाम्यहम् ॥

1. See paras 4-7 *post*.

अर्धी वररुचिर्मेऽस्तु दास्याभ्यस्मै च काचनम् ।
 व्याडी रक्षतु मे देह तत. प्रत्यागमावधि ॥
 इत्युक्त्वा नन्ददेहान्तरिन्द्रदत्त समाविशत् ।
 प्रत्युज्जीवति भूपे च राष्ट्रे तत्रोत्सवो ऽभवत् ॥
 शून्ये देवगृहे देहमिन्द्रदत्तस्य रक्षितुम् ।
 व्याडौ स्थिते गतोऽभूवमहं राजकुलं तदा ॥
 प्रविश्य स्वस्तिकारं च विधाय गुरुदक्षिणाम् ।
 योगनन्दो मया तत्र हेमकोटिं स याचितः ॥
 तत स शकटालाख्यं सत्यनन्दस्य मन्त्रिणम् ।
 सुवर्णकोटिमेतस्मै दापयेति समादिशत् ॥
 मृतस्य जीवितं दृष्ट्वा सद्यश्च प्राप्तिमर्थिन. ।
 स तत्त्वं ज्ञातवान् मन्त्री किमज्ञेयं हि धीमताम् ॥
 देव दीयत इत्युक्त्वा स च मन्त्रीत्यचिन्तयत् ।
 नन्दस्य तनयो बालो राज्यं च बहुशत्रुमत् ॥
 तत् सम्प्रत्यस्य रक्षामि तस्य देहमपीदृशम् ।
 निश्चिन्तयत् स तत्कालं शवान् सर्वानदाहत् ॥
 चारैरन्विष्य तन्मध्ये लब्ध्वा देवगृहात्तत. ।
 व्याडिं विधूय तद् दग्धमिन्द्रदत्तकलेवरम् ॥

.. ...

अथैव योगनन्दस्य व्याडिना क्रन्दित पुरः ।
 अबल्लण्यमनुत्क्रान्तजीवो योगास्थितो द्विजः ॥
 अनाथशव इत्यथ बलाद्गन्धस्तवोदये ।
 तच्छ्रुत्वा योगनन्दस्य काऽप्यवस्थाऽभवच्छ्रुत्वा ॥
 देहदाहात् स्थिरे तस्मिन् जाते निर्गल्य मे ददौ ।
 सुवर्णकोटिं स तत. शकटालो महामति. ॥
 योगनन्दोऽथ विजने सशोको व्याडिमब्रवीत् ।
 शूद्रीभूतोऽस्मि विप्रोऽपि किं श्रिया स्थिरयापि मे ॥
 तच्छ्रुत्वाऽश्वास्य तं व्याडिः कालोचितमावत ।
 ज्ञातोऽसि शकटालेन तदेन चिन्तयाऽधुना ॥
 महामन्त्रीकथं खेच्छमचिरात् त्वां विनाशयेत् ।
 पूर्वैनन्दमुतं कुर्याच्चन्द्रशुप्तं हि भूमिपम् ॥

तस्माद्वररुचिं मन्त्रिसुरख्यत्वे कुरु येन ते ।
 एतद्बुद्ध्या भवेद्राज्य स्थिर दिव्यानुभावया ॥
 इत्युक्तवैव गते व्याडौ दातु ता गुरुदक्षिणाम् ।
 तदैवाऽऽनीय दत्ता मे योगनन्देन मन्त्रिता ॥

इति कथापीठलम्बके, पचमस्तरंगः ॥

दिवसेष्वथ गच्छत्सु तत् तपोवनमेकदा ।
 अयोध्यात उपागच्छत् विप्र एको मयि स्थिते ॥
 स मया योगनन्दस्य राज्यवार्तामपृच्छथ त ।
 प्रत्यभिज्ञाय मां सोऽथ सशोकमिदं मब्रवीत् ॥
 शृणु नन्दस्य यदवृत्तं तत्सकाशाद्भूते त्वयि ।
 लब्धावकाशस्तत्ताम्बूच्छकटालश्चिरेण सः ॥
 स चिन्तयन् वधोपायं योगनन्दस्य युक्तिः ।
 क्षितिं खनन्तमद्राक्षीच्चाणक्याख्यं द्विज पथि ॥
 किं भुव खनसीत्युक्ते तेन विप्रोऽथ सोऽब्रवीत् ।
 दर्ममुन्मूलयाम्यन्न पादो ह्येतेन मे क्षतः ॥
 तच्छ्रुत्वा सहसा मन्त्री कोपनं कूरनिश्चयम् ।
 तं विप्रं योगनन्दस्य वधोपायममन्यत ॥
 नाम पृष्ठाऽब्रवीत् तं च हे ब्रह्मन् ' दापयामि ते ।
 अहं त्रयोदशीश्राद्धे गृहे नन्दस्य भूपते ॥
 दक्षिणातः सुवर्णस्य लक्षं तव भविष्यति ।
 मोक्ष्यसे धुरि चाऽन्येषां एहि तावद्गृहं मम ॥
 इत्युक्त्वा शकटालस्तं चाणक्यमनयद्गृहम् ।
 श्राद्धाद्देऽदर्शयत् तं च राज्ञे स श्रद्धये च तम् ॥
 ततः स गत्वा चाणक्यो धुरि श्राद्धं उपाविशत् ।
 सुबन्धुनामा विप्रश्च तामैच्छदुरमात्मनः ॥
 तद् गत्वा शकटालेन विज्ञप्तो नन्दभूपातिः ।
 अवादीनाऽपरो योग्यः सुबन्धुर्धुरि तिष्ठतु ॥
 आगत्यैतां च राजाज्ञां शकटालो भयानतः ।
 न मेऽपराध इत्युक्त्वा चाणक्याय न्यवेदयत् ॥
 सोऽथ कोपेन चाणक्यो ज्वलन्निव समन्ततः ।
 निर्जां मुक्त्वा शिख्रां तत्र प्रतिज्ञामकरोदिमाम् ॥

अवश्यं हन्त ! नन्दोऽयं सप्तमिर्दिवसैर्मया ।
 विनाशयो बन्धनीयो च ततो निर्मेन्युना शिखा ॥
 इत्युक्तवन्त कुपिते योगनन्दे पलायितम् ।
 अलक्षित स्वरोहे त शकटालो न्यवेशयत् ॥
 तत्रोपकरणे दत्ते गुप्त तेनैव मन्त्रिणा ।
 स चाणक्यो द्विज क्वाऽपि गत्वा कृत्यामसाधयत् ॥
 तद्वशाद्योगनन्दोऽथ दाहज्वरमवाप्य स ।
 सप्तमे दिवसे प्राप्ते पञ्चत्वं ससुपागमत् ॥
 हत्वा हिरण्यगुप्तं च शकटालेन तत्सुतम् ।
 पूर्वमनन्दसुते लक्ष्मीध्वन्द्रगुप्ते निवेशिता ॥
 मन्त्रित्वे तस्य चाऽभ्यर्थ्य बृहस्पतिसम धिया ।
 चाणक्यं स्थापयित्वा त स मन्त्री कृतकृत्यताम् ॥
 मन्वानो योगनन्दस्य कृतवैरप्रतिक्रिय ।
 पुत्रशोकेन निर्विण्णं प्रविवेश महद्गमम् ॥

इति कथापीठलम्बके षष्ठस्तरगः

The above passage has been briefly translated by H H Wilson as follows —

“ After living for a considerable period in my hermitage, the death of Yogananda was thus related to me by a Brāhman, who was travelling from Ayodhya and had rested at my cell. Śakatāla, brooding on his plan of revenge, observed one day a Brāhman of mean appearance digging in a meadow, and asked him what he was doing there, Chānakya, the Brāhman, replied “I am rooting out this grass which has hurt my foot.” The reply struck the minister as indicative of a character which would contribute to his designs, and he engaged him by the promise of a large reward and high honour, to come and preside at the Śrāddha, which was to be celebrated next new moon at the palace Chānakya arrived, anticipating the most respectful treatment, but Yogananda had been previously persuaded by Śakatāla to assign precedence to another Brāhman, Subandhu, so that when Chānakya came to take this place, he was thrust from it with contumely. Burning with rage, he threatened the king before all the court, and announced his death within seven days. Nanda ordered him to be turned out of the palace Sakatāla received him into his house and persuading Chānakya that he was wholly innocent of being instrumental to his ignominious treatment, and contributed to encourage and inflame his in-

dignation Chānakya thus protected, practised a magical rite, in which he was a proficient, and by which, on the seventh day Nanda was deprived of life Śakatāla, on the father's death, effected the destruction of Hiranyagupta, his son, and raised Chandragupta, the son of genuine Nanda to the throne Chānakya became the prince's minister, and Sakatāla having attained the only object of his existence, retired to end his days in the woods"¹

83. According to Kāthāsarit-Sāgara therefore Candragupta was the only son of the genuine-king Nanda, and was very young when the genuine Nanda passed away and Indradatta entered the dead body of the king and began to rule the kingdom, so he was called by the name Yoga Nanda Yogananda begot a son on the queen of the late real or Satya Nanda and he was named Hiranyagupta. Besides the mention of these two persons, there is no reference to "Nanda and his eight sons" anywhere in the said poem. These passages also show that Candragupta was but a king in name, that he was in no sense a usurper or adventurer, that he took no active part at all in establishing himself on the throne of Nanda, that it was Sakatāla, the old minister of the king, and Cāpakya, a Brahman sage of great learning and determination that planned the death of Yogananda and of his son Hiranyagupta, and raised the young prince Candragupta, the legitimate son of the genuine Nanda to the throne of Magadha Nowhere is there any reference to this Candragupta being a conquerer of enemies or of having received ambassadors from foreign princes, either at Pataliputra or Ayodhya, the permanent and temporary capitals, and it is at Ayodhya the revolution came off on the death of king Nanda, leading to the elevation of Candragupta to the throne.

84 The statements of the early European writers may now be summed up* —(a) At the time of Alexander's invasion, the Prasi or eastern kingdom of Magadha was ruled over by a king Xandrames, according to the officers of Alexander sent to investigate the country living ahead, and also according to Poros whom Alexander consulted, Xandrames was a powerful king who could bring into the field 20,000 horse, 200,000 foot, 2900 chariots and 4000 or 3000 elephants, he was nevertheless of mean origin, the queen of his predecessor had fallen

1. (Vide Appendix II to the Preface of his Mudrarakshasa, *The Theatre of the Hindus*, II, 140-141).

2. McOrindle's collection and translation of all the passages from classical writers in six books are regarded as reliable by Vincent Smith, of which Indika et Megasthenes and Arian are instructive;

in love with him and had helped him to murder her husband, and therefore he was very unpopular with his subjects (b) Sandrocottos or Androcottos as a young prince had met Alexander, and had offended him and incurred his displeasure, but after the retreat of Alexander he put himself at the head of a band of robbers, drove out the prefects of Alexander, and made himself king (c) Seleukus Nikator tried to regain the Indian conquests of Alexander, but found it wiser to contract an alliance with him¹ (d) Megasthenes the ambassador of Seleucus dwelt at the court of Sandracypus and wrote an account of those in whose midst he lived (from which account later writers have quoted copiously)

“The Greek writers mention as many as six names or variations, Xandrames, Andrames, Agrammes, Sandrocottus and Sandrocypus. Whether these apply to one or more than one individual; and Max Muller was not sure but in his obdurate zeal to demonstrate the identity he said “Xandrames ...is the last king of the empire conquered by Sandracotus If however it should be maintained that those two names were intended for one and the same king, the explanation would still be very easy For Chandragupta is also called Chandra, and Chandramas in Sanskrit is a synonym for Chandra”²

85 What was discovered was simply this—that in the celebrated inscriptions of king Priyadarsin—Rock Edicts III and XIII—Antiochus and Ptolemy are mentioned as Priyadarsin’s contemporaries There is nothing in the inscriptions to show that Priyadarsin was Asoka Maurya, grandson of Candragupta Maurya. Strict logic will justify only one inference from the first Greek Synchronism—that Sandrocottus whoever he was was the contemporary of Seleukus Nikator, and only one from the second—that Priyadarsin was the contemporary of a Greek ruler Antiochus. Unless proof is forth coming to show that either Sandrocottus or Priyadarsin was a Maurya King, it is wrong to say as Vincent Smith does say, that by the discovery of these two synchronisms “the chronology of the Maurya dynasty was placed on firm footing, and is no longer open to doubt in its main outlines”

86. Who was Xandrames? Let us compare the Greek and the Indian versions, understanding Xandramas to be the predecessor of Sandrocottus First in Indian traditions Nanda, or more precisely Sumālya Nanda, was the immediate predecessor of Candragupta Maurya. If therefore by Sandrocottus we are to understand Candragupta Maurya,

1 V Smith, *EHI*, 140

2. *ASL*, 148.

we must identify Xandrames with Nanda. This is exactly what is done by almost all Orientalists like Vincent Smith, with a vague statement "that the king of the Gangaridie and Parsu . . . was named, as nearly as the Greeks could catch the unfamiliar sounds, Xandrames or Agrammes.... who *must have been* one of the Nandas mentioned in native tradition"¹ and that somehow in order to maintain the hypothesis, Xandrames *must be* identified with Nanda. Max Muller as a philologist is convinced that Greek Xandrames is Sanskrit 'Chandramas or Chandra,' and rather than ignore grammar he is for identifying Xandrames and Sandrocottus. Secondly the Greek account of Xandrames does not tally either with Hindu or with Buddhist versions of Nanda. According to them Mahāpadma, first king of the Nanda dynasty, was the son of the last Śaisunāga King Mahānandin by a Śūdra wife, and was a powerful, avaricious, wicked king, having Kṣātrīya wives, but there is no allusion to any of his father's wives having become his paramour. The Purāṇic writers, had no love for Mahāpadma and they would certainly have mentioned such an incident in his life, if it really referred to him. His father Mahānandin is nowhere stated to have been murdered whether by Mahāpadma or his paramour. Thus neither from the name nor from the description, can Xandrames be reasonably identified with Nanda.

87 We have no less difficulty in identifying Sandrocottus or Sandrocypus with Candraguṭṭa Maurya. The description given of the mighty Sandrocottus by the Greeks cannot possibly compare with any Indian account whatsoever of Candraguṭṭa Maurya, who, far from being a great conqueror, owed his elevation and rule entirely to the Brāhmana Caṇākya or Kautilya. The Hindu and the Buddhist versions are agreed here. Max Muller's explanation is only this, that because Candraguṭṭa Maurya was grandfather of the great Buddhist Emperor Asoka, therefore the Brahmanas unduly lowered him, and the Buddhists as excessively exalted him, and that is mere fancy. The part played by Rākṣasa, the devoted minister of the Nandas at first and of Candraguṭṭa at last, and the power exercised throughout by the Brahman Caṇākya over Candraguṭṭa amply indicate that Candraguṭṭa and his immediate predecessors were in no way considered anti-brahmanical. Even King Priyadarsin of the Edicts was no persecutor of the Brahmanas, for in his inscriptions he always enjoins *the highest respect for "brahmanas' and sramanas"*

88 The identification of Rāja Priyadarsin with Raja Asoka was based *entirely* upon Ceylonese Buddhist chronicles. Talboys Wheeler wrote in 1874, "The identification of Raja Priyadarsin of the Edicts with Raja Asoka of the Buddhist chronicles was first pointed out by Mr Turnour who rested it upon a passage in the *Dīpāvasa*. The late Prof Wilson objected to this identification"¹ Prof Rhys David declared "It is not too much to say that without the help of the Ceylon Books, the striking identification of the King Piyadassi of the edicts with the king Asoka of history would never have been made"² But the Ceylon chronicles are admitted to be utterly worthless as history and according to Wheeler "the Buddhist chroniclesmight be dismissed as a monkish jumble of myths and names," and even Vincent Smith in the preface to his *Asoka* himself said "I reject absolutely the Ceylonese chronology..... The undeserved credit given to the monks of Ceylon has been a great hindrance to the right understanding of ancient Indian history." And yet it is on such undeserved credit that the identity of Priyadarśin with Asoka Maurya rests to this day.

89. In the literature of India there is no allusion anywhere to an invasion or inroad into India by foreign nations up to the time of the Āṇḍhra kings; and the only person who bore the name of Candragupṭa answering to the description of Sandracottus of the Greeks who flourished about the time of Alexander the Great in India, according to the Purāṇas, was Candragupṭa of the Guṭṭa Dynasty who established the mighty empire of the Guptas on the ruins of the already decayed Āṇḍhra Dynasty about 2811 years after the Mahābhārata War, corresponding to 328 B C, but he is now being placed in the 4th century A D, on the sole strength of this mistaken Greek Synchronism by our Savants of Indian history God save us from our friends!

90 Beyond the verbal resemblance of Candragupṭa and Sandracottus and Pāṭalīpuṭra and Pālīboṭra, there is nothing to justify the identification of Candragupṭa Maurya and Sandracottus of the Greeks. No attempt has been made to explain the various names Xandrames, Andrames, Andracottus, Sandracottus, Sandrocyptus, and Sandrocupias as used by the Greek writers to denote *three different persons*, as referring respectively to the last king of the previous dynasty, the usurper who has been actually reigning at Pāṭalīpuṭra at the time when Alexander

1. *History of India*, Hindu, Buddhist and Brahmanical, 280

2. *Buddhist India*, 273

3. *BHI*, 171

invaded India, and the king who concluded a treaty with Seleucus Nicator at the instance of Megasthenes. These facts would equally apply, if not more pointedly, to Candragupta of the Gupta Dynasty who usurped the throne of Candrasri, the last virtual king of the Āndhra Dynasty, under the pretext of acting as guardian and regent of his minor son Pulśman and who was succeeded by Samudragupta who established himself on the throne of his father with the aid of vagabonds and banditti at Paṭālipuṭra, and who is distinctly stated in inscriptions to have received ambassadors from various foreign princes, to have conquered the whole of India, then extending far beyond its present limits, and to have performed even an *Aśvamēḍha* sacrifice in honour of his glorious victories.

91 Kalyugārājavṛttānta, which is a part of Bhaviṣyoṭṭarapurāṇa, describes the last two kings of the Āndhra dynasty and the advent of Gupta dynasty thus

चन्द्रश्रीशतकर्णस्तु त्रीणि वर्षाणि मोक्ष्यति ।
 वासिष्ठपुत्रनाम्नातु ख्यातो यश्च भविष्यति ॥
 पुलोमाऽपि तथा चान्यस्समासप्त भविष्यति ।
 चटोत्कचस्य पुत्रेण चन्द्रयुप्तेन पालितः ॥
 एते द्वात्रिंशदान्प्रास्तु मोक्ष्यन्ते वसुधामिमाम् ।
 शतानि पञ्च पूर्णानि तेषां राज्यं भविष्यति ॥
 तेषां तु संस्थिते राज्ये भूमिर्गुप्तान् गमिष्यति ।
 श्रीपार्वतीयान्मृत्पुत्रा इत्याख्यां यान्ति ये नृपाः ॥
 * * *
 अथ श्रीचन्द्रयुगारः पार्वतीयकुलोद्भवः ।
 श्रीपर्वतेन्द्राधिपते पौत्रे श्रीयुसुप्तपतेः ¹ ॥
 श्रीचटोत्कचयुसस्य तनयोऽमितविक्रमः ।
 कुमारदेवीमुद्राया नेपालाभीशितु सुताम् ॥

1. The names underlined like this, श्रीयुसु, चन्द्र (=इन्दु), स्कन्द, कुमार etc., are mentioned in order shly by Kālidāsa in Raghuvamśa (I 11 18) e.g.,

i आसीन्महीक्षितामाद्य प्रणवच्छन्दसासिच

ii इन्दु क्षीरनिचाविव

iii व्युद्धोरस्को वृषस्कन्दः ।

Here the word श्री a single letter, is compared with the word औ—a single letter of great sanctity. In I 31, Kālidāsa says that Sudakṣiṇā was a Magadha princess, thus suggesting that Kālidāsa had in mind Magadha kingdom when he wrote this poem.

लब्धप्रवेशो राज्येऽस्मिन् लिच्छवीनां सहायतः ।
सेनाध्यक्षपदं प्राप्य नानासैन्यसमन्वितः ॥

लिच्छवीयां समुद्राद्वा देव्याश्चन्द्रश्रियोऽञ्जुजाम् ।
राष्ट्रियस्यालको भूत्वा राजपत्न्या च चोदितः ॥

चन्द्रश्रियं घातायित्वा मिषेणैव हि केनचित् ।
तत्पुत्रप्रतिभूत्वे च राज्या चैव नियोजितः ॥

वर्षेस्तु सप्तभिः प्राप्तराज्यो वीराग्रणीरसौ ।
तत्पुत्रं च पुलोमानं विनिहत्य नृपार्भकम् ॥

आन्ध्रेभ्यो मागधं राज्यं प्रसङ्गाऽपहरिष्यति ।
कचेन स्तेन पुत्रेण लिच्छवीयेन संयुतः ॥

विजयादित्यनाम्ना तु सप्त पालयिता समाः ।
स्वनाम्ना च शकं त्वेकं स्थापयिष्यति भूतले ॥

एकच्छलश्चक्रवर्ती पुत्रस्तस्य महायशः ।
नेपालाधीशदौहित्रो म्लेच्छसैन्यैः समावृतः ॥

वज्रकं पितरं हत्वा सहपुत्रं सन्नान्धवम् ।
अशोकादित्यनाम्ना तु प्रख्यातो जगतीतले ॥

स्वयं विगतशोकश्च मातरं चाऽमिनन्दयन् ।
समुद्रगुप्तो भविता सार्वभौमस्ततः परम् ॥

विजित्य सकलामुर्वीं धर्मपुत्र इवाऽपरः ।
समाहरणश्चमेघं यथाशास्त्रं द्विजोचमैः ॥

सदेशीयैर्विदेशीयैर्नृपैः सममिपूजितः ।
शास्त्रसाहित्यसङ्गीतरसिकः कविमिस्तुतः ॥

समुद्रगुप्तः पृथिवीं चतुःसागरवेष्टिताम् ।
पञ्चाशतं तथा चैका मोक्ष्यत्येवैकराट् समाः ॥

तस्य पुलोऽपरश्चन्द्रगुप्ताख्यो वीरकेसरी ।
यवनाश्च तथा हूणान् देशाद्विद्रवयन् बलात् ॥

विक्रमादित्यवन्तिलं पण्डितैः परिसेवितः ।
धृतिस्पृतिपुराणेतिहासकाव्यविचक्षणः ॥

विक्रमादित्य इत्येव भुवनेषु प्रयां गतः ।
क्षतसिन्धून् समुत्तीर्य बाह्लिकादीन् विजित्य च ॥

सुराष्ट्रदेशपर्यन्तं कीर्तिस्तस्मै समुच्छ्रयन् ॥
 वदतिशब्दोक्त्यति समास्त्यैकच्छत्रा वसुन्धराम् ॥
 कुमारगुप्तस्तत्पुत्रो वदेवीसमुद्भव ।
 कुमार इव देवारीन् विजेष्यन्निजविद्विष ॥
 समाहर्ताऽश्वमेधस्य महेन्द्रादित्यनामतः ।
 चत्वारिंशत्समा द्वे च पृथिवीं पालयिष्यति ॥
 स्कन्दगुप्तोऽपि तत्पुत्र साक्षात् स्कन्द इवाऽपर ।
 हूणदर्पहरश्चण्ड पुष्यसेननिषूदन ॥
 पराक्रमादित्यनाम्ना विख्यातो धरणीतले ।
 घासिष्यति महीं कृत्स्नां पञ्चविंशतिवत्सरान् ॥
 ततो नृसिंहगुप्तश्च बालादित्य इति श्रुतः ।
 पुत्रः प्रकाशादित्यस्य स्थिरगुप्तस्य भूपते ॥
 नियुक्तः स्वपितृव्येन स्कन्दगुप्तेन जीवता ।
 पित्रैव साक भविता चत्वारिंशत् समा नृपः ॥
 अन्य कुमारगुप्तोऽपि पुत्रस्तस्य महायशः ।
 क्रमादित्य इति ख्यातो हूणैर्युद्ध समाचरन् ॥
 विजिलेशानवर्मादीन् मट्टाकैणाऽनुसेवितः ।
 चतुश्चत्वारिंशदेव समा भोक्त्यति मेदिनीम् ॥
 एते प्रणतसामन्ता श्रीमद्गुप्तकुलोद्भवा ।
 श्रीपार्वतीयान्मृगश्रुत्यनामानश्चक्रवर्तिनः ॥
 महाराजाधिराजादिबिरुदावल्यलङ्कृता ।
 भोक्त्यन्ति द्वे शते पञ्चचत्वारिंशच्च वै समा ॥
 मागधानां महाराज्य छिन्नं सिद्धं च सर्वशः ।
 साकमेतैर्महागुप्तवंश्यैर्यस्यति सस्थितिम् ॥

—Bhāga III, Chapter 3

To translate a few of these verses

“Chandrasri Satakarni, known also as the son of Vashishta will enjoy (the kingdom) for 3 years After him yet another Puloma, will be king for 7 years under the protection of Chandragupta, son of Ghatotkacha. These thirty-two Andhra kings (already enumerated) will enjoy the earth, and their reign will cover full 500 years (in round

numbers While they are yet on the throne, the country will pass to the Guptas who will be known as the *srīparvatīya andhrabītya* kings (i.e., those that had come from Srīparvata, and had been in the service of the Andhras) . . . And so the valiant Chandragupta, the head of the Parvatīya clan, grandson of the ruler of Srīparvata named Srīgupta, and son of Ghatotkacha Gupta, will marry Kumaradevī daughter of the king of Nepal Then with the help of the Lichchhavis he will gain influence in the Government (of Andhras), become the Commander-in-chief, and head of a large army He will marry a Lichchhavi Princess, the younger sister of the Queen of Chandrasrī, and thus will become the King's brother-in-law, And instigated by the Queen he, by some stratagem, will get King Chandrasrī killed He will be appointed Regent in place of her son by the Queen, and in seven years he, undaunted, will become sovereign himself, after killing the young Prince Puloman And thus by force he will seize the Kingdom from the Andhras, and will rule Magadha along (or jointly) with Kacha, his son by the Lichchhavi wife He will reign for seven years under the title of *Vijayaditya* and shall establish on earth an era in his own name "

" After that (i.e., after Chandragupta) his son, son likewise of the daughter of the King of Nepal, with the aid of Mlechchha bands, will slay his treacherous father together with his son and other (unfriendly) relations He will be known on earth under the title of *Asokaditya*, himself freed from all misery, (spiritually?) and causing joy to his mother, Samudragupta will become supreme ruler of earth. He will conquer the whole world like a second Dharmaputra, and with the help of Brahmanas he will perform the horse-sacrifice according to the scriptures He will be honoured by (subject) Kings both in his own and in foreign countries, and will be praised by poets for his learning and talents in music Thus Samudragupta will reign supreme over the earth from sea to sea (*hi* surrounded by the four oceans) "

92 This eulogy should bring to mind at once the Greek picture of Sandrocottus The sensitiveness of Prince Samudra must have been stung by his father's undue favouritism towards Kaca The statement that Candragupṭa ruled along with Kaca not merely indicates the cause of quarrel between Samudragupṭa and his father, it explains also the numismatic puzzle as to how Kaca's coins came to be struck. Thus, then, Androkottus of Plutarch who tried to persuade Alexander to invade the Prasi, but whose "insolent behaviour" according to Justin led to a quarrel between him and Alexander, the Androkottus who

afterwards collected bands of robbers and drove out the præfects of Alexander, who was called to royalty by the power of the Gods and by prodigies, who overthrew Xandrames, and humbled Seleucus Nikator, was the same as Samudragupṭa who with Mleccha troops overthrew his "treacherous" father, and whose conquests inscribed by Harisena on "Asoka's pillar" at Allahabad amply bear out the statement of the Purāṇas that Samudragupṭa was supreme ruler of the earth from sea to sea, to whom even Ceylon and Bactria and Assyria paid homage And this same Samudragupṭa "the Indian Napoleon" of Vincent Smith, was the Sandrocottos of Megasthenes, and he reigned for fifty-one years. Samudragupṭa like all the Guptas had a title ending in *āditya* he was *ASOKADITYA*!

93. SANDROCOTTOS WAS ALSO PIYADASSI.—We have read of "Asoka the Buddhist Emperor of India" and "The first and most authentic records are the rock and pillar edicts of Raja Priyadasithe reputed grandson of Sandrocottos. . . .The second .. consist of the Buddhist Chronicles of the Rajah of Megadha"¹ From a careful study of these two classes of records Talboys Wheeler whose "History of India" appeared in 1874, that is, before the traditional conventions of Orientalists took the fatally rigid shape which they have since assumed, drew his picture of Rāja Priyadasi Asoka and found how like his picture was to that of the Greek Sandrocottos as depicted by Megasthenes Asoka, while young," "was at variance with his father and seems to have gone into exile like another Rama He is said to have been appointed to the Government of the distant province of Ujjan, and subsequently to have repressed a revolt in Taxila in the PanjabThe main incidents of Asoka's early career thus present a strange similarity to those recorded of Sandrocottos by Greek writers. Sandrocottos was also an exiled prince from Pataliputra, and he ultimately drove the Greeks from Taxila Again Asoka usurped a throne and founded an empire, so did Sandrocottos Asoka originally professed the Brahmanical religion, and then embraced the more practical religion of the edicts Sandrocottos sacrificed to the Gods in Brahmanical fashion, but he also held a great assembly every year in which every discovery was discussed which was likely to prove beneficial to the earth, to mankind and to animals generally. ... It would be a startling coincidence if the great sovereign whose religion of duty without deity has been engraven for more than twenty centuries on the rocks

1 Talboys Wheeler's History of India, Hindu Buddhist, and Brahmanical p. 209.

2. *Ibid.* pp. 281, 487.

and pillars of India, should prove to be the same prince who met Alexander at Taxila, who offended the Macedonian conqueror by his insolence and assumption, who expelled the Greeks from the Panjab during the wars of Alexander's successors, and ultimately married the daughter of Seleukos Nikator" In fact Talboys Wheeler had little doubt that Sandrokottos of the Greeks and Asoka of the Buddhists were identical In one or two places he calls Asoka "the reputed grandson of Sandrocottus or Chandragupta"² and adds in a note "The term 'reputed grandson' is here used advisedly It will appear hereafter³ that there is reason to believe that the name Sandrocottos and Asoka are applied to the same individual"⁴ The title *Asoka-ditya* applied to the king in the *Kahyugarājavṛttānta* confirms the conjecture made by Talboys Wheeler from internal evidence

94 Asoka and Samudragupta —The correspondence between these two names rests on not mere fancy Asoka is said to have resented the ill-treatment accorded to him by his father, so did Samudragupta resent Asoka in becoming a King became a parricide,⁵ or fratricide also, so did Samudragupta become too Both were Hindus at the outset Special mention is made of the conquest of Kalinga by both Asoka was converted to Buddhism by Upagupta,⁶ who is described as a blood relation of Asoka's Samudragupta, it is admitted, was a pupil of the celebrated Buddhist teacher Vasubandhu Asoka of the edicts though an earnest Buddhist enjoined the highest respect for Brāhmanas Samudragupta, though an 'orthodox Hindu' was a great patron of Buddhism, and throughout the Gupta period "the Buddhist rule of life was observed Buddhist monasteries were liberally endowed by royal grants"⁷ Both Asoka and Samudragupta had intimate relations with Ceylon, with Bactria and other foreign countries⁸ These correspondences cannot fail to establish the identity of the two Emperors Vincent Smith claims that modern oriental investigators have unearthed the history of Samudragupta, and wonders how "this great king, warrior, poet, and musician who conquered nearly all India,

1. *Ibid*, pp 209 and 476

2. *ibid*, p 487.

3. *Ibid*, p 476.

4. Harisena makes special mention that Samudragupta was received by his father with open arms Where was the need for this special mention unless it were intended to contradict current beliefs to the contrary?

5. Vincent Smith's *Early History*, p 159.

6. *Ibid*, pp 282, 283-284, 297

7. *Ibid*, p 286.

and whose alliances extended from the Oxus to Ceylon was unknown even by name to the historians of India"¹ The explanation is simple, Asoka, the title assumed by the emperor, completely replaced his personal name, and became a household word all over India, it was carried to Ceylon in the anecdotes regarding Raja Prāyadarsī Asoka But Samudragupta was known to the Greeks as Sandrocottos only, and the name was also inscribed on the coins which lost to mediæval India have now been discovered

95 Asoka's pillar at Allahabad may, in one word, be said to link together all the three groups of contemporary evidence It is the pillar of Samudragupta Asoka Priyadarsin The Greeks knew him not as Priyadarsin because Megasthenes had left Palibothra before Sandrocottus became a Buddhist The Ceylonese Buddhists knew not of the Hindu Samudragupta but only the Buddhist Priyadarsin In India itself, except in popular tales about Asoka, both the names Samudragupta and Priyadarsin were forgotten, the older Purāṇic accounts all close with the Āndhra line of kings practically The monuments were all pulled down by the Mahomedan invaders,

Thus we see that *the Gupta dynasty ruled from 328 B C to 83 B C, and of these kings Candragupta ruled from 328 to 321 (7 years) and Samudragupta for 51 years from 321 to 270 B C* This would make this Candragupta and Samudragupta contemporaries of Alexander, Seleuk Nicator and Antiochus IS THIS THE CORRECT SYNCHRONISM?

96 Here is an inscription on the metal pillar in Buddha Gaya of a king CANDRA

यस्योद्वर्तयत प्रतीपमुरसा शत्रून्समेत्यागतान्
वङ्गेष्वाहवर्तिनोमीलिखिता खड्गेन कीर्तिर्भुजे ।
तीर्त्वा सप्तमुखानि येन समरे सिन्धोर्द्धिता बाल्हिका
यस्याध्यायविवास्यते जलनिधिर्व्यानिलैर्दक्षिण ॥

खिन्नस्येव विसृज्य गां नरपतेर्गाभाश्रितस्येतरां
मूर्त्या कर्मजितावनिं गतवत कीर्त्या स्थितस्य क्षितौ ।
शान्तस्येव महावने (हुतभुजो) यस्य प्रतापो महान्
नाद्याप्युत्सृजति प्रणाशितरिपोर्व्यतस्य शेष क्षितिम् ॥

प्राप्तेन सभुजाक्षितञ्च सुचिरञ्चैकधिराज्यं क्षितौ
चन्द्रह्नेन सप्तप्रचन्द्रसदृशी वक्त्राश्रिय बिभ्रता ।

तेनाय प्रणिधाय मूमिपतिना भावेन विष्णो मातिं
 प्रांशुर्विष्णुपदे गिरौ भगवतो विष्णोर्व्वज स्थापित ॥

“He, on whose arm fame was inscribed by the sword, when in battle in the Vanga countries (Bengal), he kneaded (and turned) back with (His) Breast the enemies who uniting together, come against (Him), he, by whom, having crossed in warfare, the seven mouths of the (River) Sindhu, the Vahlikas were conquered, he by the breezes of whose powers the Southern ocean is even still perfumed. He, the remnant of the great zeal of whose energy, which utterly destroys (his) enemies (like the remnant of the great glowing heat) of a turned out fire in a great forest, even now leaves not the earth, though, he, the king, as if wearied has quitted this earth, and gone to the other world, moving in (bodily) form to the land of paradise won by (the merits of his) actions, (but) remaining on this earth by (the memory of his) fame; —By him, the King,—who attained sole supreme sovereignty in the world, acquired by his own arm and (enjoyed) for a very long time, (and) who having the name of Chandra, carried a beauty of countenance like (the beauty of) the full moon having in faith fixed his mind upon the (God), Vishnu, this lofty standard of divine Vishnu was set up on the hill (called) Vishnupada ”

97. By this indictment of the present condition of Indian historical studies it is not in the least meant to belittle the labours of those illustrious savants of Sanskrit learning, who had left their countries and devoted their time and means for the understanding and dissimulation of India's ancient literature India owes to them a debt of gratitude, which lapse of time, however long, cannot tend to obliterate, for those scholars, like Max Muller, Jones and Wilson have all left behind them monuments of learning and research in their editions of Sanskrit works and their translations which have gone out to the wide world for appreciation. It is all the same barely consistent with that expression of thankfulness that as time progresses and new material emerges, scholars should exercise their thoughts on questions on which there may be a possibility for review and reconsideration. Among such subjects is this topic of the Greek synchronism. The fancy that dawned in the mind of William Jones, was hatched by Wilford, was reared by Max Muller, was well clothed by Vincent Smith with the garb of reality. The dissent of Taylor expressed in the preface to *Rājatarangīnī* was lost to view before the modern ideas of A Stein in his new Edn. of that work, and so too went down the feeble protest of Wilson.

98. To my lamented friend, T. S. Narayana Sastri, High Court Vakil, Madras, with whom I collaborated, was due a categorical investigation of this faulty identification and his *Age of Sankara* and *The kings of Magadha* embodied the results of our research. Then followed a similar exposition of Śrī Kalyāṇananda Sarasvaṭi of Virūpākṣa Mutt and an address to an Oriental Conference by M. K. Acharya. Now comes my reiteration. It may not be a forelorn hope that, as I said, at some day or in some clime these thoughts may again have a revival and a recognition. Let me repeat the words of Bhavabhūti :

ये नाम कंचिदिह नः प्रथयन्त्यवज्ञां जानन्ति ते किमपि तान् प्रति नैष यत्नः ।
उत्पत्स्यते मम तु कोऽपि समानधर्मा कालो ह्ययं निरवधिर्विपुला च पृथ्वी ॥

These prefatory pages will now introduce the reader to the study of Classical Sanskrit Literature.

Abbreviations

<i>AB</i>	Abhinava-Bhāraṭī of Abhinavagupta
<i>AG</i>	Cunningham's Ancient Geography
<i>Ayar</i> <i>CAL</i>	} Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Adyar Library
<i>Annals</i>	
<i>ASL</i>	Annals of Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona
<i>BP</i>	Max Muller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature
<i>BRI</i>	Bhāvaprakāśana of Śāradāṭanaya
<i>BOD</i>	Mss in Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona
<i>Cat Bod</i> <i>Oxf</i>	} Catalogus Codicum Sanscriticorum Bibliotheca Bodlianae
<i>Bibl Ind</i>	
<i>BKR</i> <i>KR</i>	} Buhler's Kashmir Report
<i>BSS</i>	
<i>B</i>	Bombay Sanskrit Series
<i>Bik</i>	A Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts contained in the Private Libraries of Guzarat, Kathiavad, Kachchh, &c compiled under the superintendence of G Buhler
<i>Bik</i>	A catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the library of the Mahārāja of Bikneer, compiled Rajendra Lala Mitra, Calcutta
<i>Bhr</i> <i>BR</i>	} Report on the search for Sanskrit Mss in the Bombay Presidency by R G Bhandarkar
<i>Burnell</i> <i>BTC</i>	
<i>OC I, II, III</i>	A classified index to the Sanskrit Mss in the Palace at Tanjore by A C Burnell, London
<i>CSC</i>	Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum, Pts 1, 2, 3, Leipzig
<i>COJ</i>	Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Sanskrit College, Calcutta
<i>CUS</i>	Calcutta Oriental Journal
<i>CII</i>	Columbia University—Indo-Iranian series
<i>CAL</i> <i>Adyar</i>	} Catalogue of manuscripts in Adyar Library
<i>CASB</i>	
<i>Cat CP</i>	Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
	Hiralal's Catalogue of Manuscripts in Central Provinces

<i>DR</i>	Ḍasarūpa of Ḍhananajaya
<i>DC</i>	Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras
<i>EI</i>	Epigraphica Indica
<i>EH</i>	} V Smith's Early History of India
<i>EHD</i>	
<i>EC</i>	R G Bhandarkar's Early History of the Deccan Epigraphica Carnatica
<i>Gough</i>	A E Gough's Records of Ancient Sanskrit Literature
<i>GOS</i>	Gaekwad Oriental series, Baroda
<i>HOS</i>	Harvard University Oriental Series
<i>HR</i>	} Reports on Sanskrit manuscripts in S India by
<i>HZ</i>	
<i>IS</i>	Indisch Straten
<i>IAlt.</i>	Indische Alterthumskunde, Leipzig
<i>IA</i>	Indian Antiquary
<i>IL</i>	Indian Literature
<i>IO</i>	} Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the India Office,
<i>IOC</i>	
<i>IW</i>	Muir William's Indian Wisdom
<i>IHQ</i>	Indian Historical Quarterly
<i>Ind Rev</i>	Indian Review, Madras
<i>JA</i>	. Journal Asiatique, Paris
<i>JAHS</i>	. Journal of Andhra Historical Society
<i>JAOS</i>	... Journal of the American Oriental Society.
<i>JASSP</i>	. Andhara Sahitya Parishat Patrika
<i>JASB</i>	... Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
<i>JBRAS</i>	... do (Bombay Branch)
<i>JSSP</i>	Journal of Sanskrita Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta
<i>JDL</i>	.. Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta
<i>JOR</i>	... Journal of Oriental Research, Madras
<i>JRAS</i>	... Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
<i>JMy</i>	Journal of Mythic Society, Bangalore
<i>Jess</i>	} Catalogue of Manuscripts in Jessalmere Library
<i>Jess. Cat</i>	
	(G O Series)
<i>Kcd</i>	... Kavīndracandrodaya
<i>Keith's SD</i>	... A B Keith's Sanskrit Drama
<i>Keith's CSL</i>	... A B Keith's Classical Sanskrit Literature
<i>Keith's SL</i>	. A B Keith's Sanskrit Literature.
<i>Kav</i>	} F W. Thomas Edn of Kavīndravacanāsamuccaya
<i>Kvs</i>	

<i>K</i>	...	A Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts existing in the Central Provinces—Edited by Keilhorn, Nagpur
<i>Kh</i>	...	Report on the search for Sanskrit manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1880-1 by Keilhorn, Bombay 1881 8
<i>l c</i>	...	} (<i>lco citato</i>)—‘in the passage previously cited.’
<i>loc. cit</i>	...	
<i>L</i>	...	} Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts by Rajendralala Mitra
<i>Mitra</i>	...	
<i>Mack</i>	...	Mackenzie Collection A descriptive catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts collected by the late Lieut. Col Colin Mackenzie by H H Wilson, Calcutta,
<i>Manj JI</i>	...	Manjūṣa, Sanskrit Journal, Calcutta
<i>MBh JI</i>	...	Manjubhāṣinī, Sanskrit Journal, Kanci (Conjeevaram)
<i>MG JI</i>	...	Mitragosthī, Sanskrit Journal, Calcutta
<i>MM</i>	...	A descriptive catalogue of manuscripts in Mithila by K Jayaswal
<i>MV JI</i>	...	Maḍhuravāpī, Sanskrit Journal, Belgaum
<i>MI</i>	...	C V Vaidya’s Mediaval India,
<i>Mys, OML</i>	...	} Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in Oriental Library, Mysore and Supplement
<i>Mys</i>	...	
<i>Mys Sup</i>	...	
<i>Mitra</i>	...	Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts
<i>Mod. Rev</i>	...	} Modern Review, Calcutta,
<i>MR</i>	...	
<i>ND</i>	...	Nāṭyadarpaṇa of Rāmacandra
<i>NW</i>	...	} A Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Private Libraries of the North-West Provinces, Benares and Allahabad.
<i>NP</i>	...	
<i>Nepal Cat</i>	...	} Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in Nepal
<i>Nepal</i>	...	
<i>Oudh</i>	...	Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts existing in Oudh,
<i>Oxf</i>	...	} Catalogue Codicum Sanscriticorum Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ by Aufrecht, Oxoni, 1864,
<i>Bod</i>	...	
<i>Cat. Bod.</i>	...	
<i>op. cit</i>	...	} (<i>opere citato</i>)—‘in the work cited.’
<i>o. c.</i>	...	
<i>Oppert</i>	...	} Lists of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Private Libraries in Southern India by Gustav Oppert, 2 Vols Madras,
<i>Opp</i>	...	
<i>OML</i>	...	Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras,
<i>Palm</i>	...	} Padyāmṛtaśarangiṇī
<i>Pmt</i>	...	

- Pady* . . Padyaveni
PR ... Peterson's Reports of the operations in search of Sanskrit Mss in the Bombay Circle (I to IV)
Raj ... Kalahana's Rājataranginī.
RS . . Rasārṇavasudhākara of Singabhūpāla
Rgh ... Report on search of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Bombay Presidency by B G. Bhandarkar.
Rsj ... Rasikajīvana.
Rice ... Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Mysore and Coorg by Lewis Rice, Bangalore
Radh ... Pustakanam Sucipatram of the library of Pandit Radhakrishna of Lahore used by Aufrecht.
SB JI Samskr̥ta Bhāraṭī, Sanskrit Journal, Calcutta.
SC Jt ... Samskr̥tacandrikā, Sanskrit Journal Kolhapur
SMM JI ... Samskr̥ta-mahā-mandala, Calcutta
SD ... Sāhityaḍarpaṇa of Viśvanāṭha.
SK ... Sarasvatīkanthābharaṇa of Bhoja
ŚP ... Śṅgāraprakāśa of Bhoja
SP ... Sanskrit Poetics by S. K. De.
SS . . Sūktisundara
SHar . . Subhāṣitāhārāvalī
Smt . . Sūktimukṭāvalī.
Sah ... Sahādaya, Sanskrit Journal, Madras
Sam . . Samvat Era
Schuyler, Bibl A Bibliography of the Sanskrit Drama by Montgomery Schuyler (Columbia University, Indo-Iranian Series).
SKC ...
KC ... } Catalogue of Manuscripts in Kashmir.
Stem ... }
Subh . . Subhāṣitāvalī of Vallabhaḍeva Ed by Peterson
Śang . Śārangadharapaddhaṭa.
SSG ... Belvalkar's Systems of Sanskrit Grammar.
SR . . Seshagiri Sastrī's Reports, 2 Volumes
SVH . Sources of Vizianagar History, Madras
Skm Saduktikarṇāmṛta of Śrīdharaḍaśa.
SPV Samskr̥ta-Pādyavānī, Sanskrit Journal, Calcutta
SB ... Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Sanskrit College Library, Benares, Allahabad.
Sury JI ... Sūryodaya, Sanskrit Journal, Kāśī.

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TRANSLITERATION

अ	a	क	k	त	t
आ	ā	ख	kh	थ	th
इ	i	ग	g	द	d
ई	ī	घ	gh	ध	dh
उ	u	ङ	n	न	n
ऊ	ū	च	c	प	p
ऋ	r̥	छ	ch	फ	ph
ॠ	r̄	ज	j	ब	b
लृ	l	झ	jh	भ	bh
ए	e	ञ	n	म	m
ऐ	ai	ट	t	य	y
ओ	o	ठ	th	र	r
औ	au	ड	d	ल	l
ी	m	ढ	dh	व	v
.	h, f	ण	n	श	ś
		ष	s	ह	
		s	s	h	

N.B.—(i) In the case ट and ठ and त and द the transliteration till now adopted by many, ṭ and ṭh and t and d has been reversed in this book as more consistent with the natural sounds of the English alphabets.

(ii) In the case of the nasals only the letters n and m have been adopted, without further modifications of these two types, to facilitate printing

(iii) In the Sanskrit spelling the strict grammatical rule of nasal sandhis has not been followed for typographical reasons. For instance, भवन्ति might have been spelt as भवन्ति.

॥ श्री. ॥
 ओं नमो नारायणाय
 कूजन्तं रामरामेति मधुरं मधुराक्षरम् ।
 आरुह्य कविताशाखां वन्दे वाल्मीकिकोकिलम् ॥
 व्यास वसिष्ठनसार शक्ते पौत्रिमकल्मषम् ।
 पराञ्चरात्मज वन्दे शुक्तात तपोनिधिम् ॥

BOOK I

EPIC POETRY

CHAPTER I

SECTION 1

Vedic Forms of Epics

"In India, says M. Williams," literature like the whole face of nature, is on a gigantic scale Poetry, born amid the majestic scenery of the Himalayas, and fostered in a climate which inflamed the imaginative powers, developed itself with oriental luxuriance, if not always with true sublimity Although the Hindus like the Greeks, have only two great epic poems (the Ramayana and Mahabharata) yet to compare these vast compositions with the Iliad and the Odyssey, is to compare the Indus and the Ganges, rising in the snows of the world's most colossal ranges, swollen by numerous tributaries, spreading into vast shallows of branching into deep divergent channels, with the streams of Attica or the mountain torrents of Thessaly It is, of course, a principal characteristic of epic poetry, as distinguished from lyrical, that it should concern itself more with external action than internal feelings It is this which makes Epos the natural expression of early national life When centuries of trial have turned the mind of nations inwards, and men begin to speculate, to reason, to elaborate language and cultivate science, there may be no lack of refined poetry, but the spontaneous production of epic song is, at that stage of national existence, as impossible as for the octogenarian to delight in the giants and giant-killers of his childhood The Ramayana and Mahabharata then, as reflecting the Hindu character in ancient times, may be expected to abound in stirring incidents of exaggerated heroic action."¹

1. *Indian Wisdom*, 306.

The beginnings of epic poetry in India are to be found in the early Vedic Literature. The R̥g Veda contained hymns of a narrative character, and short legends in prose and in verse called Gāthas, Nārāsamsis, Itihāsas etc., occur in the Brāhmaṇa literature.¹ The Nirukṭa contains prose tales and likewise the metrical Bṛhaddevaṭa. The Yamasabhiyas, the Indrajaniyas, the Ākhyānas, Canaraṭas and probably Granṭhas Sisukrandiyas,² narrated the course of epic history. In the Vedic literature there was no essential difference between Aṭṭa, Ākhyāna, Purāṇa and Itihāsa and generally Kāṭhā. They meant ordinarily an old tale, story, legend or incident and they were often interchangeable.³ Kāṭhā is non-specific and may be a causerie rather than a tale. There may be a Divyakāṭhā, like the legend of Agastya,⁴ or a Kāṭhamṛta or essence of several Upākhyānas,⁵ or a Kāṭhāsāra, an abridgment of a story. But their essential characteristic is the narration of stories of great kings or Gods in the past. So we hear of Dharmaśena solaced by the tales of former kings,⁶ such as Rāma and Nala.⁷ Purāṇa, literally old and Itihāsa (Iti-ha-āsa), literally 'so it was' are almost synonymous, and these terms are found associated with each other in the early literature.⁸ The word Itihāsa may become a saying, a proverb rather than a legend.⁹ In this sense the words Gīta and Gāthā were also used. Gāthā need not necessarily be sung and means only a proverbial verse.¹⁰ Vyāsa called his Mahābhārata or "Jaya", Samhitā, Purāṇa, Ākhyāna, Upākhyāna, Kāṭhā, Itihāsa, Kāvya etc.¹¹

1. *Bṛhad*, II, 4-10, IV. 1-2, IV. 5-9, *Satapatha* XI 7-1. See also *Atharva Samhitā*, XV 6, *ISi* 193

2. *Pāṇini*, IV, III 88, VI. 2 103, Goldstucker's *Pāṇini*, 28, *ISi*, V. 27 Maxmuller, *ASL*, 40

3. *Mah.* III, 100, 2.

4. *Mah.* XII, 940, 127.

5. *Mah.* XII. 886, 16

6. *Mah.* I 140, 74, III, 298-7

चित्रार्थैः पूर्वराज्ञां कथाश्रयै

7. The story of Nala is being indifferently called Kirṭana, Itihāsa and Purāṇa *Mah.* III 79, 10, 11, 16

8. See *Chan. Up.* VII. 1, 2, 4, VII 9, 29, III 45.

9. *Mah.* III 80-21

अत्राप्युदाहरन्तीमितिहास पुरातनम् ।

10. *Mah.* III 29, 85, III 186, 45, 54

अत्राप्युदाहरन्तीमा गाथादेवैस्साहता ।

We find these Gāthas incorporated in legal and philosophical literature also.

11. *Mah.* I 2, 888, 885, 887, 889. Similarly Rāmāyana is called Ākhyāna and Samhitā (*Rām.* VI, 181, 122, 124. This reference as Kāvya modifies Lassen's opinion (*Indran Antiquities*, I. 435) that Kāvya is a distinct title of Rāmāyana

In thus describing his work Vyāsa must have had in mind some special characteristic of each class and therefore added that his work possessed all these qualities so as to stand forth as an encyclopædia of all learning. In the extant literature, the terms *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* have acquired a distinct use. *Itihāsa* may correspond to an epic and *Purāṇa* to a series of narrations, without the main part of a running tale, meant solely to explain cosmological and theological tenets. In this sense a *Purāṇa* has been thus described as *pañcalakṣaṇa* it treats of five topics, creation, destruction and recreation, geneology of the Gods, periods of Manus, and history of royal races ¹

सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।

वंशानुचरित चेति पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥

Broadly speaking, therefore, epic literature in India consists of *Itihāsas*, and *Purāṇas*. Of the former we have *Rāmāyana* and *Mahābhārata* and with these we shall now proceed to deal

SECTION II

Ramayana

Rāmāyana, literally the history of Rama, is the immortal poem of Vālmīki ². Vālmīki, known also as Bhārgava and Prācetas, was a sage with his hermitage on the banks of the Ganges. His original name was Raṅnākara. In the *Adhyātma-Rāmāyana* Vālmīki describes his

1 See *Vāyu Purāṇa*, IV, 10, and Amarasimha's *Nāmaṅgānūśāsanam*.

2. Vālmīki the descendant of Bhṛgu was the 24th Vyāsa in the *Valvasyaṭa-manvantara* (*Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, III, 3)

श्रीरामजपमहिमप्रकाशको मगवान् वाल्मीकि श्रीरामायणारूपप्रबन्ध निबन्धनेन प्रकटयन् तत्कथोपदेशकेन नारदेनात्मनस्सवादमादौ कथयति—तप इति ।

तपस्वी तपश्शाली । वाल्मीकि वामल्लक्ष्मभूतमुनि । तपसि स्वाध्याये च । निरतः नितरामासक्तः । त वाग्विदा वक्तृणां वर श्रेष्ठम् । मुनिपुङ्गवमृषिषेष्ठं नारद परिपत्रञ्च पुन पुन प्रश्न कृतवान् । वाल्मीकिरित्वा वाल्मीकात्करचरणादिविशिष्टतयोत्पन्नत्वेन वल्मीकस्यापलाभिलष्यविवक्षायां अत इति इत्यप्रलयः । ननु वल्मीकनामकमुनेः स्वस्य रेतः क्वचित्सर्पाङ्गना पीत्वा वाल्मीकिं जनयामासेति स्कान्दे वैशाखमाहात्म्ये श्रूयते । कश्चिन्निषादः प्रस(र्भ्यु)पदेशेन रामनाम जपन् वने तस्थौ । तत्किरातशरीरे वल्मीकमभूत् । तत कतिपयकाले गते सप्तर्षयस्तद्वनमेव किराततपस्स्थानमिति तत्रागत्वा वल्मीकं दृष्ट्वा किराताह्वानं चकुः । स

..... श्रीरामनामजपमहिमप्राप्तमुनिमात्रेण वाल्मीकिरिति प्रथितोऽमूदिति पात्रे पुराणे ।

See Commentary on सङ्क्षेपरामायण ITC. IV. 4366-71

past history —By whom or how, O Rama, can the greatness of thy name be rehearsed,—that name by whose power I, O Rama, have attained the rank of a Brahmin saint? In bygone times I was bred among Kiratas, with the children of Kiratas. But by birth only was I a Brahmin, for I was perpetually devoted to the practices of Sudras. From Sudra women many children were born to me of unsubdued passions. And at last, having fallen in with robbers, I myself of yore became a brigand,—bearing constantly a bow and arrows and resembling, to men, God of death. In a great forest, on a certain occasion, I saw before me the seven Munis, resplendant, and glorious like fire and the sun. Through curiosity I pursued them, longing to seize their possessions, and I shouted “Stop, stop.” Seeing me the Munis asked “Wherefore has thou come, base Brahmin?” “To acquire something, O most excellent of Munis” was my reply to them. “My children, my wife and others—many—are starving. To save them I wander through the mountain forests.” Upon this, they, undismayed, said to me, “Go and ask your family one by one, whether they consent or not to participate in the guilt of the numerous sins that are daily committed by thee. We will certainly remain here until you return.” Replying “yes” I went home, and put the question propounded by the Munis to my children, wife and others. They replied to me, O noblest of the Raghavas, ‘All the sin is, we deem, thy own alone. We are willing to be sharers in the immediate fruit of it only. Contrite on hearing this, I went back, thoughtful, to the place where the Munis, with hearts full of compassion, were waiting. At the very sight of them my soul was purified. Flinging away my bow and other weapons I fell prostrate crying, “Save O excellent Munis, me who am on the road to the sea of perdition.” Beholding me lying before them, the venerable Munis said to me. “Rise, rise, blessings be upon thee. Communion with the pious is effectual. We will instruct thee somewhat, and so thou shalt be saved.” Looking at each other they continued. ‘This vile Brahmin, as being addicted to evil course deserves only to be shunned by the virtuous. Since, however, he has come for sanctuary, he must be diligently protected by being taught the way of salvation.” So saying, O Rama, they enjoined that, with fixed attention, I should unremittently meditate in that very place, upon thy name, its syllables being transposed namely, *ma ra* “Meditate” said they “as directed, till we come again.” Having thus spoken, the divinely wise Munis departed. At once I did as I had been bidden by them. With concentrated mind I meditated, and lost all consciousness

of thing external Above me, rigid in figure, and detached from all commerce with the world, there arose, after a long lapse of time, thus employed, an ant-hill Subsequently at the close of thousands of cycles, the Rishis returned "Come out" said they to me, and immediately, on hearing this command, I stood up And I emerged from the ant-hill, like the sun from the mist of morning The band of Munis then addressed me, "Great Muni, be thy name Vālmiki, for thy egress from the white-ant-hill (Vālmika) has been to thee a second birth Thus speaking, O most eminent of the race of Raghu, they proceeded on the road to heaven."¹

Nārada was struck with that devotion and thought that he was the best person to commemorate the story of Rāma He narrated to him the story of Rāma and blessed that to him the world would be indebted for its publication Once when out in the forests, Vālmiki was moved by the killing of one of a fond pair of birds by a hunter, leaving the female bird to lament the death of her mate and that feeling of pity manifested itself in the form of a melodious verse —

मा निषाद प्रतिष्ठा त्वमगम शश्वती समा ।
यत् क्रौञ्चमियुनादेकमवधी काममोहितम् ॥

When contemplating on this verse with melancholy Brahmā appeared and directed him to compose Rāmāyana. Blessed by Brahmā with a perception of the events of Rāma's history, he wrote his poem and gave it the names, Rāmāyana, Sītācarita and Paulastyaavadha. He taught it to his pupils Lava and Kuśa, the sons of Rāma, who were born and bred up in his hermitage while Sītā was in banishment, and they sung it to lyre for the first time at Rāma's Asvamedha sacrifice.

In the present form Rāmāyana is divided into seven Kāndas or books Tradition gives the number of verses as 24,000 in 500 chapters or Sargas, each thousand verses beginning with a letter of Gāyatrī-mantra Interpolations and alterations made in different parts of India and at different times account for the work now being seen in three distinct recensions, the Bombay, Bengal and the West Indian,² the

1. This narrative is to be found at I. 64-85 of the Sixth chapter of the Ayoḍhyā-kānda of the Aḍhyāṭma-Rāmāyana.

2. These recensions are so named by Macdonell (*Sans. Let.* 808) Gorresio's Edition is the Bengali recension. Regarding the Bombay Edition, see *IS*, II, 285. For the differences in the Bengali and Bombay versions, see C. V. Vaidya's *Biddle of the Ramayana*, Appendix; *JRAS*, XIX, 808 8; Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts*, 877-418. Rāma's horoscope is not found in the Bengal recension. On Rāma's horoscope,

earliest being probably that of Bombay. These variations, says Macdonell "are of such a kind that they can for the most part be accounted for only by the fluctuations of oral tradition among the professional reciters of the epic, at the time when three recensions assumed definite shape in different parts of the country, by being committed to writing" The manuscripts of the Berlin library, contain, it is said, a fourth recension¹

The following summary of the story is taken by R C DUTT's *Civilization in Ancient India*

Formerly there ruled over the kingdom of Kosala (capital Ayodhya) a king called Dasaratha. He belonged to the Solar race, and counted among his ancestors such famous names as Manu, Ikshvaku (first king of Ayodhya), Sagara, Bhagiratha (who brought the Ganges down from heaven), Kakutstha, and Raghu. He had three wives Kausalya, Sumitra, and Kaikeyi, the first was the eldest, the last, the most beloved. Dasaratha ruled long and prosperously but had only one daughter, Santa and no sons, though he was getting old. Following the advice of Vasishtha, his family preceptor, Dasaratha offered a sacrifice in which his son-in-law Rishyasringa, officiated as head-priest. As a consequence, the king got four sons: 1. Rama, the eldest, born of Kausalya, 2. Bharata, born of Kaikeyi, 3. Lakshmana and 4. Satrughna, both born of Sumitra.

The kingdom of Videha (capital Mithila) was to the east of the kingdom of Kosala. It was at this time ruled by the saintly king Janaka, who, as he was once for a holy sacrifice preparing the ground with a plough, came upon an infant, and brought her up as his own daughter. This was Sita thus miraculously sprung from the Earth. The girl grew up in the company of Urmila, another daughter of Janaka, and of Mandavi and Srutakirti, daughters of Janaka's brother Kusadhwaaja. As Sita became of an age to be married, Janaka instituted a *Swayamvara* whoever should succeed in bending a mighty bow (which Janaka had received from God Siva) was to marry the princess. Many attempted, but none succeeded.

see Weber, *On the Ramayana*, IA, I 120) In his abridgment of Rāmāyana (Samkṣipta-Rāmāyana) O R Vaidya purports to eliminate all accretions and to give what might have been the Rāmāyana as composed by Vālmīki. The running story has been culled but and edited by P P S Sastri and A M. Srinivasacharya, Madras. See Karanam Gundureao's essay, *Andhra Patrika*, Annual number (1916), 216

1. Weber's Cat 119.

One day there came to the court of Dasaratha the royal sage Visvamitra who, finding the demons frequently molesting his penances, requested the king to send two of his sons, Rama and Lakshmana, with him to his penance-grove. Since a person of Visvamitra's position could not be denied anything, Dasaratha reluctantly agreed to give over his sons, though yet in tender years. Visvamitra resumed his holy rites and when the molesters came, Rama, at Visvamitra's behest, killed the demon Subahu and the terrible she-demon Tataka. Pleased at the prince's valour, Visvamitra thereupon taught him the mystic formulae relating to all the missiles that he knew, and particularly the *Jumbhaka* missile, which had the power of producing instantaneous stupor or paralysis in the ranks of the assailants. After the conclusion of the sacrifice, Visvamitra took Rama and Lakshmana with him to Mithila, the capital of Janaka. Janaka was very favourably impressed by the princes, and Visvamitra called upon Rama to try his hand at the mighty bow. Young though he was, Rama not only succeeded in bending it, but even breaking it in twain, and thus winning him a wife. Visvamitra now proposed that, along with Sita's marriage to Rama, there be celebrated the marriages of Sita's sister Urmila and her cousins Mandavi and Srutakirti to the three brothers of Rama, Lakshmana and Bharata and Satrugna respectively. The proposal was agreed to. Dasaratha was called from Ayodhya, and the marriages were celebrated with due pomp.

The nuptial joys, however, were interrupted by the arrival of Parasurama, son of Jamadagni. Parasurama was a fiery Brahman, sage and warrior, who had twenty-one times rid the earth of all Kshatriyas. He was a devotee of God Siva, and was incensed to learn that Rama had not only bent but broken the bow of his favourite Divinity. As nothing short of a fight with the young prince would satisfy him, Rama managed to reduce him to terms, and sent him away humbled and abashed. The four princes then returned to Ayodhya with their brides. Here they passed some twelve years. **END OF BALAKANDA**

Dasaratha, finding his eldest son Rama now arrived at a proper age, resolves to crown him heir-apparent. Preparations are accordingly set on foot. But Kaikeyi, the youngest queen following the advice of Manthara, her nurse and confidante, calls upon her husband to fulfil immediately the two boons which on an earlier occasion he had granted her. Dasaratha consents, but is sorely grieved to learn that the boons

are 1 That Bharata, Kaikeyi's son, be appointed heir-apparent, 2 that Rama be forthwith sent away into exile for fourteen years As the king could not belie his words, Rama had to submit to the wishes of his step-mother, which he cheerfully does His wife Sita and his brother Lakshmana refuse to be left behind, and they are all three accordingly carried away through the weeping multitudes The old king was so much afflicted by this great blow that he barely lived to hear the news of the exiles being taken over safe beyond the boundaries of his kingdom.

Bharata, who all this while was in utter ignorance of the happenings at Ayodhya, is now sent for in order to perform the obsequies of his father and assume the sovereignty thus devolved upon him He returns, but discovering the mean conduct of his mother, he reproves her bitterly, and refuses to take charge of the kingdom and thus give his consent to the base intrigue He resolves immediately to start in search of Rama, and to implore him to return. On the other side of the Ganges, near the mountain called Chitrakuta, close by the saint Bharadvaja's hermitage, Bharata finds Rama leading a forester's life in the company of his wife and brother Rama is struck by Bharata's magnanimity, but insists upon the carrying out of his father's command to the letter, and is unwilling to return before the completion of the full term of fourteen years. Bharata thereupon resolves to keep company with Rama, the latter, however, reminds him of the duty they all owed to their subjects, and persuades him to return, which Bharata does, only on the condition that Rama will come back at the appointed time, himself in the meanwhile conducting the affairs of the state only as Rama's agent **END OF AYODHYA-KANDA**

Rama now resolves to withdraw further away from his kingdom and learning that the regions on the other side of the Vindhya mountains were infested with wild demons and cannibals, he set forth in that direction At his entrance into the Vindhya forests he meets the demon Viradha, whom he kills He then meets a number of sages and ascetics, in whose company he is said to have passed no less than ten years. Going further south into the Dandaka forests he reaches the river Godavari, and there, in the part of the country known as Janasthana, comes upon the hermitage of Agastya and his wife Lopamudra The holy pair heartily welcome the newcomers, and here at the foot of a mountain called Prasravana, and in a region known as Panchavata, Rama resolves to build a small hut and to pass the rest of his exile

peacefully in the company of the saint Agastya and the vulture-king Jatayus

Peace, however, was not vouchsafed to him long. At this time there ruled in the island of Lanka (identified with modern Ceylon) a demon king, Ravana. He was called ten-headed and was a terror to the world. Having established his power in Lanka proper, Ravana crossed over to the mainland and overran the whole of Southern India, subduing everything that came in his way. Ravana, however, found more than his match in Valin, king of the Monkeys, whose kingdom comprised the part of South India then known as Kishkindha. An agreement was entered into whereby, except for a narrow strip of land along the coast, the bulk of the peninsula came into the possession of Valin. Ravana's territory touched the Janasthana, and here he left a large army of demons under the command of Khara (Ravana's younger brother) and Dushana and Trisiras.

Once Surpanakha, a widowed sister of Ravana, came upon Rama in the Panchavati, and smitten with his graceful form made him frank overtures of love, promising to eat up Sita and thus put her out of the way, if Rama would consent. Rama in jest sent her to Lakshmana, who rewarded her insistence by cutting off her nose and ears. Surpanakha went weeping and bleeding to her brother Khara, who in anger despatched fourteen picked men to capture Rama. As they did not return, Khara marched with his whole army, 14,000 demons strong and engaged Rama in a close fight. Rama stepped back a few paces so as to gain room for working with his bow, and then, one after another, he killed the entire army of demons, as also its three leaders.

Surpanakha vows revenge. She now repairs to Ravana in Lanka and inflames his mind with a passion for Sita, whose charms she praises loudly. Ravana resolves to capture her. He asks Maricha, another demon, to assume the form of a golden deer, and to lure Rama in chase away from his cottage. Maricha does this and is mortally wounded by Rama's arrow. Before he dies, however, imitating the voice of Rama, he calls upon Lakshmana for help. Lakshmana was left behind to guard Sita in the cottage, but upon hearing the cry, which she mistook for her husband's, Sita urges and even commands Lakshmana to go, which he does reluctantly. Utilizing the favourable moment Ravana now pounces upon the forlorn Sita and flies away with her, striking down on his way the vulture-king Jatayus, who from his mountain peak had watched this daring act and attempted to intercept

the abductor. Jatayus falls down to die, surviving just long enough to inform Rama and Lakshmana (already returned from the deer-chase amazed at not finding Sita in the cottage) of what had happened, Rama's grief was unbounded, END OF ARANYA-KANDA

Wandering further onward, the princes at last reach the lake called Pampa, Here they come upon Sugriva and his trusty friend and minister Hanuman, alias Maruti Sugriva was the brother of Valin, king of the Monkeys, and had been dispossessed by him both of his kingdom and his wife Rama and Sugriva enter into an alliance whereby Rama agrees to restore Sugriva to his kingdom, and in return the latter promises to send out search-parties and help Rama to punish the abductor and recover his lost wife Rama accordingly asks Sugriva to challenge Valin to a duel, and as the two brothers join in combat, Rama wounds Valin mortally with an arrow For this unprovoked wrong and treachery Valin reproaches Rama severely, the latter simply replies that as an agent of the sovereign king of Ayodhya he took upon himself the duty of inflicting proper punishment upon malefactors who, like Valin had usurped a brother's throne and wife The death of Valin leaves Sugriva master of the kingdom of Kishkindha, and in gratitude he now sends, under proper leaders, parties of Monkeys in search of Sita. The most important of these was the one sent to the south under the command of Maruti This party presses forward and southward until it gains the sea-coast, END OF KISHKINDHA-KANDA.

The waters seemed to offer an impassable barrier, as the island of Lanka stood on the other side of the ocean, but Maruti undertakes to clear it by a leap This he does and enters Lanka. Here he was fortunate enough to meet Sita, sorrowing in Ravana's garden under the shade of an Asoka tree, she-demons of hideous and terrible looks keeping watch over her day and night In glowing terms they describe to her the glory and the greatness of Ravana, and work alternately upon her hopes and her fears to the end that she may consent to have Ravana Sita refuses to listen, and Ravana is too proud to stoop to force

Maruti soon finds opportunity to console Sita and assure her of a speedy deliverance Having thus achieved the chief object of his journey, Maruti now leaves Lanka, not without meeting sundry adventures, in the course of which he succeeds in killing a few hundred demons and setting the whole city on fire Once more he leaps over the ocean and returns to Kishkindha with the glad news END OF SUNDARAKANDA.

Rama immediately resolves to invade Lanka. Sugriva with his army of Monkeys and Jambavan with his army of Bears offer their assistance and the whole army soon gains the Southern Ocean. Here they are joined by Vibhishana, the youngest brother of Ravana. Vibhishana had tried to remonstrate with his eldest brother against the evil course of conduct he was pursuing, and being rewarded with contempt he now came over to Rama's side. Rama receives him well and promises him the kingdom of Lanka after Ravana's death. To make it possible for the army to cross over, Rama now resolves to construct a stone bridge over the ocean, and to this he is helped by the engineering genius of Nala. Having gained the island he next lays siege to the capital. The battle which follows lasts, according to the several inconsistent time-indications, for four or fifteen or thirty-nine or eighty-eight days, Ravana together with his brothers and sons and the entire army of demons is put to death, and Rama, in accordance with his promise, installs Vibhishana as king of Lanka.

Having thus vanquished the enemy and wiped out the insult, Rama now meets Sita. He is, however, unwilling, for fear of public scandal, to take his wife back until she has proved her purity. Pierced to the quick by Rama's suspicion Sita proposes the fire-ordeal. A huge pyre is kindled and with a firm tread she walks towards it and is engulfed by the flames. Immediately, however, she reappears, led forth by the Fire-god himself, who in the hearing of all proclaims her innocence. Rama now accepts her, saying that he never doubted her innocence, but had to do what he did for the sake of the people. The fourteen-year period of exile having now almost expired, Rama, along with his wife, brother, friends, and allies, makes a journey northwards, utilizing for the purpose the aerial car called *Pushpaka* which belonged to Ravana. They reach their home, where they meet Bharata and the Queen-mothers anxiously awaiting the return of the exiles, Rama's coronation is now celebrated with due pomp and there is rejoicing everywhere.

END OF YUDDHA-KANDA.

The epic should naturally end here, but there is one more book or kanda dealing with the history of Rama from his coronation to his death. Here we are told how a few months after the coronation rumours regarding Sita began to be circulated amongst the people, who did not like that Rama should have received his wife back after she had been nearly a year in the house of Ravana. Through his spies Rama comes to know of this, and resolves to abandon Sita, although at this

time she was in a state of advanced pregnancy Rama charges his brother Lakshmana with the carrying out of this plan Lakshmana obeys, places Sita in a chariot, takes her into a forest on the other side of the Ganges, and there leaves her, after communicating to her the actual state of things

Thereupon Sita sends back to Rama a spirited reply and patiently succumbs to the inevitable In her forlorn condition she fortunately chances upon the saint Valmiki, whose hermitage was near by. Valmiki receives the exiled queen under his protection In his hermitage she gives birth to twin sons, Kusa and Lava, whom Valmiki brings up and educates along with his other pupils

Meanwhile in Ayodhya Rama is not at peace From a mere sense of duty he discharges his manifold functions as a king, but is always haunted by the image of her whom he had treated so unjustly Years go by, and at last he resolves to perform a horse-sacrifice. For the festivities attending the completion of the sacrifice there came Valmiki bringing with him the twins, Kusa and Lava, whom he had taught to sing the Ramayana, a panegyric poem on Rama which Valmiki had composed With great applause the boys recite the poem in the presence of Rama and the whole assembly Rama inquires about the boys and is pleasantly surprised to learn from Valmiki that they are Rama's own sons Understanding that Sita is still alive, he sends for her Sita comes. Rama asks her to give further evidence of her innocence and purity 'If it is true', exclaims Sita, 'that in mind and deed and word I have never been unfaithful to Rama, may Mother Earth receive me into her bosom!' Just as she utters these words the Earth gapes open and a divine form stretches forth her hands to Sita, who enters the abyss and there finds eternal rest.

Soon after the disappearance of Sita, Rama feels his own end drawing near. The kingdom is divided amongst the four brothers, who in turn settle it upon their children In the meantime the aged queen-mothers die. Thereafter Lakshmana whom Rama, for no fault of his own, was compelled to send away from him, gives up the ghost. Finally Rama himself enters the waters of the river Sarayu, and his other brothers, and the whole city of Ayodhya in fact, follow after him to heaven **END OF UTTARA-KANDA.**¹

(1) Similar summaries of the story are found in several books, such as Sir William Jones's works, Maurice's *Hindustan*, Moor's *Pantheon* etc.

On the authenticity and signification of the narrative itself, various THEORIES have been advanced

R C Dutt—"The Ramayana is utterly valueless as a narrative of historical events and incidents. The heroes are myths, pure and simple. Sita, the field-furrow, had received divine honors from the time of the Rig Veda and had been worshipped as a goddess. When cultivation gradually spread towards Southern India, it is not difficult to invent a poetical myth that Sita was carried to the south. And when this goddess and woman--the noblest creation of human imagination--had acquired a distinct and lovely individuality, she was naturally described as the daughter of the holiest and most learned King on record, Janaka of the Videhas! "But who is Rama, described as Sita's husband and King of the Kosalas? The later Puranas tell us he was an incarnation of Vishnu--but Vishnu himself had not risen to prominence at the time at which we are speaking! Indra was the chief of the Gods in the Epic period. In the Sutra literature we learn that Sita the furrow goddess is the wife of Indra. Is it then an untenable conjecture that Rama, the hero of the Ramayana, is in his original conception like Arjuna, the hero of Mahabharata, only a new edition of the Indra of the Rig Veda, battling with the demons of drought? The myth of Indra has thus been mixed up with the epic which describes a historic conquest of Southern India."¹

Jacobi—The foundation of the Ramayana would be a celestial myth of the Veda transformed into a narrative of earthly adventures according to a not uncommon development. Sita can be traced to the Rig Veda, where she appears as the Furrow personified and invoked as a goddess. In some of the Grihya-sutras, she again appears as a genius of the plough-fields, is praised as a being of great beauty and is accounted the wife of Indra or Parjanya the rain-god. There are traces of this origin in the Ramayana itself. For Sita is represented, as having emerged from the earth, when her father Janaka was once ploughing and at last disappears underground in the arms of the goddess Earth. Her husband Rama would be no other than Indra, and his conflict with Ravana would represent the *Indra-Vritra* myth of the Rig Veda. This identification is confirmed by the name of Ravana's son being Indrajit or Indra-Satru, the latter being actually an

1 *Civilisation in Ancient India.*

epithet of Vṛitra in the Rīg Veda Ravana's most notable feat, the rape of Sita, has its prototype in the stealing of the cows recovered by Indra, Hanumat, the chief of the monkeys and Rama's ally in the recovery of Sita is the son of the wind-god with the patronymic Maruṭi and is described as flying hundreds of leagues through the air to find Sita. Hence in his figure perhaps survives reminiscence of Indra's alliance with the Maruṭs in his conflict with Vṛitra and the dog Sarama who as Indra's messenger crosses the waters of the Rasa and tracks the cows occurs as the name of the demoness who consoles Sita in her captivity¹

Weber —(1) "In the Ramayana we find ourselves from the very outset in the region of allegory and we only move upon historical ground in so far as the allegory is applied to an historical fact, *viz*, to the spread of Aryan civilization to the south more especially to Ceylon (2) The Greeks are mentioned only twice and that under the vague name of Yavanas, which word embraces not only the Greeks but many of those alien races that have from time to time made inroads on N. W India. The theory of the translation of the Greek poems into the Indian epics has no standing ground. So our epic composition must have preceded the Greek invasions (3) The city of Pataliputra was built about 400 B C under Kalasoka and which about 350 B C became the capital of an empire. While the Ramayana refers to cities of Eastern Hindustan, it makes no mention of this important city. The only deduction is that its composition preceded the foundation of the city. (4) The capital of the Kosala Kingdom is called *Ayodhya* in the poem, whereas the name *Saketa* is given to it by the Buddhists and the Jains. It is said that Lava fixed his seat of Government at Sravasti. Our poem must have been composed when the old capital Ayodhya was not yet deserted and by Buddha's time the Kosala capital was under King Prasenajit of Sravasti (5) The Ramayana speaks of Mithila and Visala as two independent principalities, whereas by Buddha's time they were united into the single city of Vaisali under an oligarchical Government. (6) The characters are not historical figures but merely personifications of certain occurrences and situations. Sita, in the first place, whose abduction by a giant demon and her subsequent recovery by her husband Rama, constitute the plot of the entire poem, is but the field-furrow to whom divine honors were paid in

1. *Das Ramayana*, Bonn, 1898, *ZDMG*, XLVII, 407

the songs of the Rik and in the Grihya ritual. She accordingly represents Aryan husbandry, which has to be protected by Rama—whom I regard as originally identical with Balarama '*halabrit*' '*the plough-bearer*,' though the two were afterwards separated—against the attacks of the predatory aborigines. These latter appear to be demons and giants, whereas those natives who were well-disposed towards the Aryan civilization are represented as monkeys—a comparison which was doubtless not exactly intended to be flattering and which rests on the striking ugliness of the Indian aborigines as compared with the Aryan race" (7) "It is uncertain how far the story of Rama and Sita, as contained in its earliest form in the Dasaratha Jataka, may have a historical germ, or whether even that earliest version may not also have had as its ground work, in addition to such a germ, what Valmiki has undoubtedly interwoven into his representation of the story, namely, the adoration of a Demi-God, bearing the name of Rama, and regarded as the guardian of agriculture, but hindered in his beneficent activity by a temporary exile, and also of the field-furrow deified under the name of Sita."¹

According to Lassen,² "the development of the story of Rama may be divided into four stages. The first construction of the poem did not carry the narrative beyond the banishment of Rama to the Himalayas and the circumstances which caused his wife Sita and his brother Lakshmana to follow him into exile. The second changed the place of banishment to the Godavari and described the protection afforded to the hermits against the attacks of the aborigines. The third embraced the account of the first attempts to subdue the inhabitants of the Dekkan. The fourth modification which resulted from the knowledge gained by the Hindus of the island of Ceylon included the description of Rama's expedition against Lanka."³ Lassen commented on the views of Weber and his comments are instructive. It may be regarded as true that the now existing oldest form of the Rama-legend is presented in a Buddhist narrative, according to which Rama, with his brother, and his sister Sita, is banished to the Himavat. But this narrative appears to me to be a misconception or distortion of the Brahmanical original, due to the Buddhists, who represent the sister as following the banished prince—a duty which elsewhere is only regarded as incumbent on the

1. See '*On the Ramayana*' as translated by BORD, *IA*, I 120 ff

2. *Ind. Alt.* II 505.

3. *IA*, III 102-4

wife This conjecture would be raised to certainty if it should be discovered that any verses of the *Ramayana* were to be found in the Buddhist narrative Secondly, in the *Ramayana*, with the exception of one single passage, no allusions to the Buddhist occur In the passage referred to a Nastika is treated with contempt on account of his reprehensible principles, but this word, moreover, does not necessarily denote a Buddhist, but can just as well refer to a Charvaka, or materialist But, besides, the passage is interpolated It is further to be considered that the powerful kingdoms in Southern India were ruled by kings of Brahmanical sentiments, and that consequently an attack on the part of the Buddhists could only proceed from the side of Ceylon, the history of which is correctly handed down to us from the time of the second Asoka, and only relates war of the Singalese kings with the rulers of the opposite coasts Again, the Brahmans always accurately distinguish second and the third Rama, and there is no ground for regarding the second as a divine personification of agriculture As the story of the first Rama is to be found in the *Āitareya Brahmana*, a work which makes no reference whatever to incarnations of Vishnu, it will be impossible to deny the historical character of the Pithoid (?) Rama, although at a later period he was included in the circle of the *avatāras* On the same ground I consider myself bound to accept as an historical personage the Dasarathi Rama. As soon as he was transported into the ranks of the gods, he was naturally followed by Sita, whose name of itself led to her being turned into a daughter of the Earth—into a deified Furrow Again, the assumption that the flight to Helen and Trojan war were the prototypes of the abduction of Sita, and of the conflict around Lanka, appears very paradoxical It presupposes, further, an acquaintance with the Homeric poems, of which there is no proof whatever. Among a people one of whose chief weapons was the bow, it was natural that stories of heroes who conquered their foes by superiority in the use of this weapon should be invented By means of this style of comparison, the account of Arjuna's defeat of the rival suitors for Draupadi's hand through his superior skill in archery might be ascribed to Homeric influence Besides, a comparison of the circle of tales current among the two nations would not be quite appropriate, as in the *Ramayana* the abduction of Sita forms an important part of the story, while in the Homeric songs the rape of Helen is indeed introduced as the motive of the war, but is nowhere described at length Finally, although I am still convinced that the

Indians have derived their zodiacal signs, not from the Greek but from the Chaldaean astrologers, the astronomical data occurring in the *Ramayana* have no force as proofs. The reference to the Yavanas and Sakas as powerful nations in the northern region only shows, strictly speaking, that these nations were known to the Indians as such, but not that they had already established their dominion in that quarter. In conformity with my views on the history of Indian epic poetry, I regard as inadmissible the statement of the historian of Kashmir (*Rajatarangini*, I 166) that the king of that country, Damodara, caused the *Ramayana*, with all its episodes, to be read to him. How much sooner the existing poem was composed will probably never admit of determination."

According to *M. Williams*, "the first orderly completion, of the two poems in their brahmanized form, may have taken place, in the case of the *Ramayana* about the beginning of the third century B. C., and in the case of the *Mahabharata* (the original story of which is possibly more ancient than that of the *Ramayana*) still later,—perhaps as late as the second century B. C. The posteriority of the brahmanized *Mahabharata* may be supported by the more frequent allusions it contains to the progress of Buddhistic opinions, and to the intercourse with the Yavanas or Greeks, who had no considerable dealings with the Hindus till two or three centuries after Alexander's invasion."

Talboys Wheeler says that the war between Rama and Ravana is but a poetic version of the conflict between Brahminism and Buddhism in the south.

H. H. Wilson says that the story of the *Ramayana* seems to be founded on historical fact and the traditions of the South of India uniformly ascribe its civilization to the subjugation or dispersion of its forest tribes of barbarians and the settlement of civilized Hindus to the conquest of Lanka by Rāma.¹

J. C. Chatterjee refers the incidents and locality of the *Rāmāyana* to the advance of the Aryans eastwards and to the Caucasus and shores of the Caspian, the Black and Mediterranean seas.²

M. V. Kibe discovers, after elaborate literary and geographical research, the real Lankā of the *Rāmāyana*. "A mysterious peak which

1 *Indian Wisdom*, 31-6. See Gauranganath Banerjee's *Hellenism in Ancient India*, 288-6.

2 *Translation of Vāyaviya Purāṇa*, III 317 note.

3 "Aryan Ancestors, where did they come from?"—Paper read at the Asiatic Society of Bengal—*Hindu*, Madras, 14th April, 1916.

is visible from the neighbourhood of the Amarakantak, the source of the Nerbudda, and which is surrounded by marshy land may be identified with Lanka¹ There is much there for appreciation

Another theory is "that the Ramayana exhibits the progress of Aryan plough husbandry among the mountains and the fastnesses of Central and Southern India and the perils of the agricultural settlers, from non-ploughing nomadic hunting tribes"²

It is said in the Rājataranginī (I 116) that king Dāmodara was condemned to wear the form of a serpent "until he should have heard the whole of the Rāmāyana in one day" Gossens therefore infers that inasmuch as king Dāmodara lived about the beginning of the 14th century B C, the passage decides in favour of at least the "remota antiquita del poema"³ But Weber almost derides him by saying that "the Ramayana is brought into connection with the banishment of a king, who is presumed to have reigned 2400 years before the date of Kalhana"⁴

The fantastic differences about dates among orientalists are seen for instance, in the following summary about Rāma in Balfour's *Cyclopaedia of India*, Volume III "Rama of the solar line of Hindu chronology is, however, placed by brahmins, 867,102 B C between the silver and brazen ages But he has been variously supposed to have lived, 2022 B C Jones, 950 Hamilton, and 1100 Todd, and according to Bently he was one year old in 960, born in 6th April 961, Rama preceded Krishna but as their historians Valmiki and Vyasa, who wrote events they witnessed, were contemporaries, it could not have been many years"

Whatever may have been the fanciful interpretations of western savants and modern theorists, the epic has maintained its unity of plot and action from time immemorial It is the Ādikāvya, the first poem and Vālmiki was Ādikavi, the first poet in Indian Literature As a piece of poetic art the Rāmāyana stands supreme and Vālmiki's poetic fancy and imagery have been the standard for imitation There is no ideal, there is no reality, there is no fancy, there is no sentiment which Vālmiki has not depicted and there is no expression which can excel or equal

1 First Oriental Conference, Poona, *Summaries of Papers*, 128

2 See Vaidya's *Riddle of the Ramayana*, 64, Narayan Aiyangar's *Essays on Indo-Aryan Mythology*, Tilak's *Arctic home in the Vedas*, 348

3 Vol I Introduction, xcvi

4 *On the Rāmāyana*, IA, I 239,

his in grace or eloquence. Cosmogony and theogony, folk-lore and tradition, mythology and history, have all formed a part "in the weaving of the mighty web and work of magic drapery evolved by Vālmīki." "Notwithstanding the wilderness of exaggeration and hyperbole through which the reader of the Indian Epics has occasionally to wander," says M. Williams¹ "there are in the whole range of the world's literature few more charming poems than the Rāmāyaṇa. The classical purity, clearness and simplicity of its style, the exquisite touches of true poetic feeling with which it abounds, its graphic descriptions of heroic incidents and of nature's grandest scenes, the deep acquaintance it displays with the conflicting working and most refined emotions of the human heart, all entitle it to rank among the most beautiful compositions that have appeared at any period and in any country. It is like a spacious and delightful garden, here and there allowed to run wild, but teeming with fruits and flowers, watered by perennial streams and even its most tangled thickets intersected with delightful pathways."

These excellences of thought and expression have gained for Vālmīki the highest place in the pantheon of the world's poetic geniuses. Wherever you roam over the vast continent of India, be it a peasant's hut or a lord's parlour, the story of Rāma is familiar and is listened to with pleasure and devotion. This is the prediction of Brahma,

Yāvat sthāsyantī girayas santas ca mahītale
Tāvaṣṭ Rāmāyana-kathā lokeṣu pracariṣyati—I 240.

And the name of Rāma and the narration of his heroism will be current in the world "as long as mountains and rivers stand on the surface of the earth." There is not one devout Hindu who does not believe in these words of Vālmīki. "He who reads and repeats this holy life-giving Rāmāyana is liberated from all his sins and exalted with all his posterity to the highest heaven." Vālmīki reiterated the doctrine of fate and hope and thus expressed the means of solace in distress and when that poet put the old saying in the lips of despairing Sītā,

Kalyāṇī bata gāṭheyam laukikī pratibhāti me
Eti jīvantam ānando naram varṣatādapi

he had said all that could be said for peace in this mortal world.²

1. *Indran Wisdom*, 365

2. Ed. by V. L. S. Pansikar with Tilaka Commentary (Bombay), Ed. by R. L. Bhattacharya, Benares, Ed. by A. G. V. Schlegel with Latin preface (Bonn), Ed.

Rāmāyapakathāsāra is a brief narrative of the Rāmāyana in seven Kāndas, each Kānda in a different metre, by Subbaya Śāstrin, son of Yegnesa Sūrin of Pulyala family and daughter's son of Venkata Śwetamukha Makhin of Kompela family¹. There are short poetical summaries, Āryā Rāmāyana by Suryakavi² and Sister Balambal³.

Iatvasangraharāmāyana of Rāmabrahmānanda in seven adhyay is mentions the story of the Rāmāyana, but adds many incidents not found in Vālmiki's work⁴.

by Gorresio, Paris, Ed. by Durgaprasad (Nirnaya Sanara Press, Bombay), Ed. by Gopal Narayana (Bombay), Ed. by Vyasacarya (Kumbakonam) with Govindaraja's Commentary Translated into English verse by Griffith (Benares) and into English Prose, by M. N. Dutt, Calcutta, by Makhana Lal Sen (Calcutta, with a valuable introduction) and by C. R. Srinivasa Iyengar with notes, Madras)

For versions of the story, see Belvalkar's Int. to Uttaramacarita (HOS, 21)

For critical remarks on composition and contents, see *IA*, I 120, 172, 29 III 102, IV 247, XXIX. 8 For Bhavabhūti's quotation, see *IA*, II 123 On the author, and different versions, see *IA*, XXXI 351-2 For an Italian story resembling Rāmāyana, see *IA*, VII 202, 292.

Was Ramayana copied from Homer? (*IA*, II 219, XIII 336, 480, III. 124, 267) As to the quotation of the verse in the Mahabhashya of Patanjali, see *IA*, IV 247 ff Weber, *On the Rāmāyana* translated by D. C. Boyd (*IA*, I. 120, 172, 239), *Ramayana and Jatakas* (*Mod. Rev.* XVIII 96), *Valmiki and Kālidāsa* by R. V. Krishnamacharya (*Sahridaya*, XVIII), *Life of Valmiki* (JASB, XXIII 494), *Ein Beitrag zur Ramayana Kritik* by Jacobi (*ZDMG*, XLI), *Geography of Rama's exile* by Pargiter (*JRAS*, 1894, 231), *Linguistic Archaisms of the Ramayana* by T. Michelson (*JAS*, 1904), *Valmiki, as he reveals himself in his poem*, by B. Barna (*JGU*, III. 251-90)

Jacobi, *Das Ramayana* (Bonn), Ludwig, *Über Das Ramayana* (Prag), Baumgartner, *Das Ramayana* (Freiburg), Hans Wirtz, *Die Westliche Rezension des Ramayana*, H. Luders, *Die sage von Rasyamga*.

The Triumph of Valmiki (in Bengali) by H. P. Shastri and translated in English by R. R. Sen (Luzac & Co., London), *The Riddle of the Ramayana* by C. V. Vaidya, Bombay, *The Ramayana and the Mahabharata*, by the Maharaja of Bobbili (in Telugu).

Vaidya's *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata* and *Epic India* reviewed in *Ind. Rev.* IX 686, *Sri Ramachandra, the Ideal King* by T. Michelson (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar) For a valuable critique, see the Introduction (Telugu) to Gopinatha Ramayana, (Madras).

1 DC, XX 7909

2 TC, III 3021 It was composed on Sunday, the 10th day of the dark fortnight of the year Yuva

3 Printed, Madras

4 TC, I 955

Vālmikibhāvadīpam¹ is an interpretation in verse of the spiritual significance of the story of Rāma. The author Anantācārva is the son of Kṛṣṇamācārya and the head of the famous Partivādibhavanakara Mutt of Kāncī. He was born on 24th March 1874 and is the author of several works in philosophy. By his extensive tours all over India he is spreading knowledge and religion. Among his works is Samsāra-cakram, a sanskrit novel, which will be noticed in a later Chapter.

Vāsistha Rāmāyaṇa, also called Jñāna Vāsistha, is said to have been composed by Vālmiki himself as an appendage to the Rāmāyaṇa and originally taught by Vāsistha to Rāma. It is in six chapters, Vairāgya, Mumukṣutva, Utpatti, Sthiti, Upāsana and Nirvāṇa and treats mainly of Yoga and Advaita Vedānta by means of illustrative stories, intended to explain the best means of attaining true happiness². There is commentary on it by Ānandabodhendhra Sarasvatī³ and a short compendium of it (anonymous) in 10 Prakaranas with a commentary by Mahīdhara⁴.

Vasisthotthararāmāyaṇa is not fully extant. In the 12th chapter there is the legendary account of the vanquishment of hundred-headed Rāvaṇa by Sītā. It is called Sītāvijayam⁵.

Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa or Adbhutotttararāmāyaṇa, also attributed to Vālmiki, describes in 27 Cantos as a sequel to the Rāmāyaṇa the early story and real nature of Sītā. In it Sītā is represented as having killed a Rāvaṇa with hundred heads, whom Rāma was unable to vanquish⁶.

Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa is an extract from the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*. It is divided into seven books, bearing the same name as the Rāmāyaṇa and its object is to show "that Rāma was a manifestation of the supreme spirit and Sita, identified with Lakṣmī, a type of nature." It is in the

1. Printed at Conjeeveram by the author.

2. An abridgment (Laghu) has been translated by K. Narayanaswami Iyer, (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar). This work is a standard book of study among the members of the Theosophical society. See further, M. Williams' *Indian Wisdom*, 368.

3. He was the pupil of Gangādharendra Sarasvatī who was the disciple of Rāmācandraṇḍra Sarasvatī, who was the disciple of Sarvaṇa Sarasvatī. See DC, IV 1292-1302.

4. TC, II 2644, IOC, 232, 783.

5. TC, I 881, 882, II. 1303.

6. IOC, No. 3331-33, DC XX. 7689, Ed Bombay. This edition contains 27 cantos.

form of a dialogue between Umā and va Two chapters are held to be particularly sacred In the first chapter, Rāmahridaya, the inner nature of Rāma is explained and his identification of Rāma with Vishnu as the supreme spirit is asserted. The fifth chapter of the seventh book, the Rāmagīta, explains the advantage of giving up all work in order to meditate upon and become united with the supreme spirit ¹

Mūla Rāmāyana² and Ānanda Rāmāyana³ describe the importance of Hanūmaṭ and is read much by the followers of Śrī Madhwa

Saṭyopākhyāna narrates the history of Rāma illustrated with a variety of stories not found in the Rāmāyaṇa It is said to have been originally imparted to Mārkaṇḍeya by Vālmiki, and then by him to Vyāsa, by Vyāsa to Sūta and lastly recounted by Sūta to the Rsis in the forest of Naimiśa It may have been part of a Purāṇa but it has not been possible to identify the source ⁴

Rāmācandra or Rāmāvana is a long work in prose and verse based on the Rāmāvana of Hemācārya It differs considerably from the work of Vālmiki, and is an extravagant travesty of it It closes with the narration of the death of Lakṣmana on hearing a false report of the slaying of Rāma and Rāma becoming an ascetic and attaining salvation, after which his sons Lava and Kusa became initiated into the Jain religion Padmaviṇayagaṇi, the author, was a disciple of Rajaviṇaya Sūri, a disciple of Viṇayasena Suri and composed the work in 1596, during the reign of Emperor Akbar ⁵

COMMENTARIES

The most well-known commentary is the Bhūṣanam of Govindarāja, of Kauśika-gotra He was the son of Varadarāja He was a Śrī-vaṣṭava brahmin, a resident of Kānci or Sholinghur He calls himself a disciple of Saṭhagopadeśika The latter is probably the 6th Swami of the Ahobīlam Mutt, who lived about the beginning of the 16th century ⁶ At the end of Yuddhakāṇḍa, Govindarāja says he was en-

1 Printed in all provinces See Monier William's *Indian Wisdom*, 368 Translated into English by Lala Bai Nath, Panini office, Allahabad (See *Ind Rev*, XIII. 334)

2 Ed Nirnayasagara Press, Bombay Theosophical Publishing House Adyar

3 Ed by Jyestaram Mukundjee, Bombay

4 Ed Sri Venkateswar Press, Bombay

5. See *Mitra's Rep* V

couraged in his composition by Bhāvanācārya Bhāvanācārya was the great scion of Kāṇḍāla family of Vadhūla gotra and his son Srīranga's disciple, Tenali Annava (brother of Tenali Ramakrishna) lived in the days of kings Kṛṣṇadevarāya and Rāmadevarāya of Vijayanagar¹. We may therefore safely assign this commentary to the middle of the 16th century. When once on a visit to Tirupati he was directed in his dream at the entrance of the temple of Venkateśa to compose a commentary on the Rāmāyaṇa. The work is learned, discursive and authoritative and comprehends all that a reader may desire for a proper appreciation of the poem. The commentaries on the Cantos have separate names, Manimanjira, Pīṭāmbara, Ratnamekhala, Mukṭāhāra, Śṛṅgārāṭṭakā, the Manimukuta, and Ratnakṛita².

Vālmīkīhrdayam³ is a commentary by Ahobala of Atreya gotra. He lived at Conjeeveram. He was the disciple of Parāṅkusa, the 6th Swami of Ahobila Mutt who was contemporary of Emperor Rāmarāya of Vijayanagar of the 16th century. He also translated into Sanskrit the commentary in Tamil of select verses of the Rāmāyaṇa by the commentators on the Dramidopanishad or Tiruvaymoli⁴. In his tours in the north of India, he installed the images of Alvars in the temple of Jagannātha⁵. Ahobala's pupil Brahmavidyadhvarin wrote a critical commentary on stray verses called Virodhahhanjani. He was son of Nṛsimha and Bhavānī of the Vāna family⁶.

Dharmākūṭam is a splendid critique on the Rāmāyaṇa. Its object, as the name indicates, is to demonstrate to the reader how at every step of the poem, the story of the Rāmāyaṇa illustrates the code of morals by reference to the original sources of the Vēdas and the Dharma Sāstras⁷. It is a unique work of the kind and was almost an original conception in Sanskrit literature.

Its author is Tryambaka Makhin⁸. He was the son of Gangādhara, the minister of Ekoji, the founder of the Kingdom of Tanjore (1674-1687) and brother of Nṛsimha. His father's father was Tryam-

1 See Veeresalingam's Lives of Telugu poets, Part II 322

2 Ed. Madras and elsewhere

3 DC, IV 1272

4 TC, II 2305

5 See Ahobilam Inscriptions

6 DC, IV 1277. Probably it was this Nṛsimha that also wrote a commentary on the Rāmāyaṇa, TC, III 3071

7 The work is thus described: Kṛtīriyam sakalāśrutisammata smṛti-purāṇavacobhīralankṛtā

8 His brother Nārāyaṇa wrote the Vikramasenacampū (IC, II 264)

bakāmātra When Shahajī became king (1687-1711), Iryambaka was appointed his minister and continued in that position throughout the reign. After the death of Shahajī and accession of Sarabhojī (1712-1727), Iryambaka was in charge of the portfolio of charitable endowments. After receiving a munificent grant of land, he retired for meditation to Swāmimalai (near Kumbakonam) where stands the ancient temple of Skanda. Only a few chapters have been printed by the Vanivilas Press, Srirangam and it is still unfinished. Probably the manuscript is in the Tanjore Library.

Rāmāyaṇānvayī is a commentary by Rāṅgācārya, of Kidīmbari family and of Āṭṭeja gotra. He was the pupil of Gopāla, a descendant of Vāḍihamśa family. He probably lived at Arasanpalai near Conjeevaram.¹ Rāmāyaṇa-bhūsanam is a commentary by Prabalamukundaśūn, son of Singayarya.² Subodhini is a commentary by Abhinava Rāma-bhadrāśrama, a desciple of Raghūttamāśrama. He was an ascetic, probably a resident of the Circars.³ Guruvālmīkībhaṭṭavaprakāśikā is a commentary by Haripandita, son of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇāmātya of the Mudigunda family, and of the Kaundinya gotra.⁴ Appayadikṣita wrote Rāmāyaṇatātparyanirṇaya and Rāmāyaṇasārasaṅgraha.⁵

Rāmāyaṇa-tattva-dīpikā, familiarly known as Īrṭhīyam is a commentary by Maheśatīrtha. He was an ascetic and pupil of Nārāyaṇatīrtha.⁶ Rāmāyaṇa-Dīpikā is a commentary by Vidyānātha Dīkṣita.⁷ So is Sarvārthasāra by Venkaṭeśvara,⁸ Varadarāja of Udali family of Malabar has left a fragmentary commentary.⁹ Aufrecht gives the names of the following commentators: Isvaradīkṣita, Umāmaheśvara, Nāgeśa, Rāmānandatīrtha, Lokanātha, Viśvanātha, Śivara Sanyāsin, Hari Pandita.¹⁰

Caṭurarthī is an anonymous commentary giving four meanings to several important verses. The author displays much learning and

1 DC, IV 1284 Vāḍihamśabudhācārya was the maternal uncle of Veḍānta Deśika

2 TC, II 1235, 2057 He refers to a commentator Varadaraja

3 TC, II 2491, III 3753

4 TC, II 2315, 2652

5 Op, II 4884, 8336

6 Printed Madras and Bombay and elsewhere

7 DC, IV 1274 Described in Burnells Tan Cat p 178.

8 TC, II 1373 (1910-13)

9 TC, III, 2722

10 CC, I, 522-4.

ingenuity in his interpretations¹ *Amṛtakataka*,² *Rāmāyaṇasāradīpikā*,³ *Gurubālacittaraṇjanī*,⁴ and *Viḍvanmanoranjānī*,⁵ are anonymous and except the first, are only available in fragments

*Rāmāyaṇāsārasaṅgraha*⁶ is an exposition of stray verses by Varadaraja of Nodari family and of Ātreya goṭra, known also as Chola-pandita Brahmādhirāja *Rāmāyaṇasāracandrika*⁷ is a commentary on some select verses by Srinivāsaraṅghavacārya of Srīrangam. He calls himself a desciple of the ascetic Ranganātha. *Rāmāyaṇa Ṭaṇṇīloki*⁸ *Vyākhyā* is an elaborate exposition in Tamil by Periaivācchāmbillai. It has been rendered into Sanskrit by some unknown author and is very interesting study. Hamsayogin's *Āraṅgītā* composed in Kalī 3604 (502 A D) explains important passages. There is a commentary on it *Khandarahasya*⁹

Rāmāyana-viśama-paḍārtha-vyākhyāna by Bhatta Devarāma is a running gloss on difficult portions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*¹⁰ *Kalpavallikā* is a similar exposition of several important verses by Bommakanti Nṛsimhasāstrin, an aged living Pandit of Cocanada. He is the son of Peru Sastri. He interprets the *Rāmāyana* as the manifestation of the will of Tripurasundarī and Rāma as her incarnation¹¹ *Rasamīṣyaṇḍimī* is a learned original commentary on important verses by Parithiyur Kṛṣṇa Sāstrinḡal of South Indian Puranic fame¹²

Rāmāyaṇārthaprakāśikā is a running discussion on certain minor incidents of the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The author is Venkata, son of Lakṣmaṇa¹³ *Rāmāyaṇa-mahimādarsa*¹⁴ is a discussion of several controversial points in the events and interpretation of the *Rāmāyaṇa*

1. DC, IV 1274.

2. DC, IV 1286-8.

3. DC, IV 1283

4. TC, I 233-4

5. TC, III 3951

6. TC, II 2457

7. TC, II 2100 The manuscript ends with 119th canto of *Yuddhakanda*.

8. Printed by Sri Venkateswar Press, Bombay.

9. This is being edited by Pandit Sadagopacharya of the Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras

10. KC, 198

11. The work is being printed by the author at Cocanada,

12. The manuscript is with his son Mr. Kalyanarama Sastri. On the author, see Chapter on Sanskrit drama, *post*. He lived between 1842-1917

13. DC, IV 1287

14. TC, II. 2515.

in five Bimbās or chapters. The author was Purāṇam Hayagrīvaśāstrī the first Sanskrit Pandit of the Presidency College, Madras. He was the first editor of the Mahābhārata in South India in Telugu character. He lived in the sixties of the last century. Rāmāyaṇakathāvimarśa | Venkatārya is a short narrative of the Rāmāyaṇa giving the time of the occurrence of the leading events.¹ Rāmāyaṇasāradīpikā is in fragments.² Rāmāyaṇasārasaṅgraha of Venkatācārya, of Kaundinyagoṭṭ of Muppirāla contains a statement in chronological order of the events of the Rāmāyaṇa and gives a computation of dates.³ Rāmāyaṇasāra | Agniveśa is a record of the leading events of the Rāmāyana with the dates and intervals, composed in verse in Sārḍūla metre and well-known.⁴ Rāmāyaṇakālanirnaya-sūcikā is a similar work, but anonymous, discussing the date of the birth of Rama and other incidents of his life.⁵ There is a similar work called Rāmākālanirnaya-bodhini by Kovil Kandadai Venkata Sundarācārya of Cocanada. The date of the birth of Rāma is also discussed in Telugu by Nadathu Ananthlalwar Aiyangar, the grandson of the famous Mahāmahopādhyaya Paravastu Venkata Rangacharya of Vizagapatam and the pamphlet is named Rāmāvatarakālanirnaya.⁷

Satyaparākrama is an essay elaborating that aspect of truthfulness in Rāma's character by K. R. Visvanatha Sastri, of Kanadukathan, Ramnad. Sāraṇāgati is an essay treating of that doctrine as expounded in the Rāmāyana by T. Śrīnivāsa Rāghavacārya, B.A. of Conjeeveram.

Rāmāyaṇatātparyadīpika is said to have been an exposition of the real meaning and import of the Rāmāyana by Vyāsa made at the request of Dharmaraja.⁸ Rāmāyaṇatātparyadarpaṇa by Nārāyaṇa Yast explains the nine truths and significance of the Rāmāyaṇa in long discourses in 15 chapters.⁹

1. DC, IV 1274.

2. TC, II. 1373.

3. DC, I 1288-91.

4. TC, II 2060.

5. DC, IV 1291, TC, I 85.

6. Printed, Scape & Co. Press, Cocanada.

7. Printed at the Arsha Press, Vizagapatam, 1905.

8. TC, II 2079, 2148.

9. TC, II 2217.

SECTION III

Mahābhārata

Veḍa Vyāsa the author of Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas was the son of Parāśara and Satyawatī. His name was Kṛṣṇa and he had the appellation Dvaipayana, because soon after birth he was abandoned by his unmarried mother in a *dvīpa* (island). He compiled the Vedas and was thence known as Vyāsa¹. Satyawatī married King Śaṅtanu, Śaṅtanu's son Vicitravīrya had two wives Ambikā and Ambālikā. He died issueless and to perpetuate his progeny, Vyāsa procreated three sons, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Pāṇdu and Viḍura on these childless widows at the behest of his mother Satyawatī². Then he betook himself to a life of penance, until after this progeny became old and passed away, he "spoke the Bhārata in this human world". He composed the Bhārata of 26,000 verses. The learned say that is the extent of the Bhārata without the Upākhyānas. And he compiled a chapter of 150 verses setting out the contents of the several Books of the poem. This of old Vyāsa taught to his son Śuka and then he gave to others of his pupils whom he found apt and promising. Vyāsa composed another poem of 60 lakhs of verses. Of this work 30 lakhs were published in the world of Gods, 15 lakhs in the region of the Pitṛs, 14 lakhs were given to the Gaṇḍharvas, and one lakh was published among men. Nārada recited it to the Gods, Devala to the Pitṛs, Śuka to the Gaṇḍharvas and other Demons. In this land of man Vasampāyana recited, the pupil of Vyāsa, and the best of those learned in the Veda.³ When Vyāsa was considering how best to transmit it to his disciples, Brahma appeared to him. "Then the great glorious Vyāsa, addressing Brahma Paramesthi said 'O divine Brahma, by me a poem hath been composed which is greatly respected, the [mystery of the Veda and what other subjects have been explained by me, the various ritual of Upanishdas with the Angas, the compilation of the Purāṇas formed by me and named after the three divisions of time, past, present, and future, the determination of the nature of decay, death, fear, disease, existence and non-existence, a description of creeds and of the various modes of life, rules for the four castes, and the important of the Puranas an account of asceticism and of the duties of religions

1 Mah. I. 64.

2 Mah. I. 112.

3. Mah. I. 72 et seq.

student, the dimensions of the sun and moon, the planets, constellations and stars, together with the duration of the four ages, the Rik, Sama and Yajur Vedas, also the Adhyatma, the sciences called Nyaya, Orthoepey and Treatment of disease, charity and Pasupata, birth, celestial and human, for particular purposes, also a description of places of pilgrimage and other holy places, of rivers and mountains forests, the ocean of heavenly cities and the kalpas, the art of war, the different kinds of nations and language, the nature of the manners of the people and the all-pervading spirit-ball, these have been represented. But after all, no writer of this work is to be found on earth."

"Brahma said,—“I esteem thee for thy knowledge of divine mysteries, before the whole body of celebrated Munis distinguished for the sanctity of their lives. I know thou has revealed the divine word, even from its first utterance, in the language of truth. Thou hast called thy present work a poem, wherefore it shall be a poem. There shall be no poets whose works may equal the descriptions of this poem, even as the three other modes called Asrama are ever unequal in merit to the domestic Asrama. Let Ganeśa be thought of, O Muni, for the purpose of writing the poem”

Sauti said, “Brahma having thus spoken to Vyāsa, retired to his own abode. Then Vyāsa began to call to mind to Ganeśa. And Ganeśa, obviator of obstacles, ready to fulfil the desires of his votaries, was no sooner thought of, than he repaired to the place where Vyāsa was seated. And when he had been saluted, and was seated, Vyāsa, addressed him thus,—‘O guide of the Ganas, be thou the writer of the Bhārata which I have formed in my imagination, and which I am about to repeat.”

“Ganeśa upon hearing his address thus answered —‘I will become the writer of thy work, provided my pen do not for a moment cease writing.” And Vyāsa said unto that divinity, “wherever there be anything thou does not comprehend, cease to continue writing.” Ganeśa, having signified his assent, by repeating the word ‘Om!’ proceeded to write, and Vyāsa began, and, by way of diversion, he knut the knots of composition exceeding close, by doing which he dictated this work according to his engagement.”

Vaiśampayana repeated it to King Janamejaya at his serpent sacrifice and Sauti heard that narration. The Mahābhārata, as we have

it, was given out by Sauṭi, as he heard it from Vaiṣampāyana, to the assembled sages during Saunata's sacrifice in the forests of Naimiśa

We have therefore three points at which the Mahābhārata may actually be said to begin *First*, from the very beginning of the text as we have it, with the invocation of Nara and Nārāyaṇa, following the invocation we have the conversation, when Sauṭi and the sages of Saunakas' hermitage. *Second*, from the description of the *Sarpa Saṭtra*¹ (serpent sacrifice) of Janamejaya where commences the Āstika-parvan. *Third*, from the commencement of the actual narrative of the history of the Bhārata race, where begins the Amśāvaṭaraṇa parvan. In the course of the narrative as repeated Vaiṣampāyana, it is observed that on some occasions, King Janamejaya asks Vaiṣampāyana for an elaboration of the story or an elucidation of any earlier event alluded with it and Vaiṣampāyana answers Janamejaya. These answers could not have been part of Vyasa's narration and must be said to be of Vaiṣampāyana's authorship, just as the earlier Chapters describing the concourse at Saunaka's sacrifice and the serpent sacrifice of Janamejaya must be ascribed to Sauṭi, who to us is the publisher of the Mahābhārata. It is however seen that Sauṭi's narrative is read and taken as the Mahābhārata. There was a difference of opinion even when Sauṭi made his narration. So it was said

Manvādī Bhāraam ke cit Āstikāḍī ṭaṭhāpare
Ṭaṭhōparicarāḍyanye viprās samyag aḍhīyire

"Brahmins have studied the Bhārata sedulously, some from the Chapter about Manu, others from the Chapter about Āstika, and others, from the Chapter about Uparicaravaṣu"² Sri Maḍhva in his *Taṭṭharyamrṇaya* however gives a traditional explanation of this verse "The meaning of the Bhārata, in so far as it is a relation of the facts and events of which Śrī Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas are connected, is called Āstikāḍī (historical). That interpretation by which we find lessons on Dharma, Bhakti and other ten qualities, Śruti (sacred study) and righteous practices, character and training, on Brahma and the other

1. Mah. I. 1-11.

2. Mah. I. 12-58.

3. Mah. I. 59.

4. For a critical discussion of the preliminary Chapters, see Notes of a study of the Preliminary Chapters of the Mahābhārata by V. Venkatachela Iyer, High Court Vakil, Nellore.

Gods is called *Manvādī* (religious and moral) Thirdly, the interpretation by which every sentence, word or syllable is shown to be the significant name, or to be the declaration of the glories of the Almighty Ruler of the Universe is called *Auparicara* (transcendental) ”

The vast extent of the work was easily the cause of much interpolation Śrī Maḍhva found it deplorable “In some places we find interpolations, in other cases texts are altogether lost, in some others, they have changed the character of the text either by mistake or on purpose. Even those that might be said to be extant are in a state of utter confusion, mostly they are lost A millionth part of the real text is not available, what could then be said of their meaning hard to be grasped even by the Gods !” If we would not be hypercritical, we may safely take it that *Vyāsa's text can be fairly distinguished*, if we omit the earlier Chapters related by Sauti ending with the Āstikaparvan texts and the special explanations and narrations of Vaiśampāyana, in answer to particular questions of King Janamejaya as the narration progressed in the Court of King Janamejaya ¹

The name Mahābhārata has been significantly explained in the prefatory Chapter. “The Gods all came together of old and weighed the Bhārata in the balance against the four Veda. As the Bhārata outweighed the four Veda and all the secrets they contained, from that time forward, it has been known in this world as Mahābhārata, for it being esteemed superior both in substance and gravity of import, is denominated Māhabhārata from such substance and gravity of import ”

For the views of a non-Hindu or a sceptic Hindu, we cannot vouchsafe To the ordinary Hindu in whom the sense of piety has not yet vanished, the Mahābhārata is a fifth Veda As Vyāsa said “By the aid of History and the Purāṇas, Veda may be expounded, but the Veda is afraid of one of little information, lest he should injure it. The learned man who recites to others this Veda of Vyāsa reapeth advantage It may without doubt destroy even the sin of killing the embryo and the like He that readeth this holy Chapter at every change of the moon, readeth the whole of the Bhārata, I ween. The man who with reverence daily listeneth to this sacred work acquireth long life and renown and ascendeth to heaven ,” and *may this blessing be true for ever !* †

1. C. V. Vaidya's Mahābhārata (epitome) is an attempt in this direction, †

¹ Tradition accepts that Kṛṣṇadvaipāyana or Veda Vyāsa is identical with Bādarāyaṇa author of the Brahma Sūtras. Skānda Purāṇa expressly says that God incarnate as Vyāsa son of Satyaṇa and Parāśara arranged the Vedas and composed the aphorisms Rāmānuja in his Sūtra Bhāṣya in Upaṭṭyasambhavādhikarāṇa, says Sūtra-karaṇa Vedāntanyāyābhīdhāyini Sūtrāyabhidhaya Vedopabramhaṇā

I T, S NARAYANA SASTRI in his *Age of Sankara* (p. 39 note) expresses a contrary view. Badarayana in his Vedanta Sūtras quotes and refutes the doctrines of almost all the other schools of Indian Philosophy including those of the Lokayatikas, Jainas and Bauddhas and he cannot, therefore, be identical with Krishna Dvaipayana who was a contemporary of Sri Krishna and the Pandavas and who lived in the interval of time between Dvapara-yuga and Kali-yuga, at about 3102 B.C. Further Badarayana quotes from Patanjali, the renowned author of the Mahabhashya on Panini's Vyakarana and he is also accredited as having written the Bhashya on Patanjali's Yoga Sūtras. As Patanjali's date is fixed between the 10th and 9th Century B.C., (Vide 'Age of Patanjali' by the late Pandit N. Bhashyacharya) Badarayana can, under no circumstances, be placed before the 10th Century B.C. Moreover, Bhagavadgita, which forms a portion of the Mahabharata written by Veda Vyasa is quoted as an authority by Badarayana in his Vedanta Sūtras under the name of Smṛiti, but this could hardly be the case if the author of both these works—the Bhagavadgita and the Vedanta Sūtras—were one and the same. Veda Vyasa's patronymic name is Kṛṣṇa Dvaipayana and he is said to be the son of the great sage Parasara by Satyaṇa and his hermitage was near Prayaga (Allahabad) between the Ganges and the Jumna. Whereas, Badarayana, as the name itself clearly shows, was the son of Badari and his hermitage was at Badarikāsrama on the Himalayas. It is possible that Badarayana's father and preceptor was called Badari after the name of this sacred hermitage, which soon became a great seat of learning for the Vedanta school of Philosophy. The earliest authentic reference to Badarayana and Veda Vyasa is by Sankara himself, and it is clear from his works that he always made a distinction between Krishna Dvaipayana or Veda Vyasa, the author of the Bhagavadgita, and Badarayana or Vyasa, the author of the Vedanta Sūtras. In commenting on Bhagavadgita, Sankara refers to the author in the preface in the following terms—*Ṭam dharmam Bhagavatā Yathopāṣṭam Vedavyāsa Sarvaṅno Bhagavān Gītākhyais sapṭabhis slokasataih upanibabandha* (It is this Dharma which was taught by the Lord, that the omniscient and adorable Veda Vyasa embodied in the seven hundred verses called Gita). But in the only place where he names the author of the Vedanta Sūtras, Sankara says as follows:—*Nannevam saṁ, sātīṣaṣṭvāṁ antavaṣṭam anvarsya syāt, tatpāṣṭam ārtīṣṭ prasajyeṭa itī āṭa uṣṭaram Bhagavān Bādarāyaṇa Aṭharyah-patyaṭi.* (But from the circumstances of the Lordly power of the released souls not being absolute, it follows that it comes to an end, and then they will have to return from the world of Brahman. To this objection, the reverend Badarayana Acharya replies in the following Sūtra. Of them, there is non-return according to scripture; non-return according to scripture. (Vide Sankara's preface to Vedanta Sūtra, IV, 4-22). It is apparent from these two passages that Sankara makes a

ca Bhāraṭa Samhitām śaṭasāhasrikām kurvaṭā Mokṣadharme Jñānakānde abhihiṭam So says the author of Sruṭaparakāśikā in his commentary on the Mangalāśloka referring to śruṭi, Sahovaca Vyāsah Pārā-aryah In the traditional invocation adopted by readers of the Bhā-yas, we have Samyangnyāyakalāpena mahāṭā Bhāraṭena ca, Upabrahmṛiṭa Vedaya namo Vyāsāya Viṣṇave In the benedictory verse commencing the

clear distinction between the author of the Bhagavadgita and that of the Vedānta Sūtras, taking the one as the incarnation of the Omniscient Lord himself, and the other as one of his own respected Acharyas or teachers Further in Sūtra III, 3-32 of his Vedānta Darsana, Bādarāyana himself refers to Kṛṣṇa Dvāpāyana, as an instance of persons who knew Brahman and yet took on new bodies for the purpose of saving the world In commenting upon this Sūtra, Sankara says —“Upapanna īviyam Cintā Brahmaniḍāmapī Kesamcit ītīhāsapurāṇayor debhāntaroṭpaṭṭīḍarsanaṭ Ṭaṭhāthi, apāntarāṭamā nāma Veḍācāryah purāṇarsih Viṣṇuniyogaṭ Kalīḍvāparayos sanḍhau Kṛṣṇa dvāpāyanas sambabhuveti smaranṭi. (There is indeed room for the inquiry proposed, as we know from Iti-hasa and Purana, that some persons although knowing Brahman, yet obtained new bodies Tradition informs us that Apantaratamas, an ancient Rishi and teacher of the Vedas, was, by the order of Viṣṇu, born on this earth as Kṛṣṇa Dvāpāyana at the interval of time between the Dvāpara Yuga and Kalī Yuga) If Kṛṣṇa Dvāpāyana was the author of these Sūtras, nothing would have been more natural and easier for Sankara than to refer to the author himself as an instance Further it is clear from this passage, that Kṛṣṇa Dvāpāyana, according to Sankara, lived before the Kalyuga and he could not be, therefore, identical with Bādarāyana, the author of the Vedānta Sūtras and the reputed commentator of Patañjali's Yoga Sūtras Moreover, the Vedānta Sūtras are widely known as Bādarāyana Sūtras, but no one has yet called them Kṛṣṇa Dvāpāyana Sūtras Sankarananda, one of the successors of Sankara, and one of the greatest of Sanskrit scholars, makes it clear in his preface to his commentary on the Bhagavadgita, that these two persons could never be identical In that preface, he refers to the various works ascribed to Kṛṣṇa Dvāpāyana, but makes no mention of the Vedānta Sūtras, as one of his works. No doubt some of the later Acharyas have made a confusion between these two names, but that is no reason why the authors of the Bhagavadgita but the Vedānta Sūtras should be blindly identified and looked upon as one person ”

“ We are in a position to adduce other passages from the works of Sankaracharya, which strengthen to a greater or less extent, the conclusion derived from the one passage above referred to The twelfth aphorism of the first Pada of the second Adhyaya of the Brahma Sūtras says “By this those (doctrines) which are not received by the learned have also been answered ” And Sankaracharya, commenting upon this aphorism explains “the learned ” to mean “Manu, Vyasa and others ” Now is it likely that Sankaracharya would give this explanation, if he thought Vyasa to be the author of the Brahma Sūtras? I think it is most unlikely, for otherwise the aphorism, amplified according to Sankara's explanation, would run something like this, “What has been said above furnishes an answer to all those doctrines which such learned men as Manu and

Dvaitacārya Jayatīrthā's commentary, Vyāsa is described as the author of the Sūtras and Mahābhārata and Purāṇas¹

Sir EDWIN ARNOLD in his "Indian Idylls" claims for parts of it "an origin anterior to writing, anterior to Puranic theology, anterior to Homer, perhaps old muses" and accepts it as one of the priceless, treasures of East. Dr F A HASSLER wages eloquent in its praise "The Mahabharata has opened to me, as it were, a new world, and I have been surprised beyond measure at the wisdom, truth, knowledge and love of the right which I have found displayed in its pages not only so, but I have found many of the truths which my own heart hears taught me in regard to the supreme Being and His creations set forth in beautiful, clear language"

M WILLIAMS gives the names of the eighteen sections or Books which constitute the poem, with a brief statement of their contents —

1. Adi-Parvan, introductory Book, describes how the two brothers, Dhritarashtra and Pandu, are brought up by their uncle Bhishma, and how Dhritarashtra, who is blind, has one hundred sons, commonly called the Kuru princes, by his wife Ghandhari, and

myself have rejected" I confess that this seems to me *reductio ad absurdum*. Again, the forty-seventh aphorism of the third Pada of the second Adhyaya is as follows "And there are Smritis to the same effect," on which Sankaracharya has this commentary "And there are Smritis of Vyasa and others saying that the supreme soul suffers no pain in consequence of any pain suffered by the individual soul" Here we go one step beyond the point at which the previous passage carried us. For if Sankara thought Vyasa to be the author of the Brahma Sūtras, the result of the exposition above set out would be that, in Sankara's judgment, Vyasa, in this aphorism was speaking of another work of his own as a Smṛiti, and citing it as an authority. Is this probable? Still another passage of a somewhat similar description occurs in the commentary of Sankaracharya on the fourteenth aphorism of the first Pada of the third Adhyaya. This aphorism is in words the same as the last, and the comment of Sankara runs thus "And there are also Smritis of learned persons such as Manu, Vyasa, and others. . .

"Here we have Vyasa, on the hypothesis above stated, referring to himself as an author of a Smṛiti, and quoting himself as an authority, in his own aphorism, and Sankara in his exposition of that aphorism calling him farther a learned person."

1. Colebrooke refers to this last quotation (Essays I, 327). He and Windischman say they are different personages. So says T. K. Telang a note on ~~Brahma the author of the Brahma Sūtras~~. Weber (U. 243) thinks they are identical.

how the two wives, of Pandu, Pritha (Kunti) and Madri, have five sons, called the Pandavas or Pandu princes.

2 Sabha-Parvan describes the great SABHA or 'assembly of princes' at Hastinapura, when Yudhishthira, the eldest of the five Pandavas, is persuaded to play at dice with Sakuni and loses his kingdom. The five Pandavas and Draupadi, their wife, are required to live for twelve years in the woods.

3 Vana-Parvan narrates the life of the Pandavas in the Kamyaka forest. This is one of the longest books, and full of episodes such as the story of Nala and that of the Kiratarjuniya.

4 Virata-Parvan describes the thirteenth year of exile and the adventures of the Pandavas while living disguised in the service of king Virata.

5 Udyoga-Parvan. In this the preparations for war on the side of both Pandavas and Kauravas are described.

6 Bhishma-Parvan. In this both armies join battle on Kurukshetra, a plain north-west of Delhi. The Kauravas are commanded by Bhishma, who falls transfixed with arrows by Arjuna.

7 Drona-Parvan. In this the Kuru forces are commanded by Drona, and numerous battles take place. Drona falls in a fight with Dhrishtadyumna (son of Drupada).

8 Karna-Parvan. In this the Kurus are led by Karna. Other battles are described. Arjuna kills Karna.

9. Salya-Parvan. In this Salya is made general of the Kuru army. The concluding battles take place, and only three of the Kuru warriors, with Duryodhana, are left alive. Bhima and Duryodhana then fight with clubs. Duryodhana, chief and eldest of the Kurus, is struck down.

10 Saupthika-Parvan. In this three surviving Kurus make a night attack on the Camp of the Pandavas and kill all their army, but not the five Pandavas.

11 Stri-Parvan describes the lamentations of queen Gandhari and the other wives and women over the bodies of the slain heroes.

12 **Santi-Parvan** In this Yudhishtira is crowned in Hastinapura To calm his spirit, troubled with the slaughter of his kindred, Bhishma, still alive, instructs him at great length in the duties of kings (*Rajadharma* 1995-4778), rules for adversity (*Apad Dharma* 4779-6445), rules for attaining final emancipation (*Moksha Dharma* 6456 to end)

13 **Anusasana-Parvan** In this the instruction is continued by Bhishma, who gives precepts and wise axioms on all subjects, such as the duties of the kings, liberality, fasting, eating &c, mixed up with tales, moral and religious discourses, and metaphysical disquisitions At the conclusion of his long sermon Bhishma dies

14. **Asvamedhika-Parvan** In this Yudhishtira, having assumed the government, performs an Asvamedha or 'horse sacrifice' in token of his supremacy

15 **Asramavasika-Parvan** narrates how the old blind king Dhritarashtra, with his queen Gandhari and with Kunti, mother of the Pandavas, retires to a hermitage in the woods After two years a forest conflagration takes place, and they immolate themselves in the fire to secure heaven and felicity

16 **Mausala-Parvan** narrates the death of Krishna and Balarama, their return to heaven, the submergence of Krishna's city Dvaraka by the sea, and the self-slaughter in a fight with clubs of Krishna's family, the Yadavas, through the curse of some Brahmins.

17 **Mahaprasthanika-Parvan** describes the renunciation of their kingdom by Yudhishtira and his four brothers, and their departure towards Indra's heaven in Mount Meru.

18 **Svargarohanika-Parvan** narrates the ascent and admission to heaven of the five Pandavas, their wife Draupadi, and kindred

Supplement or **Harivamsa-Parvan**, a later addition, recounting the genealogy and birth of Krishna and the details of his early life

The following SUMMARY OF THE STORY is taken from R. C. DUTT's *Civilisation in Ancient India*

Santanu, the old king of Hastinapura, died, leaving two sons, Bhishma, who had taken a vow of celibacy, and a younger prince who became king. This young prince died in his turn, leaving

two sons, Dhritarashtra, who was blind, and Pandu who ascended the throne. Pandu died, leaving five sons who are the heroes of the epic. Dhritarashtra remained virtually the king during the minority of the five Pandavas and of his own children, while Dhritarashtra's uncle Bhishma, a renowned warrior, remained the chief councillor and friend of the state. Yudhishthira, the eldest of the Pandavas, never became much of a warrior, but became versed in the religious learning of the age, and is the most righteous character in the epic. Bhima, the second, learnt to use the club, and was renowned for his gigantic size and giant strength, and is indeed the Ajax of the poem. The third, Arjuna, excelled all other princes in the skill of arms, and aroused the jealousy and hatred of the sons of Dhritarashtra, even in their boyhood. Nakula, the fourth, learned to tame horses, and Sahadeva, the fifth, became proficient in astronomy. Duryodhana, the eldest son of Dhritarashtra, was proficient in the use of the club, and was a rival to Bhima.

At last the day came for a public exhibition of the proficiency which the princes had acquired in the use of arms. A spacious area was enclosed. Seats were arranged all round for the accommodation of ancient warriors and chieftains, of ladies and courtiers. The whole population of Kuruland flocked to see the skill of their young princes. The blind king Dhritarashtra was led to his seat, and foremost among the ladies were Gandhari, the queen of Dhritarashtra, and Kunti, the mother of the first three Pandavas. The last two were Pandu's sons by another wife. There was shooting of arrows at a butt, and there was fighting with swords and bucklers and clubs. Duryodhana and Bhima soon began to fight in right earnest, and rushed towards each other like mad elephants. Shouts ascended to the sky, and soon the fight threatened to have a tragic end. At last the infuriated young men were parted and peace was restored.

Then the young Arjuna entered the lists in golden mail with his wondrous bow. His splendid archery surprised his most passionate admirers and thrilled the heart of his mother with joy, while shouts of admiration rose from the multitude like the roar of the ocean. He played with his sword, which flashed like lightning, and also with his sharp-edged quoit or chakra, and never missed his mark. Lastly, he brought down horses and deer to the ground by the noose, and concluded by doing obeisance to his worthy preceptor Drona, amidst the ringing cheers of the assembled multitude.

The dark cloud of jealousy lowered on the brow of Dhritarashtra's sons, and soon they brought to the field an unknown warrior, Karna who was a match for Arjuna in archery. King's sons could only fight with their peers, like the knights of old, and Dhritarashtra therefore knighted the unknown warrior, or rather made him a king on the spot so that Arjuna might have no excuse for declining the fight. For awkward questions which were put to him the haughty Karna replied that rivers and warriors knew not of their origin and birth, then prowess was their genealogy. But the Pandavas declined the fight and the haughty Karna retired in silence and in rage. Drona now demanded the reward of his tuition. Like doughty warriors of old he held revenge to be the dearest joy of a warrior, and for his reward he asked the help of the Kurus to be revenged on Drupada, king of the Panchalas, who had insulted him. The demand could not be refused. Drona marched against Drupada, conquered him, and wrested half his kingdom. Drupada swore to be avenged.

Dark clouds now arose on the horizon of Kuruland. The time had come for Dhritarashtra to name a Yuvaraja, i.e., or a prince who would reign during his old age. The claim of Yudhishthira to the throne of his father could not be gainsaid, and he was appointed Yuvaraja. But the proud Duryodhana rebelled against the arrangement, and the old monarch had to yield, and sent the five Pandavas in exile to Varanavata, said to be near modern Allahabad, and then the very frontier of Hindu settlements. The vengeance of Duryodhana pursued them there and the house where the Pandavas lived was burnt to ashes. The Pandavas and their mother escaped by an underground passage, and for a long time roamed about disguised as Brahmans.

Heralds now went from country to country, and proclaimed in all lands that the daughter of Drupada, king of the Panchalas, was to choose for herself a husband among the most skilful warriors of the time. As usual on such occasions of Svayamvara, or choice of a husband by a princess, all the great kings and princes and warriors of the land flocked to the court of Drupada, each hoping to win the lovely bride who had already attained her youth, and was renowned for her beauty. She was to give her hand to the most skilful archer, and the trial ordained was a pretty severe one. A heavy bow of great size was to be wielded, and an arrow was to be shot through a whirling chakra or quoit into the eye of a golden fish, set high on the top of a pole. Not only princes and warriors, but multitudes of spectators flocked from all parts of the country to Kampilya, the capital of the

Panchalas The princes thronged the seats, and Brahmans filled the place with Vedic hymns. Then appeared Draupadī with the garland in her hand which she was to offer to the victor of the day. By her appeared her brother Dhrishtadyumna, who proclaimed the feat which was to be performed. Kings rose and tried to wield the bow, one after another, but in vain. The skilful and proud Karna stepped forward to do the feat, but was prevented. A Brahman suddenly rose and drew the bow, and shot the arrow through the whirling chakra into the eye of the golden fish. A shout of acclamation arose. And Draupadī the Kshatriya princess, threw the garland round the neck of the brave Brahman, who led her away as bride. But murmurs of discontent arose like the sound of troubled waters from the Kshatriya ranks at this victory of a Brahman, and the humiliation of the warriors, and they gathered round the bride's father and threatened violence. The Pandavas now threw off their disguise, and the victor of the day proclaimed himself to be Arjuna, a true-born Kshatriya.

Then follows the strange myth that the Pandavas went back to their mother and said, a great prize had been won. Their mother, not knowing what the prize was, told her sons to share it among them. And as a mother's mandate cannot be disregarded, the five brothers wedded Draupadī as their wife. The Pandavas now formed an alliance with the powerful king of the Panchalas, and forced the blind king Dhritarashtra to divide the Kuru country between his sons and the Pandavas. The division, however, was unequal; the fertile tract between the Ganges and the Jumna was retained by the sons of Dhritarashtra, while the uncleared jungle in the west was given to the Pandavas. The jungle Khandava Prastha was soon cleared by fire, and a new capital called Indraprastha was built, the supposed ruins of which are shown to every modern visitor to Delhi.¹

Military expeditions were now undertaken by the Pandavas on all sides, but these need not detain us, especially as the accounts of these distant expeditions are modern interpolations. When we find in the Mahabharata accounts of expeditions to Ceylon, or to Bengal, we may unhesitatingly put them down as later interpolations. And now

1. Yudhishthira entered Hastināpura when he was 16. He was with Duryodhana for 13 years. He was confined in the lac house for 6 months, spent 6 months at Ekakakra, one year in the Pancāla house and 5 years with Duryodhana. There it was that Delhi was built. Yudhishthira lived 108 years (*Mah. I, 134*). If he passed away in the beginning of Kali, he must have been born in 3210 B.C. and Delhi must have been first built in 3174 B.C.

Yudhishtira was to celebrate the Rajasuya or coronation ceremony, and all the princes of the land, including his kinsmen of Hastinapura, were invited. The place of honour was given to Krishna, chief of the Yadavas of Gujrat. Sisupala of Chedi violently protested, and Krishna killed him on the spot. Krishna is only a great chief, and not a deity, in the older portions of the Mahabharata, and his story shows the Gujrat was colonised from the banks of the Jumna in the Epic Age. The tumult having subsided, the consecrated water was sprinkled on the newly-created monarch, and Brahmans went away loaded with presents.

But the newly-created king was not long to enjoy his kingdom. With all his righteousness, Yudhishtira had a weakness for gambling like the other chiefs of the time, and the unforgiving and jealous Duryodhana challenged him to a game. Kingdom, wealth, himself and his brothers, and even his wife were staked and lost,—and behold now, the five brothers and Droupadi the slaves of Duryodhana. The proud Droupadi refused to submit to her position, but Duhshasani dragged her to the assembly-room by her hair, and Duryodhana forced her down on his knee in the sight of the stupefied assembly. The blood of the Pandavas was rising, when the old Dhritarashtra was led to the assembly-room and stopped a tumult. It was decided that the Pandavas had lost their kingdom, but should not be slaves. They agreed to go in exile for twelve years, after which they should remain concealed for a year. If the sons of Dhritarashtra failed to discover them during the year, they would get back their kingdom.

Thus the Pandavas again went in exile, and after twelve years of wanderings in various places, disguised themselves in the thirteenth year and took service under the king of Virata. Yudhishtira was to teach the king gambling, Bhima was the head cook, Arjuna was to teach dancing and music to the king's daughter, Nakula and Sahadeva were to be master of horse and master of cattle respectively, and Draupadi was to be the queen's handmaid. A difficulty arose. The queen's brother was enamoured of the new handmaid of superb beauty, and insulted her and was resolved to possess her. Bhima interfered and killed the lover in secret. Cattle-lifting was not uncommon among the princes of those days, and the princes of Hastinapura carried away some cattle from Virata. Arjuna, the dancing master, could stand this no longer, he put on his armour, drove out in chariot and recovered the cattle, but was discovered.

And now the Pandavas sent an envoy to Hastinapura to claim back their kingdom. The claim was refused, and both parties prepared for a war, the like of which had never been seen in India. All the princes of note joined one side or the other, and the battle which was fought in the plains of Kurukshetra, North of Delhi, lasted for eighteen days, and ended in fearful slaughter and carnage.¹

The long story of the battle with its endless episodes need not detain us. Arjuna killed the ancient Bhishma unfairly after that chief was forced to desist from fighting. Drona, with his impenetrable "squares" or phalanxes, killed the old rival Drupada, but Drupada's son revenged his father's death and killed Drona unfairly. Bhima met Duhsasana, who had insulted Droupadi in the gambling-room, cut off his head, and in fierce vindictiveness drank his blood. Lastly, there was the crowning contest between Karna and Arjuna, who had hated each other through life, and Arjuna killed Karna unfairly when his chariot wheels had sunk in the earth, and he could not move or fight. On the last or eighteenth day, Duryodhana fled from Bhima, but was compelled by taunts and rebukes to turn round and fight, and Bhima by a foul blow (because struck below the waist) smashed the knee on which Duryodhana had once dragged Droupadi. And the wounded warrior was left there to die. The bloodshed was not yet over, for Drona's son made a midnight raid into the enemy's camp and killed Droupada's son, and thus an ancient feud was quenched in blood.²

The remainder of the story is soon told. The Pandavas went to Hastinapura, and Yudhishtira became king. He is said to have subdued every king in Aryan India, and at last celebrated the Asvamedha ceremony or the great horse-sacrifice. A horse was let loose and wandered at its will for a year, and no king dared to stop it. This was a sign of the submission of all the surrounding kings, and they were then invited to the great horse-sacrifice.

1 The pakṣa in which the war began had only 13 days (*Maḥ* VI 3, 11-18; *1A*, XVI 82. The great European war also began in a pakṣa of 13 days. L. D. Swamikannu would however not attach any evil influence for such a short fort-night).

2 According to the dates given in the text —

Kārtika śukla dvādaśi-Revaṭi—(Kṛṣṇa's) message

„ Kṛṣṇa pañcamī (Puṣyam)—Mobilisation.

„ Amāvāsya-Jyeṣṭha—Reaching battle-field

Mārgāśīra śukla trayodaśī (mṛgaśīra)—War begins

Kṛṣṇa amāvāsya—War ends.

Māgha śukla pañcamī—Death of Bhīṣma.

BABU RAMGOPAL SINGH CHOUDHRY B L wrote in *The Wisdom of the East* thus "The epoch of the Kalivuga 3102 B C is usually identified with the era of Yudhishthira, and the date of the Mahabharath War Two pitched battles were fought between the said parties, the 1st at Beratinagar and the 2nd at Kurukshetra The battle took place just on the completion of the 13 years *Banbas* (exile of the Pandavas into the forests) (*Vide* Berath Parv Adhyaya 30, Slokas 28 and 29 Thereafter Sri Krishna started for Hastinapur on the 1st Kartik, Revathi Nakshatra, Mitra Darvat Mahoort, to negotiate peace, and if possible prevent the impending civil war that caused the ruin of Ancient India (Udyog Parv, Adhyaya 82, Slokas 6 to 13) On Duryodhan's refusal to come to terms and declining to give even 5 villages for the maintenance and support of the five Pandavas, Sri Krishna on his way back to Berathnagar asked Karna to commence the war that day week, viz, on 15th day (Amavasya) of that month (Udyog Parv, Adhyaya 141, Sloka 18) It appears that for some reason or other the war did not commence on that date, for 50 nights after the end of the war Maharaja Yudhishthira paid a second visit to Sri Bhishma who breathed his last on that day (Anusasan Parv, Adhyaya 167, Slokas 5 to 28)

Now the Mahabharath War lasted for 18 days, so he died (50 and 18) 68 days after the commencement of the war It is well-known that Magh Sudi 8, i.e., the 8th day of the bright side of the moon of the month of Magh is the date on which he went to heaven It is therefore called Bhishma Astami and *tarpen* (oblations of water) is given to him on that day By calculation we find that 68 days backwards from Magh Sudi 8th would fall on Aghan Sudi 1 or 16th Aghan So the battle commenced on the 16th of Aghan and lasted till the 3rd of Pus That this is the date of the commencement of the war will also be borne out by the fact that when after spending 50 nights in the city on the termination of the second war, Maharaja Yudhishthira went to Sri Bhishma for the 2nd time, the latter spoke thus (*vide* Anusason Parv Adhyaya 167 — "Well Yudhishthira, to-day is the bright side of the moon, $\frac{3}{4}$ of this month have already passed and I have already slept on the points of the arrows for 58 nights" So there remains no room for doubt that the day when Yudhishthira went to him, that is to say, the day Bhishma died, fell on the 23rd of Magh (Aghan Sudi 8) He fought for 10 days and passed 58 nights on the bed of arrows so by this calculation also it comes out that the battle began on Aghan, Sudi 1st (16th of Aghan), for counting from that day the 68th day would fall on Magh Sudi 8th It seems that although Sri Krishna proposed

to commence the war on the Dipavali day (15th Kartic), the Kurus could not make necessary arrangements in that short time and the war commenced a month and 8 days after, instead of 8 days

Now I give dates of the death of the great warriors who fell in that battle. Sri Bhishma fell on Aghan Sudi 8th, i.e., 23rd Aghan, but died on the 3rd of Paus. Bhag-Dutt was killed on Aghan Sudi 11. Abhimanyu was killed on Aghan Sudi 13. Bhurisrava, Jaidarath and Ghototkuch were killed on Aghan Sudi 14. Dronacharya was killed on Aghan Sudi 15. Duhsasan and Karna were killed on Paus Badi 2. Shalya, Shalloa and Sakuni were killed in the day time on 3rd Paus Badi. And on the same date at dusk, Duryodhan's thighs were broken and he fell down. Dhristadyumna, Shikhandi, and the 5 sons of Droupadi were killed in the night on the same day, viz., 3rd paus. Duryodhan breathed his last on the same day after midnight but before sunrise."

COMMENTARIES

There are commentaries on the Mahābhārata by Nīlakaṇṭha,¹ Arjunamīśra², Sarvagna Nārāyaṇa³, Yegnanārāyaṇa⁴, Vaiṣampāyana⁵, Vādirāja, Śrīnandana,⁶ and Vimalabodha. Aufrecht gives the names of the following commentators —Ānandapūrṇa, Vidyāsāgara, Caturbhūja, Nandikeśvara, Devabodha, Nandanācārya, Paramānandabhattachārya, Ratnagarbha, Rāmakaṇṭha, Lakṣmaprabhata, and Śrīnivāsācārya. Besides two anonymous commentaries, Nigūdhapada-bodhinī and Bhāratauppaṇi, the Oriental Manuscripts Library of Madras contains Bhārataṭyākhyā by Kavindra and Lakṣaslokāṇakāra of Vādirāja. Śrīdharāchārya has commented on the Chapter Mokṣadharmā.

Sarvagna Nārāyaṇa appears to be the earliest commentator whose work is at least extant in fragments. Vādirāja was a Mādhyama ascetic who lived between 1450 to 1500 and his commentary is an extensive work. Kavindra lived in the Oriya Country about 1600 A.D.

Arjunamīśra mentions Devabodha, Vimalabodha and Sarvagna Nārāyaṇa and Śāṇḍilya Mādhyama and is mentioned by Nīlakantha. Nīlakantha lived at Kūrpara in Mahārāstra probably in the 16th cen-

1. TC, III 2955-6

2. KC, 106, IOC, VI 1151.

3. BTC, 184.

4. TC, II 2305

5. CC, I 489

6. DC, IV. R No 380r

7. Mitra's Notices, No 3011.

ture¹ Śrīnandana was the son of Lakṣmanacārya of Bhāradvāja Ġotra and was known as Mahabharata Bhaṭṭāraka

Mahābhārata-tātparyā-nirṇaya is an epitome of the Mahābhārata by Śrī Madhvācārya, the great teacher of the Dvaita philosophy who flourished in the 12th century A D² There are commentaries on it by Jñānānandabhaṭṭa, Varādarāja, Vādirāja, Vittalācārya, and Vyāsaṭurṭha, and a commentary Sabhyābhīnayaavatī³

There is a Bhāratatātparyā-nirṇaya by Varādarāja who lived about 1500 A D⁴ Bhāratatātparyā-vācanam is a collection of extracts made by Purāṇa Hayagrīva Sastrī which support and illustrate the principles of Advaita philosophy⁵ Bālābhārataṃ and Mahābhārata-Saṅgraham are compilations of the main thread of the story⁶ There is an abridgement by C V Vaidya⁷ Anonymous work called Vyāsākūṭa is remarkable for its double entendre⁸ Bhāratayuddha-vivāḍa by Nārāyaṇa-lāṣa, known as Bhāratācārya, determines the length of time occupied by the Great War Bhāratasāvitṛī is a similar work quoted by commentators and is often extracted in the Kumbakonam edition⁹

Jaiminī-Bhārataṃ is an elaborate work dealing with the exploits and character of the Pāṇḍavas in verse. Only one parvan of this work is extant describing the Aśvameḍha of Yudhiṣṭhira.¹⁰

Bṛhat Pāṇḍava Purāṇa called also the Mahābhārata is divided into 25 Parvans It was composed at Śrīpura in Śākavāta by Śrī Śubhacandra and revised and rewritten by his disciple Brahma Śrīpāla : Śubhacandra was the head of Jaina muth founded by Paḍmananḍi of śrīmulasāṅgha He succeeded Vijayakīrti He mentions other works of his, Caṇḍranāthacarita, Paḍmanābhacarita, Jivakacarita, Pārśvanātha kāvya, Caṇḍanakathā, Nandīśvara etc In the first six Parvans some Jain anecdotes are narrated including the life of Śāntinātha and the last four

1. Macdonell, *S.L.* 290-1.

2. Ed. Bombay.

3. *CG*, I 449

4. This is found in the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

5. Ed Masulipatam *T.C.* III. 3242.

6. *T.C.* III. 2998, 33385, 3849 See also for a similar abridgement, *KC*, 1971

7. Ed Bombay

8. Mitra's Notices (1872).

9. *KC*, 195, 352.

10. Ed Bombay (1863), Ed with Hindi gloss, Sree Venkateswar Press Bombay *Cat of Berlin Library*, III-III8 See also Wilson's *Mac. Collection*, II. 1, *ZDMG*, II. 278, *Monatsberichter Berl. Acad.* (1869), 13-15

Parvans describe the advent of Neminātha and the attainment of salvation of the Pāndavas. The date of the composition is given as samvat 1608 or 1552 A. D.¹

Pāndavapurāṇa in 18 cantos describes the story of the Mahābhārata as current among the Jainas. The author Vādicandra was the disciple and younger brother of Prabhācandra. The story was first recounted by Varḍhmāna, son of Siddhārtha, to Śreṇika, king of Kundina, and from him was traditionally transmitted through Neminātha, Paḍmanandi etc., to Prabhācandra, who was the author's brother. The work was written at Ghanaugha in the Pushya month of 654 (samvat)²

Devaprabhāsūri, the Jain monk, wrote Pāndavacarita³

Harivamśa is a sequel to the Mahābhārata and is held in high esteem. It is also the work of Vyāsa and describes the life and adventures of Kṛṣṇa. Introductory to his era, it records particulars of the creation of the world, and of the patriarchal and regal dynasties.⁴

Jaina Harivamśa is a long poem of some historical value in the Puranic form by Jinasena who wrote in Saka 705.⁵

1 TC, III 3968, PR, IV 156

2 TC, II, 1785. The words used are *Veḍḍa-bhāṣa* i. Sad-ante (ge) varṣe. The editor of the catalogue suggests 1654 (?)

3 PR, I 98, III 133

4 Ed. Bombay. Translated by M. Langlois

5 JA, XV 141.

On Mahābhārata generally:—

Ed. by P. C. Roy (Calcutta), Ed. by Education Committee (Calcutta), Ed. by S. L. Bhaduri (Calcutta), Ed. S. Vyasacharya (Kumbakonam). There are other editions in various scripts everywhere.

For contents of the work, see M. Williams' *Indian Epic Poetry* and *Indian Wisdom*.

K. Narayana Iyer, *The Permanent History of Bharata Varsha*, Vol. I, Trivandrum, H. Jacobi, *Index and Concordance*, S. Soerensen, *Index to the names of the Mahabharata and Concordance*, L. Grasberger, *Noetes Indicar, sive quaestiones in Nalum Mahabharateum*, *Story of the Great War* (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar), C. V. Krishnamachari, *Mahabharata, analysed* (Lahore), Roussel *Legends of the Mahabharata* (Santiparvan), Paris.

Translated into English prose by P. C. Roy (1894, Calcutta), Translated by R. C. Dutt (Calcutta), by M. N. Dutt (Calcutta). Takur Rajendra Singh, *Great War of Ancient India* (*Ind. Rev.* XVI 531), J. Dahlman, *Genesis Des Mahabharata* (Berlin) says that the work existed in the present form before the 5th century B. C. Holtzman *Das Mahabharata* (Kiel), Buhler, *Indian Studies* No. II (*Trans. of Imp. Vienna Academy*, 1892), Paper by Winternitz (*JRAS*,

Theories and dates

Much has been said by oriental scholars on the age of the Mahābhārata and the general tendency of such opinions has been only to bring down the date of the composition to a close proximity to the beginning of the Christian era. MAUL MULLER traces the connection between the Mahabharata and the vedic literature and attributes the present form of the poem to the redaction of Brahmanical priesthood.¹ "The war between the Kurus and Pāndavas, which forms the principal object of our Mahabharata, is unknown in the Veda. The names of the Kurus and Bharatas are common in the Vedic literature, but the names of the Pandavas has never been met with. It has been observed,² that even in Panini's grammar the name Pandu or Pandava does not occur, while the Kurus and Bharatas are frequently mentioned,

(1897,) 713, I A, I, xxvii, *Mahabharata condensed into English verse* by R. C. Dutt (London), Channing Arnold's *Mahabharata* (Longman's Green & Co.), M. Williams, *Story of Nala* Johnson, *Selections from the Mahabharata* (W. Heffer & sons Ltd, Cambridge), *Nalopakhyanam* by Jaret, and by Piele (W. Heffer & sons Ltd, Cambridge), F. Bopp, *Deluvium with three other texts from the Mahabharata*, (Berlin), J. Murdoch, *An English abridgment* (Probsthain & co, London), *Vier Philosophische Texte des Mahabharatam*, translated into German by P. Deussen, (1906, Berlin), *Traduit complètement pour la 1^{re} fois en français* par H. Fanche, (10 Vols Paris), As to this I Str, II 410, *Indian Idylls from the Sanskrit of the Mahabharata* by E. Arnold, *The Mahabharata (Hindu Epic Poetry)* by Goldstucker (Calcutta), *Reconstruction of the Mahabharata* by A. Holtzman, *Grammatical Ausdem Mahabharata* by A. Holtzman, *The original shape of the Mahabharata* by T. G. Kale, *Ind. Rev.* IX 335, B. V. Kamesvara Iyer, *On the date of the Bharata War* fixing a date long before 1422 B. C. (*Ind. Rev.* X. 673), Vaidya, *Historical Studies in the Gita* (*Ind. Rev.* XVII 481), R. G. Bhandarkar on the Mahabharata (I A, I 350. This paper gives all references to Mahabharata from Patanjali onwards. There are early inscriptions mentioning Mahabharata names (JBRAS, XVIII, I, 4, IX. 315). Pargiter on *The Nations of India at the battle between Pandavas and Kauravas and the controversy thereon* [JRAS, (1908) 602, 309, 831, 837, 1138]. *On the Ganesa legend in the Mahabharata* [JRAS (1898) 631]

Bhishma, his life and teachings (Datta Boss & co, Calcutta), Manoranjan Ghosh, *Date of Sri Krishna* (*Ind. Rev.* XV 39), Buhler and Kurste, *Contributions to the history of the Mahabharata* (Sita, Wien), *On the old linguistic form of the epics* by Jacobi, (ZDMG, XLV 407) and by Rapson, [JRAS, (1904), 435] Gauranganath Banerji, *Hellenism in Ancient India*, 225

1 *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 44-48.

2 Weber, I Str, 148, Katyayana, however knows not only Pandu, but his descendants Pandavas.

particularly in rules treating of the formation of patronymics and similar words¹ If, then, Asvalayana, the immediate successor of Panini, knows not only Pandu, but also his descendants, the Pandavas, can be shown to have been a contemporary, or at least an immediate successor, of Panini, the Bharata which he is speaking of must have been very different from the epic poem which is known to us under the name of the Mahabharata, celebrating the war of the Kurus and Pandavas²

1 The names of the two wives of Pandu, Kunti and Madri, occur in the commentary on Panini (Cf 1 2 49, iv 1 65, iv 1 176 (text) for Kunti, and iv 1 177, (for Madri) But both these names are geographical appellatives, Kunti signifying a woman for the country of the Kuntas, Madri, a Madra-woman. Pritha, another name of Kunti, stands in the Gana sivadī. As to the proper names of the Pandava princes, we find Yudhisthira, Pan vi 1. 134, vi 3 9, viii 3 95 (text), Arjuna, Pan iii 1 119, iv 3 64, v 4 481, vi, 2 131, Bhīma, Pan. vi 1. 205, Nakula, Pan vi 3 75 The name of Sahadeva does not occur, but his descendants, the Sahadevas, are mentioned as belonging to the race of Kuru, together with the Nakulas, Pan. iv 1 114. In the same way we find the descendants of Yudhisthira and Arjuna mentioned as members of the eastern Bharatas, Pan ii 4. 66 Draupadi's name does not occur in Panini, but Subhadra, the sister of Krishna and the wife of Arjuna, is distinctly mentioned, Pan iv 2 56. Another passage in the commentary on Panini (iv 3 87) proves even the existence of a poem in praise of Subhadra, which, if we remember the former mention of a war about Subhadra (iv 2 56), seems most likely to have celebrated this very conquest of Subhadra by Arjuna. In the Mahabharata this story forms a separate chapter, the Subhadra-harara-parva (Adiparva, p 288.) which may be the very work which Panini, according to his commentator, is alluding to. That the chapter in the Mahabharata belongs to the oldest parts of the epic, may be seen from its being mentioned in the Anukramanī (1 149): "when I heard that Subhadra, of the race of Madhu, had been forcibly seized in the city of Dvaraka, and carried away by Arjuna, and that the two heroes of the race of Vṛishni had repaired to Indraprastha, I then, O Sanjaya, had no hope of success." The Mahabhashya, however, does not explain the former Sutra, (iv 2 56,) and for the latter it gives examples for the exceptions only, but not for the rule. The word Grantha, used in the Sutra, (iv 3 87), is also somewhat suspicious. That some of the Sutas which now form part of Panini's grammar, did not proceed from him, is acknowledged by Kaṣṣyapa (cf. iv 3 131, 132) Krishna Vasudeva, who is considered as peculiarly connected with the tradition of the Pandavas, is quoted as Vasudeva, of the race of Vṛishni (Pan iv 1 114), as Vasudeva, together with Siva and Aditya (Pan. v 3 99 text), as Vasudeva together with Arjuna (iv 3 98 text) In the commentary to Pan. iii 3. 156, and ii 3 72, we have proof of Krishna's being worshipped as a god, in 1 4 92 he is mentioned as a hero His residence, Dvaraka, however, does not occur in Panini.)

2 That Panini knew the war of Bharatas, has been rendered highly probable by Prof Lassen (Ind. Alterthumskunde, 1 691, 837) The words which called forth Panini's special rule (iv. 2. 56), can scarcely be imagined to have been

"In the form in which we now possess the Mahabharata it shows clear traces that the poets who collected and finished it, breathed an intellectual and religious atmosphere, very different from that in which the heroes of the poem moved. The epic character of the story has throughout been changed and almost obliterated by the didactic tendencies of the latest editors, who were clearly brahmins, brought up in the strict school of the Laws of Manu. But the original traditions of the Pandavas break through now and then, and we can clearly discern that the races among whom the five principal heroes of the Mahabharata were born and fostered, were by no means completely under the influence of brahminical law. How is it, for instance the Pandava, who if we are to believe the poet, were versed in all the sacred literature, grammar, metre, astronomy, and law of the Brahmins, could afterwards have been married to one wife? This is in plain opposition to the Brahmanic law, where it is said, "they are many wives of one man, not many husbands of one wife." Such a contradiction can only be accounted for by the admission that, in this case, epic tradition in the mouth of the people was too strong to allow this essential and curious feature in the life of its heroes to be changed. However, the Brahmanic editors of the Mahabharata, seeing that they could not alter tradition on this point, have at least endeavoured to excuse and mitigate it.

"Neither does the fact that Pandu is lawfully married to two wives, harmonise with the Brahmanic law. That law does not prohibit polygamy, but it regards no second marriage as legal, and it reserves the privilege of being burnt together with the husband to the ~~oldest~~ and only lawful wife. Such passages in the ancient epics are of the greatest interest. We see in them the tradition of the people too far developed, to allow itself to be remodelled by Brahmanic Diaskeuastes. There can be little doubt that polygamy, as we find it among the early races in their transition from the pastoral to the agricultural life, was customary in India. We read in Herodotus (v 5), that amongst the

different from those in the Mahabhashya, viz, Bharata's sangramah, Saubhadra's sangramah. It was impossible to teach or to use Panini's Sūtras without examples. These necessarily formed part of the traditional grammatical literature long before the great commentary was written, and are, therefore, of a much higher historical value than is commonly supposed. The coincidences between the examples used in the Pratisakhya's and in Panini show that these examples were by no means selected at random, but that they had long formed part of the traditional teaching. See also Pan. vi 2 38, where the word Mahabharata occurs, but not as the title of a poem.

Thracians it was usual, after the death of a man, to find out who had been the most beloved of his wives, and to sacrifice her upon his tomb Mela (ii 2) gives the same as the general custom of the Getae Herodotus (iv 71) asserts a similar fact of the Scythians, and Pausanias (v 2) of the Greeks, while our own Teutonic mythology is full of instances of the same feeling And thus the customs of these cognate nations explain what at first seemed to be anomalous in the epic tradition of the Mahabharata, that at the death of Pandu, it is not Kuntī, his lawful wife, but Madri, his most beloved wife, in whose arms the old king dies, and who successfully claims the privilege of being burnt with him and following her husband to another life "

"The marked difference between the vedic and epic poetry of India has been well pointed out by Professor ROTH of Tübingen, who for many years has devoted much time and attention to the study of the Veda According to him, the Mahabharata, even in its first elements, is later than the time of Buddha ¹ "In the epic poems," he says, "the Veda is but imperfectly known, the ceremonial is no longer developing, it is complete The vedic legends have been plucked from their native soil, and religion of Agni, Indra, Mitra and Varuna has been replaced by an altogether different worship The last fact, he says, "ought to be the most convincing There is a contradiction running throughout the religious life of India, from the time of Ramayana to the present day The outer form of the worship is Vedic, and exclusively so, but the eye of religious adoration is turned upon quite different regions ² The secondary formation, the religion of Vishnu and Brahma, began with the epic poetry, and remained afterwards as the only living one, but without having the power to break through the walls of the Vedic ceremonial, and take the place of the old ritual "

M. WINTERNITZ thus sums up his views — "If however the Mahabharata already undoubtedly possessed in the 4th century A D, the later portions, such for example, as the 13th book and 'Harivamsa,' if at that time, the epic had already become a religious and devotional book and if a century later the news of the Mahabharata had already spread up to farther India and was there read in temples, then we can with perfect justification conclude that it must have received the form which

1 Zur Litterature und Geschichte des Veda Drei Abhandlungen von R. Roth, Doctor der Philosophie Stuttgart, 1846)

2. Professor Burnouf has treated the same subject in his Review of Prof Wilson's Translation of the Vishnu-purana, Journal des Savants, 1840, May, p. 296

it has to-day, at least one or two centuries earlier, that is, in the 2nd or 3rd century A D On the other hand, however, it might have received its earliest shape not only after the rise and spread of Buddhism, because it contained so many allusions to it, but also after Alexander's invasion of India because, the Yavanas, i e, the Indians or Greeks are often alluded to and there are moreover references to stone buildings, whereas before the time of the Greeks only wooden buildings were known in India The Mahabharata in its present form could not be earlier than the 4th century B C and later than 4th century A D”¹

MACDONELL traces the growth of the Mahābhārata “There can be little doubt that the original kernel of the epic has as a historical background an ancient conflict between the neighbouring tribes of the Kurus and Panchalas, who finally coalesced into a single people In the Yajurvedas these two tribes already appear united, and in the *Kathaka* King Dhritarashtra Vaichitravīrya, one of the chief figures of the Mahabharata, is mentioned as a well-known person Hence the historical germ of the great epic is to be traced to a very early period which cannot well be later than the tenth century B C Old songs about the ancient feud and heroes who played a part in it, must have been handed down by word of mouth and recited in popular assemblies or at great public sacrifices These disconnected battle-songs were, we must assume, worked up by some poetic genius into a comparatively short epic, describing the tragic fate of the Kuru race, who, with justice and virtue on their side, perished through the treachery of the victorious sons of Pandu with Krishna at their head To the period of this original epic doubtless belong the traces the Mahabharata has preserved unchanged of the heroic spirit and the customs of the ancient times, so different from the later state of things which the Mahabharata as a whole reflects To this period also belongs the figure of Brahma as the highest God The evidence of Pali literature shows that Brahma already occupied that position in Buddha's time We may, then, perhaps assume that the original form of our epic came into being about the 5th century B C The oldest evidence we have for the existence of the Mahabharata in some shape or other is to be found in Acvalayana's Grihya Sutra, where a Bharata and Mahabharata are mentioned This would also point to about the fifth century B C To the next stage, in which the epic, handed down by rhapsodists, swelled to a length of about 20,000 *lokas*, belongs the representation of the victorious Pandus in a favourable light, and the introduction on

a level with Brahma of the two other great gods Civa, and especially Vishnu, of whom Krishna appears as an incarnation. We gather from the account of Megasthenes that about 300 B C, these two gods were already prominent, and the people were divided into Civaïtes and Vishnavites. Moreover, the Yavanas or Greeks are mentioned in the Mahabharata as allies of the Kurus, and even the Calas (Scythians) and Pahlavas (Parthians) are named along with them, Hindu temples are also referred to as well as Buddhist relic mounds. Thus an extension of the original epic must have taken place after 300 B C and by the beginning of our era."¹

HOPKINS² sums up the result of his discussions — "We may tentatively assume as approximate dates of the whole work in its different stages Bharata (Kuru) lays, perhaps combined into one, but with no evidence of an epic before 400 B C. A Mahabharata tale with its perhaps justified claim to be considered a branch of the Bharatas, its own later heroes, its cult of anti-Buddhistic type, with Pandu heroes, lays and legends combined by the Puranic diasskeuasts, Krishna as a demigod (no evidence of didactic form or of Krishna's divine supremacy), 400-200 B C. Remaking of the epic with Krishna as all-god, intrusion of masses of didactic matter, addition of puranic material old and new, multiplication of exploits, 200 B C to 100-200 A.D. The last books added with the introduction to the first book, the swollen Anucāsana separated from Cantā and recognised as a separate book, 200 to 400 A.D., and finally 400 A.D. occasional amplifications, the existence of which no one acquainted with Hindu literature would be disposed antecedently to doubt, such as the well-known addition mentioned by Professor Weber, *Lectures on Literature*, p. 205, and perhaps the episode omitted by Csemendra, *Indian Studies*, No. 1, p. 52.

"In the case of these dates there is only reasonable probability. They are and must be provisional till we know more than we know. But certain are these four facts:

- 1 That the Pandu epic as we have it, or even without the masses of didactic material, was composed or compiled after the Greek invasion,
- 2 That this epic only secondarily developed its present masses of didactic material,
- 3 That it did not become a specially religious propaganda of Krishnaism (in the accepted sense of that sec

¹ *Sanskrit Literature*, 234-6

² *The Great Epic of India*, 397-400

of Vaisnavas) till the first century B C , 4 That the epic was practically completed by 200 A D , 5, That there is no "date of the epic" which will cover all its parts (though handbook-makers may safely assign it in general to the second century B C)

"The question whether the epic is in any degree historical seems to me answerable though not without doubt, and I cannot refrain from expressing an opinion on the point so important. As I have remarked above, there is no reflex of Pandu glory in Brahmanic literature before the third or fourth century. It is, further, impossible to suppose that during the triumph of Buddhism such a poem could have been composed for the general public for which it was intended. The metre of the poem shows that its present form is later than the epic form of Patanjali's epic verses, but this indicates simply recasting; so that a Pandu Mahabharata may have existed previously, as implied by Panini. But while a Buddhist emperor was alive no such Brahmanic emperor as that of the epic could have existed, no such attacks on Buddhism as are in the epic could have been made, and the epic of to-day could not have existed before the Greeks were personally familiar. In other words, granted a history, that history must have been composed at least as late as the history was possible. Panini's allusions and those of Buddhist writers show that the Pandus were known as heroes. It is, further, most improbable that the compilers, who made the poem represent Pandu virtues and victories, would have chosen them for this position had they been mythical. In their reassertion of Brahmanism they would have chosen rather the well-known ancient Brahmanic heroes of the older tale, Bharata Katha, yet to appeal to the people something real and near was necessary. But while before the second century the conditions were lacking which could have produced the poem, with the second century they become possible, and there was already the Pandu tribe with its perhaps justified claim to be considered a branch of the Bharatas, its own later heroes, its cult of anti-Buddhistic type.

"In so far, then, as we may discern a historical germ in the midst of poetic extravagance, it would seem that the poem represents an actual legend of a real tribe, and in so far as that legend persists in its adherence to polyandry as an essential part of the legend, a tribe which, like so many others in India, had been brahmanized and perhaps become allied by marriage to the old Bharata tribe, whose legends were thus united with its own."

C V VAIDYA¹ fixes the date of the extant epic, at 250 B C about the time of Asoka and previous to the time of Patañjali, because Don Chrysostom, the Greek orator, of the 1st century A D refers to the existence of an epic of the present dimensions of the Mahabharata and Dikshit points out² that the cycle of Nakṣhatras beginning with Śravana said in the Mahābhārata to have been instituted as a new cycle by Viśvāmītra cannot go beyond 450 B C

According to Kern, the Kāvī translation of Ādiparvan dates from the beginning of the eleventh century³

Among the extravagant fancies of modern orientalists, which are dignified with the respectable appellation of theories, may be mentioned the opinion of PROF. HOLTZMANN on the nature and origin of the Mahābhārata deserves a short review "The traditional stock of legends were first worked up into a precise shape by some Buddhist poets and this version, showing a decided predilection for the Kaurava party as the representation of Buddhist principles, was afterwards revised in a contrary sense at the time of the Brahminical reaction by the votaries of Viṣṇu, when the Buddhistic features were generally modified into Saivite tendencies and prominence was given to the divine nature of Kṛṣṇa as an incarnation. It is but right that the Brahminical priests should have deemed it desirable to subject the traditional memorials of Kṣatriya chivalry and prestige to their own censorship and adapt them to their own canons of religion and civil law." This theory subverts all truth and tradition. Modifications and innovations especially in the religious character of sectarian works are not easily accomplished. The Buddhistic records offer no support for this theory. If such a standard work as the Mahābhārata were included in the catalogue of the Buddhistic literature, Brahminical transformation could never have been possible, so as to entirely erase from the huge mass of the work all traces of the Buddhistic coloring. As an exposition of the ethics of the Vedic religion, there is pre-eminently the Mahābhārata.

H. H. WILSON thus sums up the opinion of his times "According to Col. Wilford's Computations (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX, Chronological table, p. 116) the conclusion of the great war took place in B.C. 1370, BUCHANAN conjectures it to have occurred in the 13th century B.C. COLEBROKE infers from astronomical data that the arrangement of

1 *Historical Studies in the Bhagavat Gita*, [Ind Rev (1916), 481]

2 *Dikshit's Mahratt History of Indian Astronomy*, III

3 *Over de Oud Iavannsche Vertaling Van't Mahabharata* (Amsterdam)

the Vedas, attributed to Vyasa, took place in the fourteenth century B C., M BENILEY brings the date of Yudhisthira, the chief of the Pandavas to 575 B C, but the weight of authority is in favour of the thirteenth or fourteenth century B C for the war of the Mahabharata and the reputed commencement of the Kali age"¹

WEBER says "Of the Mahabharata in its extant form, only about one-fourth (some 20,000 slokas or so) relates to this conflict and the myths that have been associated with it, and even of this, two-thirds will have to be sifted out as not original, since in the introduction to the work (I. 81) the express intimation is still preserved that it previously consisted of 8,800 slokas only But as to the period when the final redaction of the entire work in its present shape took place, no approach even to direct conjecture is in the meantime possible, but, at any rate, it must have been some centuries after the commencement of our era"²

R C DUTT says "The annals of different kingdoms in India allude to this ancient war, and some of these annals are not unreliable The founder of Buddhism lived in the sixth century B C and we learn from the annals of Magadha that thirty-five kings reigned between the Kuru-Panchala War and the time of Buddha Allowing twenty years to each reign, this would place the war in the thirteenth century B C Again, we know from coins that Kanishka ruled in Kashmir in the first century A.D and his successor Abhimanyu probably reigned towards the close of that century The historian of Kashmir informs us that fifty-two kings reigned for 1266 years from the time of the Kuru Panchala war to the time of Abhimanyu, and this would place the war in the twelfth century B C"³ FERGUSSON places the war in the 13th century B C⁴

R SHAMA SASTRY accepts the date ascribed to Chandragupta and assigns the war to the 13th century and says that "Bharata the son of Dushyanta, is stated to have performed in the twelfth Atiratra (*Arw.* Sr S X, 5, 8). This gives $372 \times 4 = 1488$ Kali Era or 1613 B. C. as the date of Bharata According to the list of kings given in the Vishnu Purana, Yudhistira, the hero of the Mahabharata and contemporary of Krishna is the 25th descendant from Bharata, and died in 1260 B.C.

1 *Vishnu Purāṇa*, IV 232 In his Intr to Translation to Rig Veda (I 47) he gave the probable date of the epic poem at the 3rd century B.C.

2 *Indian Literature*, 187-88.

3 *Civ.* I 10

4 *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 36.

Accordingly the interval between Bharata and Yudhistira is 247 years, which, if the list is correct gives about 10 years on an average to each of the 25 reigns. Parikshit is the grandson of Yudhistira. The interval between him and Nanda is according to the Matsya Purana one thousand years less by one hundred and fifty. Nanda lived in 4th century B C ¹

Immemorial tradition sanctified by the religious faith of hundreds of generations of people in India assigns the Mahābhārata war to the end of the Dvāpara Yuga, that is, the year **3139 B.C.** The Purāṇas and the astronomical Siddhāntas accept the tradition as incontrovertible history and as the starting point of Indian chronology. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa says that "On the same day that Hari departed from the earth the powerful dark-bodied Kali (age) descended" ². Hari Kṛṣṇa lived for 125 (105?) years and he was a contemporary of the great war ³ and according to the Mahābhārata the race of Śrī Kṛṣṇa was destroyed thirty-six years after the war and the Pandavas departed from their kingdom soon after the beginning of Kaliyuga ⁴.

Megasthenes, "who probably quoted from Harivamśa, not as it exists to-day but as it was in his time, viz., a real dynastic list as its name implies, has recorded a statement that between Dionysos and Chandragupta there were 153 Kings and a period of 6042 years and that Heracles was younger than Dionysos by fifteen generations. Although

1. *Gavām Ayana, the Vedic Era*, 155

2. Yasmin Kṛṣṇo divam yātas tasmīn eva jātāhani Praṭipannam Kaliyugam V 37

See also *Vāyu*, II 37-422, *Bhāg*, XII il. 26-32, V 37, *Matsya*, 221, 52. *Mahāprasthānika Parva*, I 2, 7. Also Wilson's *Translation of Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, IV 234.

3. According to these passages Kṛṣṇa was born in the year Śrīmadukha, Śrāvana Bahula Navamī-vidīha-saptamī Vṛśabha Lagna and lived for 125 years, 7 months and 8 days dying on the first day of Kaliyuga. According to Bṛhaspaṭmāna, the birth would be in the year Pārthiva and death in Khara.

According to another view Kṛṣṇa lived for 105 years only and was born in 3208 B C in the year Vijaya, Srāvaṇa Kṛṣṇa Aṣṭamī, Mangalavāra, Rohiṇī, Vṛśabha Lagna.

Kṛṣṇa's horoscope has thus been cast. Guru in Mesha, Rāhu in Mithuna, Kuja and Buḍha in Kataka, Ravi and Saṁu in Simham, Sukra in Kanyā, and Keju in Dhanus and Lagna Vṛśabha.

On the birth and death of Kṛṣṇa, see *Bhāg*, X 3, XI. 6, *Harivamśa*, I 52, IV. 24, V 23.

4. *Mah. Mausala Parva*, I 1, 3. See *Bhāg*, X. 3, XI. 6 *Harivamśa*, I. 52, *Viṣṇu*, V 37, 23.

it is not easy to identify Dionysos it is indisputable that Heracles was none else than Hari or Śrī Kṛṣṇa from Megasthenes' record about him 'This Heracles like the Thoeban namesake had married many wives and was worshipped by the Shourasenī people whose chief towns were Mathura and Cheisobora'." If then between Chandragupta and Śrī Kṛṣṇa, there were 138 (153-15) generations, taking 20 years for each generation, there is a period of 2760 years intervening between them, which gives us 3072 B C ¹

According to the Sūrya-Siddhanṭa Kaliyuga began on midnight, of Thursday, 17th February, 3102 B C old style ² Āryabhata took this date as granted ³ and computed by the era of Yudhisthira

In the commentary Bhāṭṭaḍīpikā on this verse it is said Bhāraṭā Yudhisthiraḍayah, Rājyam caratām Yudhisthirādīnam, anṇyo gurudivaso dvāparāvasānagaṭā ityarthah Tasmin dīne Yudhisthirādayo mahā-prasthānam gaṭā itī prasiddhih ⁴

Jyotiṛvidābharana tell us that six different eras will flourish one after another in the Kaliyuga, and the first of them that is of Yuḍhisthira lasting for 3044 years beginning from the first year of Kaliyuga ⁵ Śāṅkara knew the tradition that Kṛṣṇa Dvāpāyana flourished between Kali and Dvāpara Yugas ⁶ It was composed in Vikrama era year 24 expressed to be identical with 3068 the year of Kali

S P L Narasimha Swami says that after the war was over, Dhṛtarāṣṭra continued to rule, with Yudhisthira as his regent, for fifteen years and that Yuḍhisthira was crowned king only in the 16th year after the war, and that Yuḍhisthira ruled for 36 years, so that he would place the war 50 years before Kali began, that is, in 3052 B C ⁷

Kalhana says that in his days the tradition was strong that the Bhāraṭa war took place at the end of Dvāpara-yuga. ⁸

1 See C V Vydyā's *Epic India*, 418

2 Sewell's Indian Calendar, 6.

3, Kāho manavo manuyuga kha gaṭāste ca manuyuga chna ca, Kalpāḍer-yugapāḍā, Ga ca guradivasat ca bhāraṭāḥ purvam.—*Gīṭhāpāda*, 3

4 See Colebrooke, *Mis Es* II 248, Weber, *IL* 260. See also Lassen, *IAK* II 50, Kern's *Preface*, 6.

5 For a fuller account see Chapter on SANSKRIT DRAMA, under Kālidāsa

6 *Bṛahmasūtra Bhāṣya*, on Sūtra, III. iii. 32.

7 *IA*, IV 162 *Mah. Asrama Parva*, 2-6, and *Mausala Parva*, 3-13

8. *Raj I* 15. But Kalhana thought he was deceived by the tradition and fixed 653 of Kaliyuga as the date of the war. This view is elaborated and supported in a pamphlet by Kotikalapudi Narasimha Śarma at the instance of the late Maharaja of Bobbili.

But oriental scholars direct their intuitive faculty of original research and theorisation to a refutation of the tradition, to them tradi-

The following verses from the Rājatarangī, Book I are important —

48-49 The kings Gonanda the First and his successors ruled Kashmir during twenty-two hundred and sixty-years in the Kaliyuga. This calculation of the duration of these kings' reigns has been thought wrong by some authors who were misled by the statement that the Bharata war took place at the end of the Dvapara Yuga.

50 If the years of those kings, the duration of whose reigns is known, are added up, leaving aside the above 2268 years of Gonanda I and his successors, no rest remains from the passed period of the Kaliyuga, as will be seen from the following

51. When six hundred and fifty-three years of the Kaliyuga had passed away, the Kurus and Pandavas lived on the earth

52 At present, in the twenty-fourth year of the Laukika era, one thousand and seventy years of the Saka era have passed.

53 On the whole, at this time two thousand three hundred and thirty years have passed since the accession of Gonanda the Third

54. Twelve hundred and sixty-six years are believed to be comprised in the sum of the reigns of those fifty-two lost kings

55 On this point a decision is furnished by the words of the author of the Bṛhat Samhita who with reference to the fact that the Great Bear moves from one Nakṣatra to the other in a hundred years, has thus indicated its course

56 "When King Yudhishthira ruled the earth, the Munis (the Great Bear) stood in the Nakṣatra *Maghah*. The date of his reign was 2526 years before the Saka era "

Verse 50, says Stein, "gives Kalhaṇa's reason for accepting the calculation of 2258 years for the reigns contained in Taranga I. Dr Hultsch, (*IA* xvii, 99) has shown that if we add up the figures given by K. in Tarangas ii-viii for the reigns from the dethronement of Yudhishthira I. to his own time, we get a rough total of 1328 years (the odd months and days in the totals of the reigns of the ii and iii Tarangas being disregarded). If to this total are added the 2268 years for the i Taranga, and the result deducted from the 4249 years which had elapsed of the Kali era at the time of K's composition (see verse 52 below), there remain 653 years. This is exactly the number of years which had elapsed according to the statement accepted by K (i 51) between the commencement of the Kaliyuga and the date of the Bharata war, i.e. Gonanda I. Thus the whole period of the Kali era up to the author's time is accounted for and 'no rest remains'. The equation of K, as indicated in this verse, is therefore

A	B
Years of the Kaliyuga elapsed	Reigns of kings from Gonanda I
in 1070 Saka 1070	to Yudhishthira I (i 48) 2268
& 3179	Reigns of kings mentioned in
—	Tarangas ii-viii, up to Saka 1070
4249	1328
	Kali years passed up Gonanda I 653
	4249

tion is superstition and cannot be history. In spite of their capacity for discovering new pieces of evidence and novel paths of reasoning, the traditional literature has been too strong in its assertion that the Mahābhārata war synchronised with the end of Dvāparayuga. They therefore resorted to the only other alternative, that is, to postdating the beginning of the Kaliyuga, and thus to postdate this synchronism.

The first step in this attempt was to damn the date 3102 B C acknowledged to be the beginning of Kaliyuga, as an astronomer's hypothetical point of calculation¹ first fancied by Āryabhata in 499 A D². This is easily said, for a bold assertion is better than logical reasoning. One cannot perceive why this astronomer thought of fancying the date and how it happened that ancient writings like the Purāṇas thought of taking this hypothetical date in computing their theological history. The next step therefore has often been taken that these passages in the Purāṇas are later interpolations, nay, the Purāṇas themselves are fabrications of a late age. One is tempted to remind the reader of the adage 'lies follow lies'.

We shall now follow the reasoning adopted for fixing the commencement of the Kaliyuga.

In his *Bṛhat-Samhitā*, Varāhamihira quotes a verse from Vṛddha Garga

आसन् मखासु मुनयः
शासति पृथ्वीं युधिष्ठिरे नृपतौ ।
षट्द्विकपञ्चद्वियुत
शककालस्तस्य राज्ञश्च (राज्यस्य) ॥

"Our observations as to the theoretical basis of Kalhana's early chronology may thus be briefly summed up. We have seen that the starting-point of his and his predecessors' calculations was the supposed date of Gonanda I, obtained by connecting a semi-mythical king of Purana tradition with a purely legendary event of the great Indian epic and its imaginary chronology. We are next asked, without indication of an authority, to accept the figure of 2269 years for the aggregate length of rule of a single dynasty, of which, however fifty-two kings had already become 'lost' to the tradition of the earlier Chronicles. Lastly, Kalhana presents us, again without naming his authority, with the figure of 2330 years as the result of an avowedly 'rough' calculation of the aggregate duration of reigns from Gonanda III, to his own date"—Stein. For a criticism of Kalhana's view, See Hultzsch, *IA*, xviii. 99 *et seq* and Pandit Ananda Koul, *JASB*, vi. 195-219 (NS).

1. See Bentley, *Historical View of Hindu Astronomy*, 85

2. See V S Gopala Iyer, *Chronology of the Siddhantas*, 92.

"When king Yudhistira ruled the earth, the (seven) seers (Ursa Major) were in Makha, the Saka era (is) 2526 (years after the commencement of his reign)"¹

This verse has been relied on by Kalhana as showing that the traditional date was an error and that the date of the Mahābhārata war must be moved forwards to the year 651 Kali or 2448 B C. It must be noted that Kalhana postulated that Kaliyuga began in 3102 B C but premises that the synchronism of the tradition between the war and the Kaliyuga was erroneous. But orientalist would not brook this too. For, why should the war and the necessary civilisation of India be put back to an ancient age as 25 centuries? So the attack was planned from the rear. The verse gives the name 'Śaka kūla'. Then began the speculation on what was the śakakūla meant here.

According to GOPALA IYER, it was the era of Buddha Nirvāṇa, for "Garga lived in the 1st century B C and by that time, the Saka era of 78 A D could not have been known." The reading śaka-kūla is a mistake for Sakya kala and the phrase 'Sad-dvika-pancadvi' means not 2526 but '26 times 25' or 650, the correct interpretation is that 650 years had elapsed from the time of Yudhistira to the beginning of Sakyakala or the era of Gautama's Nirvana. Gautama Buddha died in 543 B C and the addition of 543 and 650 gives the date of the Mahābhārata War as 1194-3 B C.² Apart from the meaning given to

1 As translated by Hultzsch (IA, XVIII 99), For other similar translations, see Troyer, I 338, II 7 and Wilson's Essays, 97. Regarding the theory that the Saptaṛṣis (Great Bear or Ursa Major) move within each lunar mansion for one century, see *Bṛhat Samhitā*, XIII 4, Alberuni's *India*, I 391, Cunningham's *Indian Eras*, II, T. S. Narayanasastri's *Age of Sankara*, App II.

2 V S Gopala Iyer's *Chronology of Ancient India*, 68-77. At 48 he admits that his interpretation is new and original. See also, *Rajatarangini* (Telugu Translation by K. R. V. Krishna Rao (Cocanada 1903). According to Gopala Iyer, Kaliyuga originally comprised only 1000 years or at the most only 1200 years, it commenced at the winter solstice occurring in the latter part of the year 1177 B C. "As Megasthenes gives 6451 years for the period between Ikshwaku and Alexander the Great and as 5,600 years were supposed to have expired at the beginning of the Kaliyuga, 6,451-5,600, or a deviation of 851 years must have been the period represented to Megasthenes as having expired since the commencement of the new era. Since Alexander left India in 325 B C the Kaliyuga must have commenced, according to the informants of Megasthenes in the year 851+325 or 1176 B C" (at page 45). See for a full discussion of this T. S. Narayana Sastri's *Age of Sankara*, 15 note. Tilak (*Arctic Home in the Vedas*, 422) approves of Gopala Iyer's views on Kaliyuga.

the phrase *Saḍ-dvika-panca-dvi*, which offends against the fundamental principles of Sanskrit notation and apart from the uncertainty of the date of the death of Buddha, on which opinion is as varied as on any other question of chronology, there is the detection of the error in the reading of *śūka* into *śūkyā*, for if the word *śūkyā* is substituted for the word *śāka*, the line goes wrong in prosody ²

G THIBAUT,³ and SUDHAKARA DVIVEDI assume the 'śakakāla' here mentioned to be the same as the Śālivahana śaka which commenced in 78 A.D.

SRISA CHANDRA VIDYARNAVA later on reviewed his position and fixed the 1922 B.C. as the year of the Great war⁴ DHIRENDRANATH PAL gives the date of the War as 15th or 16th century B.C. and says the story was immediately written⁵

Other scholars took "the anchor of Indian Chronology, that is the year 315 B.C. as the date of Chandragupta Maurya's accession, as the starting point for computation and by taking the interval of time between the Mahābhārata war and the accession of Chandragupta as variously stated,⁶ to be 1604 to 1115 years, place the date of the Mahābhārata war, (and the beginning of the Kaliyuga) between the year 1919 B.C. and 1430 B.C. and the year 1415 B.C. (which is somehow arrived at by adding 1015 to 315 B.C.), for the vernal equinox would be in the Kṛttikās about that date⁷

PARGITER who originally put the commencement of the Kaliyuga at about 1733 B.C.⁷ later on arrived at the year 1810 B.C. as the date of the Great War. This is the reasoning. From Somāḍhi to Ripunjaya there were 22 kings in the Bārhadratha dynasty who reigned for 920 years. The Pradyoṭsas after Ripunjaya were 5 kings who reigned for

1. For a refutation of this theory, see T. S. Narayana Sastri's *Age of Sankara*, p. 22 note, App. II

2. Int. to *Panca Siddhantika*, lix.

3. Int. to Edn. of *Matsya Purāṇa*, (Sacred Books of the Hindus Series) App. II xxiv

4. Int. to *Sri Krishna, his life and teachings*

5. As to these variations, see T. S. Narayana Sastri's *Kings of Magadha* (Madras, 1918), 147 pp

6. As to a complete discussion of the vernal equinox, see V. S. Gopala Iyer's *Chronology of Ancient India*, Vaidya's *Mahābhārata*, and T. S. Narayana Sastri's *Age of Sankara*, App. II

7. See *JRAS*, (1910)

138 years. The Śaśunagas were 10 kings and reigned for 330 years. Adding up the above three figures 920+138+330, we get 1388 years, which is the interval between the installation of Mahānanda and the birth of Parikṣit or the Great War. Adding 422 B C the year of the installation of Mahāpadma Nanda (whose date fixed at 100 years before Chandragupta) who is postulated to have ascended the throne in 322 B C we get the year 1810 B C as the date of the Great War¹.

Arguments on astronomical calculations have been based on (1) the reference to the Sap̥t̥ar̥ṣ̥ī cycle and (2) the vernal equinox and the seasons and these are explained by each theorist as supporting his own date.²

These astronomical arguments are based on the Parāśara Siddhānta, Garga Siddhānta, Vedānga Jyauṭiṣa. And the period of the war has been closely connected with the real determination of the date of the commencement of the Uttarāyana in Māgha Śukla Sap̥tamī or the then Rāṭhasap̥tamī and the death of Bhīṣma in the same month.³

परिवृत्तो हि भगवान् सहस्रांशुर्दिवाकरः ।

...

माघोऽयम् समनुप्राप्तो मासस्तौम्यो युधिष्ठिर

त्रिभागशेष (मात्रः) पक्षोऽयम् शुक्लोभविनुमर्हति ॥⁴

But the advocates of the orthodox tradition are themselves not wanting in their capacity to interpret these astronomical date as supporting the origin of the Kali Yuga in 3102 B C⁵ and the latest reasoning of T S Narayana Sastri will be of interest ,

"Yudhisthira observes the change in the course of the sun, collects all the necessary materials for the cremation of Bhishma, and goes to

1 See *Dynasties of the Kali Age*.

2 For a detailed discussion of these, see V. S. Gopala Iyer's *Chronology of Ancient India* and T. S. Narayana Sastri's *Age of Sankara*, App. II.

3 See *Mah. XIII.* 273, 27-28.

4 *Mah. Anu.* 167, 20-27.

On this, see Tilak's *Orion*, 36-7. Lale, Modak, Kelkar and other have tried to determine the date of the war from such references and they hold that the vernal equinox was then in the Kṛttikas. See also Maxmuller, *Pref. to Rg. Veda*, IV xxxi.

5 See also, Sree Kalyanananda Bharati Swamy's *Introduction to the Chronology of Sanskrit Literature* (Bezwada, 1920).

him with all his relations on the morning of Magha Sukla Ashtamī, and Bhishma breathes his last just at noon at about 15 Ghatikas after the sunrise on the same day in the constellation of Rohini. It is stated by the dying Bhishma himself that three-fourths of the month still remained unexpired. It follows from this that at the time of Bhishma's death which took place immediately thereafter $7\frac{1}{2}$ Tithis out of the total number of *thirty* had already passed away. In other words Bhishma died just in the middle of Ashtamī. Now it is also stated that at the time of the death of Bhishma, the moon was in the constellation of Rohini, and according to the calculations of Brahmasri Varahur Sundaresvara Srauti, the Rohini on that day should have ended at about 32 Ghatikas after sunrise. A perusal of the exact moment when the constellation of Jyestha commences on Kartika Amavasya of the coming year Kalayukti and of the precise moment when the constellation of Rohini ends on Magha Sukla Ashtamī of the same year, which we have chosen as a typical year for purposes of comparison, will show at a rough glance that the constellation of Rohini could not have lasted for more than 32 Ghatikas on that particular Magha Sukla Ashtamī, when the great Bhishma, of the Mahabharata cast off his body. By the time of the passing away of Bhishma, who died just at mid-day, as 15 Ghatikas had expired, the Rohini Nakshatra lasted only for 17 Ghatikas more after mid-day. Soon the moon was, more definitely speaking, in the 3rd quarter of Rohini at the time when Bhishma actually passed away to Heaven, and even in this 3rd quarter which consists of 15 Ghatikas on the whole, 13 Ghatikas had already passed away, so that there remained only 2 Ghatikas in the 3rd quarter of Rohini when Bhishma actually breathed his last. The third quarter of Rohini commences at $46^{\circ}-40'$ of the Ecliptic, and ends with 50° . So, at the exact moment of Bhishma's death, the moon must have been at $46^{\circ}-40'$ *plus* $13/15$ ($3^{\circ}-20''$) or $46^{\circ}40'$ *plus* $2^{\circ}-53'-20''$ equal to $49^{\circ}-33'-20''$.

"As the distance between the Sun and that Moon at the moment was separated by $7\frac{1}{2}$ Tithis or $7\frac{1}{2}$ times 12° or 90° the sun must have been at the moment of Bhishma's death at $49^{\circ}-33'-20''$ *minus* 90° or $31^{\circ}-33'-20''$ or in other words in the 4th quarter Satabhisha. As the winter solstice or Uttarayana had already commenced with *Ratha-Saptamī*, which must have ended at about the mid-night on the previous day, there will be a difference of $1\frac{1}{2}$ degrees between the actual commencement of the Uttarayana and the actual moment of Bhishma's death, with the result that the Uttarayana in Bhishma's time or soon after the close of the Mahabharata War, must have commenced when

the sun was in $319^{\circ}-33'-20''$ minus $1^{\circ}-30'-0''$ or in $318^{\circ}-3'-20''$ or in other words at about the middle of the fourth *Pada* of *Satabhusha*. Now the Uttarayana commenced in 1917 (as already shown) in the first part of the 3rd *Pada* of *Mula* in $247^{\circ}-28'$. There is a difference of $318^{\circ}-3'-20''$ minus $247^{\circ}-28'-0''$ or $75^{\circ}-35'-20''$ or $254120''$. We thus find that since the time of Bhishma's death, the date of the Winter Solstice or Uttarayana has been thrown back by $70^{\circ}-35'-20''$ or $254120''$, on account of the precession of the equinoxes.

"What then is the period of time within which so much change in the date of the Winter solstice may take place? If we take the rate of precession at $50\ 26''$ of angle in a year, $254120''$ will take a period of $254120 \times \frac{100}{5026}$ or $5056 \frac{544}{5026}$ years, or in round figures 5056 years, as the measure of time needed for the change. In other words, Bhishma must have died in the year 5056-1917 A.D., or in the year 3139 B.C., just 37 years before the commencement of the Kali Yuga and the Mahabharata War must have commenced on Tuesday corresponding to the last day of the month of Kartika on Amavasya in the constellation of Jyeshtha of the year corresponding to 3140 B.C."¹

Mahabharata War is mentioned in grants dated in the Gupta Samvat era². Buchanan mentions an inscription in the temple of Madhukesvara at Banavasi in North Canara dated in 168th year of Yudhisthira era and two inscriptions at Belgaum in Mysore dated in the reign of Yudhisthira himself³. The Tirthahalli plates of Mysore State record that King Janamejaya granted to the ascetics of the locality for worship of the God Sitarama some land constituting a property name Munivṇḍakṣetra in the place called Vrkodara on the west of the Tungabhadra in the Plavanga year corresponding to year 89 of Yudhisthira Śaka (3014 B.C.). In a Siva's temple at Iballi in Dharwar, an inscription is dated 3730 years after the great war and in Saka 506⁴.

1 *Age of Sankara*.

2 *Fleet, GII*, 120, 124, 129, 134, 139.

3 *Journey through Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, III 231, 411.

4 *IA*, XXX 219-20. In *Asiatic Researches* (Vo IX) Ellis notices a copper plate grant of Janamejaya. Gibbons and Airy calculate the date as 7th April 1521 A.D. and Ellis wishes to say that the Mahabharata was composed after this date II (*JRAS*, X. 81).

In the inscriptions in Combodia we have "the fragment of an inscription of the beginning of the 7th century which informs us that, as early as that time, both the epics were considered sacred on the border of distant Laos, and that records that king Somasarma presented a temple with copies of the Ramayana, the Puranas and the Bharata complete and had them recited every day"

Latest about the beginning of the Christian era, Perundevanar known as Bharata Padiar, wrote his classical work, the Tamil Mahābhārata¹

The AIHOLF INSCRIPTION of Pulikesin II,² has not yet been correctly read

In the *Indian Antiquary* (V 67-71), it was originally published thus —

त्रिंशत्सु तिसहस्रेषु भारतात् आह्वान् इत्
सहाब्दगतयुक्तेषु गतेष्वब्देषु पञ्चसु ।
पञ्चाशत्सु कलौ काले षट्सु पञ्चशतासु च ।
समासु समतीतासु शकानामपि भूभुजाम् ॥

Prūcīnalekhamūlū (I 68-72) reads the second line

सहाब्दशतयुक्तेषु गतेष्वब्देषु पञ्चसु ।

Granting that the Śakabhūpaṭikāla here mentioned is the Śaka era commencing in 78 A.D., and not any other Śaka era of 550 B.C., as propounded by T. S. Narayanasastri,³ the inscription does not

Ellis relies for this conclusion on the Gawja agraḥaram grant, translated by Colebrooke in 1806 (see *IA*, I 377) and pronounced by him to be spurious. On Ellis' correspondence, see Bhandarkar, *JBRAS*, X. 89. For the Iballi inscription, see *JASB*, IV 376, V 725, VI. 88, *JRAS*, (NS), I 273, *IBRAS*, IX. 315.

1 *IA*, XVII 31. M. A. Barth's review of *Inscriptions Sanskrites Der Combedge*, (Paris, 1885)

2 A Sangam work on Mahābhārata was undertaken in the 8th century under the patronage of the Pallava king and a third work was written in the 13th century in the reign of Kulottunga III. See M. Raghava Iyengar's *Lectures* in the Madras University, 1929, on Epigraphy and the South Indian Literature.

3 *IA*, VIII 237

4 For a discussion, see T. S. Narayanasastri's *Age of Sankara*, Part I—D, pages 224-8. Macdonell (*SL* 318) dates this inscription in 634 A.D. and R.C. Dutt (*Civ* III 219) in 637 A.D. For śaka 556 (=634-5 A.D.), see *IA*, VIII 237, For śaka 507 (=585-6 A.D.) see *IA*, V 67 and Weber's *IL*, 196. For Huen Tsang's account of Pulakesin II, see *IA*, VII 290. See also Hemchandra Roy Choudhry's *Political History of India from Panikshut*, Journal of the Dept of Letters Calcutta University, Vol IX 1926. For a review of Weber's paper on the influence of the Greeks and Homeric poems on the Mahābhārata see *IA*, XVII, 302. On the era of Yuṣṭhura, see Bhagvat, *JBRAS*, XX. 150.

mitigate against the view that the Mahābhārata war occurred somewhere before the beginning of the Kaliyuga in 3102 B C

In his commentary on the Bṛhajjāṭaka (VII 9), composed in Śaka 888 (=966 A D) Bhattotpala writes thus

गतेन साध्यर्षभतेन युक्ताप्यङ्केन (प्यङ्केन) केषा न गताऽदसस्या ।
काल गकाना स विद्मोऽथ तस्मादतीतवर्षाद्युगधर्षजातम् ॥

एव स्पृजिध्वजकृत शककालादर्वाक (10+4) क्षायते ॥

This verse may help to fix the date of Śakakāla and of the astronomer Sphujidhvaja as posterior to it, but its meaning, particularly how the number is arrived at, is not ascertainable

SECTION IV

The Epics Compared

"While the Ramayana generally represents one-sided and exclusive Brahmanism," says M Williams, "the Mahabharata reflects the multi-lateral character of Hinduism, its monotheism and polytheism, its spirituality and materialism, its strictness and laxity, its priestcraft and anti-priestcraft, its hierarchical intolerance and rationalistic philosophy, combined. Not that there was any intentional variety in the original design of the work but that almost every shade of opinion found expression in a compilation formed by a gradual accretion through a long period. In unison with its more secular, popular, and human character, the Mahabharata has, as a rule, less of mere mythical allegory, and more of historical probability in its narratives than the Ramayana. The reverse, however, sometimes holds good. For example, in Ramayana IV, xi, we have a simple division of the world into four quarters or regions, whereas in Mahabharata VI 236, &c, we have the fanciful division (afterwards adopted by the Puranas) into seven circular Dvīpas or continents, viz., 1 Jambu-dvīpa, or the Earth, 2 Plaksha-dvīpa, 3 Salmali-dvīpa, 4 Kusa-dvīpa, 5 Kraunca-dvīpa, 6 Saka-dvīpa, 7 Pushkara-dvīpa, surrounded respectively by seven oceans in concentric belts, viz., 1 the sea of salt water (LAVANA), 2 of sugar-cane juice (IKSHU), 3 of wine (SURA), 4 of clarified butter (SARPIS), 5 of curdled milk (DADHI), 6 of milk (DUGDHA), 7 of fresh water (JALA), the mountain Meru or abode of the gods, being in the

centre of JAMBU DVIPA, which again is divided into nine Varshas or countries separated by eight ranges of mountains, the Varsha called BHARATA (India) lying south of the Himavat range

"Notwithstanding these wild ideas and absurd figments, the Mahabharata contains many more illustrations of real life and of domestic and social habits and manners than the sister Epic. Its diction, again, is more varied than that of the Ramayana. The bulk of the latter poem (notwithstanding interpolations and additions) being by one author, is written with uniform simplicity of style and metre (See p 335, note 2), and the antiquity of the greater part is proved by the absence of any studied elaboration of diction. The Mahabharata, on the other hand, though generally simple and natural in its language, and free from the conceits and artificial constructions of later writers, comprehends a great diversity of composition, rising sometimes (especially when the Indra-vajra metre is employed) to the higher style and using complex grammatical forms and from the mixture of ancient legends, occasional archaisms and Vedic formations"¹

"In the Mahabharata (Vana-parvan 15872-16601) the Ramopakhyana is told very nearly as in the Ramayana, but there is no mention of Valmiki as its author, and no allusion to the existence of the great sister Epic. Markandeya is made to recount the narrative to Yudhishthira, after the recovery of Draupadi (who had been carried off by Jayadratha, as Sita was by Ravana), in order to show that there were other examples in ancient times of virtuous people suffering violence at the hand of wicked men. It is probable (and even Professor Weber admits it to be possible) that the Mahabharata episode was epitomized from the Ramayana, and altered here and there to give it an appearance of originality. There are, however, remarkable differences. The story in the Mahabharata, although generally treating Rama as a great human hero only, begins with the circumstances which led to the incarnation of Vishnu, and gives a detailed account of what is first mentioned in the Uttarakanda of the Ramayana: the early history of Ravana and his brother. The birth of Rama, his youth, and his father's wish to inaugurate him as heir-apparent are then briefly recounted. Dasaratha's sacrifice, Rama's education, his winning of Sita and other contents of the Bala-kanda are omitted. The events of the Ayodhya-kanda and much of the Aranya Kanda are narrated in about forty verses. A more detailed narrative begins with the appearance before Ravana of the

mutilated Surpāṇkhā, but many variations occur; for instance, Kabandha is killed, but not restored to life, the story of Savari is omitted and there is no mention of the dream sent by Brahma to comfort Sita

"There are other references to, and brief epitomes of parts of the story of the Ramayana in the Mahabharata, e.g., in Vanaparvan 11177-11219, in Drona parvan 2224-2246, in Santi parvan 944-955, in Harivamśa 2324-2359, 8672-8674, 16232. These and other differences have led Professor Weber to suggest the inquiry whether the Mahabharata version may not be more primitive than that of the Ramayana, and possibly even the original version, out of which the other was developed. 'Or ought we,' he asks, 'to assume only that the Mahabharata contains the epitome of an earlier recension of our text of the Ramayana, or should both texts, the Ramopakhyana and the Ramayana, be regarded as resting alike upon a common groundwork, but each occupying an independent standpoint'"¹

WEBER has thus advanced the theory that the composition of the *Mahābhārata* must have preceded that of the *Rāmāyana*. So also R.C. Dutt. "We must premise even as a picture of life the Ramayana is long posterior to the Mahabharata. We miss in the Rāmāyana the fiery valour and the proud self-assertion of the Kshatriyas of the Mahabharata and the subordination of the people to the priestly caste is more complete."

The traditional belief of the orthodox Hindus in the priority of the Rāmāyana is apparently shaken by the acceptance of these theories. But there is ample external and internal evidence to falsify the modern theory and corroborate Indian tradition.

There are clear references to the story of the Ramayana in the *Mahābhārata*. Srngiberapura is considered a place of sanctity and pilgrimage because of Rāma's visit to it. Not one of the heroes of the *Mahābhārata* is named in the Rāmāyana whereas the story of Rāma is very frequently referred to in the other. In the Vanaparvan where Rāmopākhyāna is related, some of the verses closely resemble the original, and Vyāsa postulates that the story of Rāma was too popular to need any detail.²

1 M. WILLIAMS' *Indian Wisdom*, 366-7

2. Vanaparvan, 275-292, 149-75. The Purāṇas contain numerous allusions to the Rāmāyana. The Agni Purāṇa has an epitome of the seven Books in seven Chapters. The Pāṇḍya and Skāṇḍa also devote several chapters to the same.

Such direct references² must amply prove the priority of the Rāmāyana. But the negativists try to explain it away by the plea that *these are later interpolations*. What do the orthodox Hindus gain by purposely interpolating unimportant references and arguing the feigned priority of the one epic to the other? If the original of the Mahābhārata did not contain any references to the Rāmāyana, they had no business in such interpolation. The Mahābhārata loses not, nor does the Rāmāyana gain, a particle of belief or regard by a consideration of chronological priority or posteriority, for it is in the inherent nature of the Hindu mind to disregard all questions of history. If the Rāmāyana had really been composed later, how is this fact accounted for—that the Mahābhārata war, the most important incident as it is in the world's history, fails to have the least reference to it in Vālmiki's work? Vālmiki's ignorance of the Great War cannot be the answer. Nor can the sanctity of Kurukṣetra be less conspicuous than that of Śrngibera-pura, so as to lose mention of it in a religious work. In the Rāmāyana. The argument of interpolation has neither purpose nor probability.

subject. The Viṣṇupurāṇa has also a section [IV a] about Rama and in III. 3 describes Vālmiki as the Vyāsa of the 24th Dvāpara. The Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa has a Rāmāyana Māhātmya and embodies the Adhyātma Rāmāyana. For full account of these references and later Jain and Buddhist modifications, see Int. to Uttararāmacarita by S. K. Belvalkar, *HOS*, No. 4.

I HOPKINS (*The Great Epic of India* 62) says "The individual allusions prove, therefore, nothing in regard to the general priority of Vālmiki as the first epic poet. They prove that the Mahabharata was only not completed before Vālmiki wrote, just as the mention of the Vayu Purana in the Mahabharata shows only that there was a Purana of that name not before the Bharata beginning but before its end. They show also no antipathy or wish to suppress Vālmiki's name influenced the Bharata poets, who therefore, had they simply retold or epitomised a poem recognised as Vālmiki's would probably have mentioned his name in connection with the Rama Upakhyaṇa." Apart from VII 143 67, the Mahabharata knows the poet Vālmiki only in the 12th and 13th books; whereas it knows everywhere the Rama tale, a poem called the Ramayana, and a saint known not as a poet but as an ascetic called Vālmiki. It gives the Rama-episode as it gives other ancient tales handed down from Antiquity without having been assigned to a specific author. The Rama Upakhyaṇa stands to the Ramayana, somewhat as the Nala Upakhyaṇa stands to the Nalāṭhaka, in that it is an early tale of unknown authorship which a poet made his own. Long before there is any allusion to Vālmiki's Ramayana, the base of the great epic, the substance of the Bharata Katha is recognised in Hindu Literature, while the latest additions to the great epic refers to Vālmiki himself as a man who is to be that is, who is already, famous, यदस्तेऽयं मविष्यति (VIII, 18 49, S. Ind. Edn.) Between these extremes lies the Ramayana." For a list of parallel passages in the Epics, see App. A to this book.

The Rāmāyana represents its actors as often moving beyond earthly sphere. The Mahābhārata deals with men and not bears or monkeys. "In the latter" says Weber himself, "human interest everywhere predominates and a number of well-defined personages are introduced, to whom the possibility of historical existence cannot be denied." No scholar can discern any improbability in gambling, loss of kingdom, exile and war. An advanced race of men can place no confidence in the story of a ten-headed monster. Ryaṣṅga is represented in the Rāmāyana as a sage ever in solitude and unseen by men or women. He was born of a hind and had a horn on his head. The earlier we peep into the world's history, the world is more simple and credulous. The Rāmāyana must have been composed when India was yet in very early stages of theological evolution.

In the Mahābhārata Ādi-parvan a house of combustibles is erected by a Mlecha called Purocana at the bidding of Duryodhana. Agam Viḍura, trying to reveal the conspiracy of the lac house to his friends the Pāndavas, talks to them in a Mlecha tongue understood by the accompanying populace. The war-portion of the same epic names not less than half a dozen Mlecha Kings taking part in the war itself (Iṣṇa Parva, 26, 93, 119, 122). On the contrary the Rāmāyana makes no such references at all and the only few allusions to the *Yavanas* do not prove alien interference in politics. The signification of 'Yavana' is not the same as that of 'Mlecha'. It is therefore safe to deduce that at the time of the Rāmāyana foreign influence was not felt, at any rate not enough to give the foreigners a territorial dominion in the international policy of Indian States.

The geographical account of Vālmiki regarding Southern India denies the existence of any civilized kingdoms there. On the other hand the country south of the Vindhya range is the haunt of savage demons like Virāḍha and Kabandha. In the royal invitations at Daśaratha's Court no one King of Southern India has a summons, nor does Rāma in his journey southwards make alliance with a civilized prince. On the other hand the Kings of Southern India have a prominent reception at the *Rāyaṣṭya* sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira. The geographical sketch of Bhārata-varṇa as given in the Bhīma-parva shows a very intimate acquaintance with the advanced states of the Dekhan. Hence since the days of the Rāmāyana the country appears from a political point of view to have made a decided advance.

The test of archery at the marriage of Sītā had better be compared with that at Draupadi-Swayamvara. The latter indicates an obvious

advance in the dexterity of the test. Likewise is the improvement in the art of war. Rāma's army knows not of varied dispositions, whereas in the Bhārata war the plan of *Vyūhas* or arrays has already been devised, by means of which a small force can withstand a powerful one. The ordered supervision of the commandants, the regular signals of colored standards, the applausive roars of victorious combatants—all these never miss a detailed delineation in the battles of the Great War. The complexity in the development of martial tactics shows a sign of a later age.

The encyclopædic variety of the contents of the Mahābhārata together with its vastness of knowledge in every line of science or art shows a rapid progress from the age of Vālmiki. Vyāsa notes law and science reduced to a system, whereas no idea of codification is discernible in the Rāmāyaṇa.

The character of Sītā is advantageously compared with that of Draupadī. Sītā is simpler and more cowardly. She exhorts the reluctant Rāma to permit her company to the woods. Draupadī musters her strength to argue the justice of Yudhishthira's authority to pawn his wife when once he has enslaved himself. Sītā belongs to an age of ignorance and timidity, Draupadī of wisdom and courage. Draupadī's religious convictions are looser than the god-fearing instincts of the daughter of Janaka.

The rigour of patriarchal ties and institutions is palpably visible in the history of Rāma. The disintegration of the presbyterian respect enjoined by Hindu canons of conduct has set in by the time of the Mahābhārata. Rāma is a model son, innocently submissive to paternal mandate, Bharata, the paragon of a brother, Sugriva, the standard of a friend. A sense of sincere duty animates Vālmiki's characters and the pivot of Rāma's victory is the truthfulness of his adherents. The reverse is the age of the Mahābhārata. Bhīma is ready to revolt against Yudhishthira, if only he should consent to a conciliation. He is impatient to throw off the Kaurava princes, despite their promise of self-slavery on a failure at dice. Śalya readily takes the side of the Kurus. Business and self-seeking overrides the feeling of truthful responsibility. For victory's sake every crime is readily committed—from false evidence and forgery to robbery and murder. Duryodhana's attempt to poison his own kinsmen or Yudhishthira's abetment at Drona's murder are sufficient instances. This state of corruption and degeneracy clearly points to a later sceptic state of society.

Rāvana carries off Sītā by force and she would not allow her to be touched by Hanūman, when he proposes to take her on his back to Rāma's abode. Even after victory she has to pass through an ordeal of fire for admission to the queenship. Similarly in the Kāmyaka forest Javadratha abducts Draupadī by force and is easily received again without any test of good conduct by her husbands. Apparently Rāma's contemporaries had a stricter notion of morality and wifely duty and stronger was the faith in the interposition of Providence. The relaxation in such religious and ethical beliefs proves an advance in the age of the Mahābhārata.

It has been said, "The heroes of the Ramayana are somewhat tame and common place personages, very respectful to priests, very anxious to conform to the rules of decorum and etiquette . . ." This is a negativist's argument. But that very tameness of heroes and priestly domination is a sign of antiquity, for when people learn to reason and argue, priests can no longer claim predominance.

Regarding the comparative merits of the two great epics, says AUROBINDO GHOSE,¹ "Vālmīki's mind seems nowhere to be familiarised with the stern intellectual gospel of Niskāma Dharma, that morality of disinterested passionless activity, promulgated by Krishna of Dwāraka and formulated by the Krishna of the Island, which is one great keynote of the Mahābhārata. Had he known it, I doubt whether the strong leaven of sentimentalism and femininity in his nature would not have rejected it, such temperaments, when they admire strength, admire it manifested and forceful rather than self-contained. Vālmīki's characters act from emotional or imaginative enthusiasm, not from intellectual conviction, an enthusiasm of immorality tyrannises over Rāvana. Like all manly moral temperaments, he instinctively insisted on an old established code of morals being universally observed as the only basis of ethical stability, avoided casuistic developments and distasted innovators in metaphysical thought as by their persistent and searching questions dangerous to the established bases of morality, especially to its wholesome ordinariness and everydayness. Vālmīki, therefore, the father of our secular poetry, stands for that early and finely moral civilisation which was the true heroic age of the Hindu spirit. Vyāsa, following Vālmīki, stood still farther on into the era of aristocratic turbulence and disorder. If there is any kernel of truth in the legends about him, he must have contributed powerfully to the

establishment of those imperial forms of government and society which Vālmīki had idealised. It is that he celebrated and approved the policy of a great aristocratic statesman who aimed at the subjection of his order to the rule of a central imperial power which should typify its best tendencies and control or expel its worst. But while Vālmīki was a soul out of harmony with its surroundings and looking back to an ideal past, Vyāsa was a man of his time profoundly in sympathy with it, full of its tendencies, hopeful of its results and looking forward to an ideal future. The one was a conservative imperialist advocating return to a better but dead model, the other a liberal imperialist looking forward to a better but unborn model. Vyāsa accordingly does not revolt from the aristocratic code of morality, it harmonises with his own proud and strong spirit, he accepts it as a basis for conduct, but purified and transfigured by the illuminating idea of the Nīṣkāma Dharma. But above all intellectuality is his grand note, he is profoundly interested in ideas, in metaphysics in ethical problems, he subjects morality to casuistic tests from which the more delicate moral tone of Vālmīki's spirit shrank, he boldly erects above ordinary ethics a higher principle of conduct having its springs in intellect and strong character, he treats government and society from the standpoint of a practical and discerning statesmanlike mind, idealising solely for the sake of standard. He touches in fact all subjects, and whatever he touches, he makes fruitful and interesting by originality, penetration and a sane and bold vision. In all this he is the son of the civilisation he has mirrored to us, a civilisation in which both morality and material developments are powerfully intellectualised. Nothing is more remarkable in all the characters of the Mahābhārata than this puissant intellectualism, every action of them seems to be impelled by an immense driving force of mind solidifying in character and therefore conceived and outlined as in stone. This orgiastic force of the intellect is at least as noticeable as the impulse of moral or immoral enthusiasm behind each great action of the Rāmāyana. Throughout the poem the victorious and manifold mental activity of the age is prominent and gives its character to its civilisation. There is far more of thought in action than in the Rāmāyana, far less of thought in repose, the one pictures a time of gigantic ferment and disturbance, the other, as far as humanity is concerned, an age of equipoise, order and tranquillity."

SECTION V

Purānas

“The Puranas constitute an important department of Sanskrit literature in their connection with the later phases of Brahmanism, as exhibited in the doctrines of emanation, incarnation, and triple manifestation (TRIMURTI) and are, in real fact, the proper Veda of popular Hinduism, having been designed to convey the exoteric doctrines of the Veda to the lower castes and to women. On this account, indeed, they are sometimes called a fifth Veda. Their name PURANA signifies ‘old traditional story,’ and the eighteen ancient narratives to which the name is applied are said to have been compiled by the ancient sage Vyasa (*also called Krishna-dvaipāyana and Bīḍaśāyana*), the arranger of the Vedas and Mahabharata and the supposed founder of the Vedānta philosophy. They are composed chiefly in the simple Stōka metre (with occasional passages in prose), and are, like the Mahabharata, very encyclopædical in their range of subjects. They must not, however, be confounded with the Itihāsas, which are properly the histories of heroic men, not Gods, though these men were afterwards deified. The Puranas are properly the history of the gods themselves, interwoven with every variety of legendary tradition on other subjects. Viewing them as a whole, the theology they teach is anything but simple, consistent, or uniform. While nominally tritheistic—to suit the three developments of Hinduism, the religion of the Puranas is practically polytheistic and yet essentially pantheistic. Underlying their whole teaching may be discerned the one grand doctrine which is generally found at the root of Hindu Theology, whether Vedic or Puranic—pure uncompromising pantheism. But interwoven with the radically pantheistic and Vedantic texture of these compositions, tinged as it is with other philosophical ideas (especially the Sankhyā doctrine of Prakṛiti), and diversified as it is with endless fanciful mythologies, theogonies, cosmogonies, and mythical genealogies we have a whole body of teaching on nearly every subject of knowledge. The Puranas pretend to give the history of the whole universe from the most remote ages, and claim to be the inspired revealers of scientific as well as theological truth. They dogmatize on physical science, geography, the form of the earth, astronomy, chronology, and even in the case of one or two Puranas, anatomy, medicine, grammar, and the use of military weapons. All this cycle of very questionable omniscience is conveyed in the form

of leading dialogues (connecting numerous subordinate dialogues), in some of which a well-known and supposed divinely inspired sage, like Parāśara, is the principle speaker, and answers the inquiries put to him by his disciples, while in others, Loma-harshana (or Roma-harshana), the pupil of Vyasa, is the narrator being called Sūta, that is, 'Bard' or 'Encomiast,' as one of an order of men to whom the reciting of the Itihāsas and Purānas were especially interested" This passage taken from *the Indian Wisdom* of M. WILLIAMS may be taken to be a fair description of the Purāṇas

The origin of the eighteen Purāṇas is thus stated in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa¹ Accomplished in the purport of the Purāṇas, Vyāsa compiled a Purāṇik Samhitā, consisting of historical and legendary traditions, prayers and hymns and sacred chronology He had a distinguished disciple Sūta, also termed Romaharṣana, to him the great Muni communicated the Purāṇas Sūta had six scholars, Sumati, Agnivarca, Maṇḍreya, Samsapāyana, Akṣṭavara and Sāvarni The three last composed three fundamental Samhitās and Romaharṣana himself

I Viṣṇu Purāṇa, III vi and Wilson's Translation, III 63-66 See JASB, I, 84, and Burnouf's Bhagavata purana, preface For similar accounts:

- i The Atharva Veda (I5-I6) says, "Itihāsa, Purāṇa, Gāthā, and others &c"
- ii Satapatha Brāhmana (XIV vi-10-6) says: "The Rīg-Veda, Yajur-Veda, Sāma-Veda, Atharva-Veda, Itihāsa, Purāṇa, Upanishads, Sutras, slokas, their explanations &c"
- iii. Ṭaittirīya Āranyaka (ii-9) says, "The Veda, Itihāsa, Purāṇa, Gāthā &c"
- iv Chandogya Upanishad (Vii) says "He said, 'O Exalted one, I am acquainted with the Rīg-Veda, Yajur-Veda, Sāma-Veda, and the fourth, Atharva-Veda, and the fifth, Itihāsa (history) and purāṇa'
- v Manu Samhitā (III 232) says, "In Sraddh ceremonies, the Sastras called the Vedas, the Samhitas, the stories, the histories, the purāṇas and the Khilas should be recited to others"

The Bhāgavata (X iii, 496) says, Arūṇi, Kāśyapa, Sāvarni, Akṣṭavarṇa, Samsapāyana, and Hārīṣa are the six Paurāṇikas (learned in the purāṇas). They learnt the purāṇa from my father who was the pupil of Vyāsa. After studying the original (Purāṇa) Samhitā, they each wrote a separate (Purāṇa) Samhitā etc

Srīdharaśwāmīn (in commenting on śloka XII-vii, 6) says, "At first Vyāsa wrote six Samhitās and taught them to my father, Romaharṣana. From him Arūṇi and others learnt each one Samhitā. I am their pupil, from me Rurba has learnt them"

Agnipurāṇa says, "The Sūta Romaharṣana received the purāṇa from Vyāsa. Sumati, Agnivarca, Maṇḍreya, Samsapāyana, Kṣṭavara, and Sāvarni became his pupils. Samsapāyana and others wrote the purāṇa samhitās

compiled a fourth, called Romaharsanika, the substance of which four Samhitās is collected into this (Viṣṇu Purāṇa). The first of all the Purāṇas is entitled the Brahma. Those who are acquainted with the Purāṇas enumerate eighteen. It will thus appear that an original Samhita of Vyāsa was expanded by his disciples into eighteen separate works at his direction. In Viṣṇu Purāṇa, (VI, iii, 16) it is said Vyāsa, learned in the Vedas, wrote a purāṇa samhitā with Ākhyāna, Upākhyāna, Gāthā, and Kalpaśuddhi. The commentator explains these four subjects — “What is seen with one’s own eyes is called Ākhyāna by the learned men, what is heard from different persons is called Upākhyāna, songs about the ancestors are called Gāthā, and the treatment of the śrāddha ceremony is called Kalpaśuddhi.” Amarasimha gives the word Pancalakṣaṇa, characterized by five topics, as a synonym of Purāṇa. These topics are (i) the creation of universe (Sarga), (ii) its destruction and recreation (Prati-Sarga), (iii) the genealogy of gods and patriarchs (Vamśa), (iv) the reigns and periods of the Manus (Manvanṭara) and (v) the history of the solar and lunar race of kings (Vamśānucariṭa).

The fact that very few Purāṇas now extant answer to the title Pancalakṣaṇa, says M. Williams, “and that abstract given in the Maṭṣya-purana of the contents of all the others does not always agree with the extant works, either in the subjects described or number of verses enumerated, proves that like the Ramayana and Mahabharata, they were preceded by more ancient works¹. In all probability there were Mula Ramayana and Mula Mahabharata.”²

The Purāṇas aim at exalting one of the three members of the Tri-mūrti, Brahma, Viṣṇu, or Śiva, those which relate to Brahma being sometimes called Rājasa Purāṇas (from his own peculiar Guna Rājas), those which exalt Viṣṇu being designated Sāttvik (from his Guna Saṭṭva); and those which prefer Śiva being styled Tāmasa (from his Guna Tamas).

1 For instance, Maṭṣya purana gives the following description of Brahma Vairarṭa Purāṇa — The Purāṇa, which is recited before Nārada by Sāvarṇi, and which contains the glory of Kṛṣṇa, the accounts of Rādhānṭara Kalpa, and the story of Brahma in eighteen thousand slokas is called Brahma Vairarṭa. But the present Brahma-Vairarṭa Purāṇa does not mention its recitation by Sāvarṇi before Nārada and does not contain the stories of Brahma Varāha and Rādhānṭara Kalpa.

2 *Indian Wisdom*, 492-3.

The Purāṇas have been thus classified —

A *Rūpasa*, or those which relate to Brahma, are

- 1 Brahma, 2 Brahmānda, 3 Brahma-Vaivarṇa + Mārkaṇḍeya, 5 Bhaviṣya, 6. Vāmana

B *Sūttvika*, or those which exalt Viṣṇu, are

- 1 Viṣṇu, 2. Bhāgavata, 3 Naraḍīya, 4 Garuda, 5 Padma, 6 Varāha These six are usually called Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas

C *Tūmasa*, or those which glorify Śiva, are

- 1 Śiva, 2 Liṅga, 3 Skāṇḍa, 4 Agni, 5 Maṭṣya, 6 Kūrma These six are usually styled Śaiva Purāṇas

There are eighteen UPA-PURANAS or 'secondary Purāṇas,' subordinate to the eighteen MAHA or principal Purāṇas —1 Sanaṭkumāra, 2 Narasiṃha or Nṛsiṃha, 3 Nārāḍīya or Bṛhan-nārāḍīya, 4 Śiva, 5 Dūrvāsasa 6 Kapila, 7 Mānava, 8 Auśanasa, 9 Varuna, 10 Kālīka, 11 Sāmba, 12 Nandī, 13 Saura, 14, Parāśara, 15 Āḍīya 16 Maheśvara, 17 Bhāgavata (thought to be a misreading for Bhārgava), 18 Vāsistha Another list given by Professor H H Wilson varies a little thus —1 Sanaṭkumara, 2 Narasiṃha, 3. Nārāḍa, 4 Śiva-Dharma, 5 Dūrvāsasa, 6 Bhaviṣya, 7 Kapila, 8 Mānava, 9, Auśanasa, 10 Brahmānda, 11 Varuna, 12 Kālīka 13 Maheśvara, 14 Sāmba, 15 Saura, 16 Parāśara, 17 Bhāgavata, 18 Kūrma

It is a matter of controversy whether by Bhāgavata Purāṇa is meant the Śrī Bhāgavata or the Devī Bhāgavata, that is, a Vaiṣṇava or a Śaiva composition By the advocates of Devī Bhāgavata, it is said that Śrī Bhāgavata was composed by Bopadeva, son of Keśava poet of the Court of Hemādri, Raja of Devagiri (1260-71 A.D.)¹ On the names of the eighteen Purāṇas there are a few variations Kūrma omits the Agni and substitutes Vāyu, Agni omits Śiva and inserts Vāyu, Varāha omits Garuda and Brahmānda and has Vāyu and Narasiṃha instead Mārkaṇḍeya, Viṣṇu and Bhagavata omit Vāyu Maṭṣya like Agni gives up Śiva Mūlaṣṭamba Purāṇa gives an account of

1 For this discussion, see Wilson Preface to Vishnu Purana, xxxix and Burnouf's Int to Bhagavata Purana I see xxi, xcvi and Int to the Telugu Edition (Madras) see Lyall, *As Res* VIII 967, Lassen, *Ind Ant* IV 599, Bel-walkar, *System of Sans. Grammar*, 104, Bhandarkar, *EHD*, 89 There is a Jaiminiya Bhagavata (*OML*, R No. 3171).

Viśvakarma, the divine architect, his human descendants the artisan class and of their customs, rites and ceremonies in 23 Adhyāyas¹

Prof Wilson assigns the composition of these works to a period later than the 6th century A.D. "They offer" he says "characteristic peculiarities of a more modern description, in the paramount importance which they assign to individual divinities, in the variety and purport of the rites addressed to them and in the invention of new legends illustrative of the power and graciousness of those divinities and of the efficacy of implicit devotion to them." The Professor further discovers allusions to circumstances, which make the assignment of a comparatively recent date indisputable. As a culminating remark, he adds "they were pious frauds for temporary purposes."²

The deductions which occasioned the learned scholar's remarks are based on internal evidence, the authority of which modern research questions on all sides. Sectarianism consists in the exclusive and not merely preferential worship of any divinity. The Purāṇas as a whole do not prohibit the worship of any god, but the sectarianism goes to the extent of recommending a particular deity in preference to all others. Passages are not rare in the Purāṇas, where all the deities are described as occupying an equal scale in the Hindu pantheon. Again the Professor seems to have given greater weight to the internal testimony from those passages, which he thinks have a modern appearance, than to that which results from those parts which the Purāṇas must have contained from their first composition, in order to entitle them to a sacred character and to that reverence with which these works have been regarded by the Hindus. But the fixing of a possible date when the Purāṇas received their present form is a question of

1. TC, p. 4002

On the merit of the Chronology of the Purāṇas, see introduction

On the Purāṇas, generally, see Introduction to Wilson's Translation of Viṣṇu Purāṇa. Bose, *Sri Krishna, his life and teachings*, R. C. Dutt, Cw. II v Holtzman, *Das Mahābhārata*, IV 29-58. Pargiter, *The Puranic Text of the Dynasties of the Kālī age*, T. S. Narayana Sastri, *the Age of Sankara* (*Ind. Rev.* X 585) Macdonel, *SL.*, K. C. Kanglial, *Philosophy of the Puranas*, K. Narayana swami Iyer, *The Puranas in the light of modern science*, (Adyar, Madras) (This is a remarkable work in which much of the mythology of the Purāṇas is rationally and scientifically interpreted) Paraman and Bharati's *Sri Krishna the Lord of Love* (see *Ind. Rev.* IX 933), Ch. Gopinatham's, *Sri Krishna Para brahma Vicharana*, (Ellore)

2. Preface to Translation of Viṣṇu Purāṇa.

little or no consequence, when it is admitted that there is abundant positive and circumstantial evidence of the prevalence of the doctrines which they teach, the currency of the legends which they narrate and the integrity of the institutions which they describe, at least three centuries before the Christian era. They cannot, therefore, be pious frauds in subservience to seclarian imposture. What more conclusive evidence of their antiquity can be required than their containing a correct description of the doctrines and institutions of the Hindu religion, which were prevalent in India centuries before the Christian era? For it is more probable that the present Puranas are the same works as were then extant, than that eighteen persons should have each conceived 1300 years afterwards the design of writing a Purāṇa and should have been able to compile or compose so accurately 18 different works which correspond so exactly in most of their minute particulars. Within the short compass of this work, it is not possible to discuss the Professor's views in greater detail. Suffice it to say, that Vans Kennedy has, in his letters, which are printed as appendix to the Vth volume of Wilson's Translation of the Vishnu Purana, demonstrated that Wilson's remarks are completely erroneous and 'his reasoning is altogether ineffectual to prove that the Puranas are modern compilations. The reader, if he has any real interest in ancient Indian Literature, is referred to the masterly criticism of Vans Kennedy and he will immensely benefit by its study.

There is a PURANA SARVASVA, anonymous, giving a brief sketch of all the Puranas in the library of the Calcutta Sanskrit College.¹ The same library also contains a Purana Sūchi being a list of the contents of all Upapuranas and the Mahabharata.² Bhuvana Kosa is a collection of passages from the Puranas bearing on the geography of the world.³ So is Bhūgolanimaya by Ramakrishna Yajvanī.⁴

1 Cal No 51

2 *Ibid* No 52

3 *Ibid* No 106

4. *Ibid* No: 108^c

SECTION VI

Tantras¹

Ṭantras represent a later phase of the Purāṇic religion. Ṭāntrika doctrines are inculcated in the Purāṇas. As distinct books they are of later age but never of an age later than the Christian era. Śakti is the active energising will of a god, personified as his wife. The ṭantras are numerous and to Śaktas, or worshippers of Śakti they take the place of the Purāṇas. They embrace much that is said in the Purāṇas and contain formulae of magic and witchcraft and charms for averting and producing evils. Among Ṭantras, are Rudra Yāmala Kālīka, Mahānirvāṇa, kulārṇava etc.

Tantric literature is usually designated as Vaidika and non-vaidika indicating whether they recognise the supreme authority of the Vedas or not. In the latter class all the Buddhist and Jain ṭantras are included while the Vaidika ṭantras are again Śaiva, Śākṭeya, Yāmala, etc. The last of this class are practically encyclopædias of knowledge in all branches of human exertion as developed till the time of their composition. These wonderful and interesting works once existed in the library of Kavīndrācharya Sarasvatī of Benares.² A few of his manuscripts are found scattered all over India and Yāmalāshtaka, the 31st of the Yāmala Ṭantras which are altogether 32, found in the Tanjore Palace Library, professes to give the name of the authors, extent and contents of all works before the seventh or eighth century. The vedic *rites* are analysed and classified according to the subject or the governing deity. Details of the four Upa-vedas and of 32 Yāmala Ṭantras throw an astonishing light on the extent of perished literature proclaiming man's utter incapacity against the cruel hand of Time. Arthaveda for an example extends over 30000 slokas and treats of all branches of state politics, industrial development and minerology, that is, everything of *artha*.

1 On Ṭantras, see M. WILLIAMS, *Indian Wisdom*, 301-5 and Works of WOODROFFE, R. C. DUTT, *Civ*, II 212

2 *Vide* the Kavindracharya's list published in Gaekwad Sanskrit series.

CHAPTER II

Kāvya

1 The term Kāvya literally and in its widest sense connotes all that is *the work of a poet*. In that sense Kāvya is the subject of Classical Sanskrit Literature. The science of poetics, embracing in it dramaturgy, music and dancing, is a concomitant of Kāvya or Poetry. In the words of Mammata, Kāvya is thus described

सकलप्रयोजनमौलिभूत समनन्तरमेव रसास्वादनसमुद्भूत विगलितवेद्यान्तरमानन्द
प्रभुसमितशब्दप्रधानवेदादिशास्त्रेभ्य सुहृत्समितार्थतात्पर्यवत्पुराणादीतीहासेभ्यश्च शब्दार्थयोगुण-
मावेन रसाङ्गभूतव्यापारप्रवणतया विलक्षण यन् काव्य लोकोत्तरवर्णनानिपुणकविकर्म ।

“Kāvya is that which touches the inmost cords of the human mind and diffuses itself into the crevices of the heart, working up a lasting sense of delight. It is an expression in the beautiful form and melodious language of the best thoughts and noblest emotions, which is the spectacle of life, awakening the finest souls”

Kāvya is *śravaṇya* or *dṛśya*, literally audible or visible, these are respectively Poems or Plays. In its narrower sense the term Kāvya is used as an equivalent to poem (prose or verse) and the term Rūpaka denotes a play. The different kinds of Rūpakas and their characteristics will be described in a later chapter.

Śravaṇa Kāvya is of two kinds, verse or prose. Thus says Viśva-nāṭha श्रव्य श्रोतव्यमात्र तत्पद्यगद्यमय द्विधा ।

Rhetoricians distinguish between the body and embellishments of poetry. The theories of poetical embellishment will be noticed in the Chapter on Poetics. Dandin in his *Kavyādarśa* says, “The ‘body’ consists of a series of words calculated to aptly convey a desired meaning. This (body) is adequately divided into just three sorts: metrical, prose, and mixed. The metrical consists of four feet, and this again falls into two classes *Vṛtta* and *Jāti*.” These are described in the Chapter on Metrics. Gadya or prose romance is treated in a later chapter.

2 Poetry in verse follows generally the manner of Rāmāyaṇa. Some call Kāvya, artificial epics. They are either long or short, called respectively Mahākāvya and Laghukāvya or Khanda Kāvya. Raghu-vamśa and Naiṣadha are instances of the former and Meghadūta and

Bik-ātana of the latter Viśvanātha in his Sāhityadarpana (VI 315-325) describes the characteristics of a Mahākāvya thus —

सर्गबन्धो महाकाव्य तत्रैको नायक सुर ।
 मद्वच्च क्षलियो वापि धीरोदात्तगुणान्वित ॥
 एकवशमवा भूषा कुलजा बहवोऽपि वा ।
 शृङ्गारवीरगान्तानामेकोऽङ्गी रम इष्यते ॥
 अङ्गानि सर्वेऽपि रसा सर्वे नाटकसधय ।
 इतिहासोऽथ वृत्तमन्यद्वा सञ्जनाश्रयम् ॥
 चत्वारस्तस्य वर्गा स्युस्तेष्वेक च फल भवेत् ।
 आदौ नमस्क्रियाङ्गीर्वा वस्तुनिर्देश एव वा ॥
 कचिन्निन्दा म्वलादीना सतां च गुणकीर्तनम् ।
 एकवृत्तमयै पद्यैरवसानेऽन्यवृत्तकै ॥
 नातिस्वल्पा नातिदीर्घा सर्गा अष्टाधिका इह ।
 नानावृत्तमय कापि सर्ग कश्चन दृश्यते ॥
 भर्गान्ति भाविसर्गस्य कथाया सूचन भवेत् ।
 मध्याम्यैन्दुरजनीप्रदोषध्वान्तवासरा ॥
 प्रातर्मध्याह्नमृगयाशैलर्तुवनसागरा ।
 समोगविप्रलम्भौ च मुनिस्वर्गपुराध्वरा ॥
 रणप्रयाणोपयसमन्त्रपुत्रोदयादय ।
 वर्णनीया यथायोग साङ्गोपाङ्गा अमी इह ॥
 कवेर्वृत्तस्य वा नाज्ञा नायकस्येतरस्य वा ।
 नामास्य सर्गोपादेयकथया सर्गनाम तु ॥

Dandin in his Kavyādarśa (I 14-19) says •

सर्गबन्धो महाकाव्यमुच्यते तस्य लक्षणम् ।
 आशीर्नमस्क्रियावस्तुनिर्देशो वापि तन्मुखम् ॥
 इतिहासकयोद्धतमितरद्वा सदाश्रयम् ।
 चतुर्वर्गफलोपेत चतुरोदात्तनायकम् ॥
 नगरार्णवशैलर्तुचन्द्रार्कोदयवर्णनै ।
 उद्यानसलिलक्रीडामधुपानरतोत्सवै ॥
 विप्रलम्भैर्विवाहैश्च कुमारोदयवर्णनै ।
 मन्त्रदूतप्रयाणाजिनायकाम्युदयैरपि ॥

अलकृतमसक्षिप्त रसभावनिरन्तरम् ।
 सर्गैरनतिविस्तीर्णैः श्रव्यवृत्तैः सुसन्धिभिः ॥
 सर्वत्रभिन्नवृत्तान्तैरुपेत लोकरञ्जकम् ।
 काव्य कल्पान्तरस्थायि जायेत सदलकृति ॥

[काव्या—१ १४ १९.]

“Composition-in-Cantos is a long poem (Mahākāvya) and its definition is being given [now] Its opening is a benediction, a situation, or a naming of the principal theme, it springs from a historical incident or is otherwise based upon some fact, it turns upon the fruition of the fourfold ends and its hero is clever and noble, by description of cities, oceans, mountains, seasons, and rising of the moon or the sun through sportings in garden or water, and festivities of drinking and love, through sentiments of love in separation and through marriages, by description of the birth and rise of princes, and likewise through state-counsel, embassy, advance, battle, and the hero's triumph, embellished, not too condensed, and pervaded all through with poetic sentiments and emotions with cantos none too lengthy and having agreeable metres and well-formed joints, and in each case with an ending in a different metre, furnished, such a poem possessing good figures-of-speech wins the people's heart and endures longer than (even) a Kalpa”¹

Shortly stated, a Mahā-Kāvya is a writing of considerable length, varying description and elaborate construction, embracing a narrative, theological or historical and is divided into Sargas or Cantos for convenience of narration. A poem that falls short of the several particulars that are required to make up a Mahā-Kāvya is called a Laghu-Kāvya or a Minor Poem. Among these Minor Poems many are lyrical or didactic and these are treated in a later chapter. In the following chapters the history of poetry is traced by a chronological mention of writers of Kāvya and Rūpaka. Poems by women, biographical poems and anthologies have been treated in separate chapters.

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CHAPTER III

Maha-Kavya

3 Rāmāyana, the Ādi-kāvya, is the first poem. It is a Mahākāvya answering in every detail to the description given by rhetoricians. The Mahākāvya as are modelled upon Rāmāyana, but the interval between the composition of Rāmāyana and the earliest available poem is so great that it is not possible to explain the void or paucity of such works for long centuries even by imagination. When we find that poetry was practised and appreciated in all ages in India as an art, the loss of those works which must have been many is indeed deplorable. In his Kāvya-mīmāṃsā Rājasekhara mentions ancient sages who have written works on poetry and poetics, but beyond the mention of names and stray quotations these works are not now available.

अथातः काव्य मीमांसिन्यामहे यथोपादिदेश श्रीकण्ठ परमेश्वरैकुण्ठादिभ्यश्चतु षष्टये शिष्येभ्यः । सोऽपि भगवान् स्वययूरीच्छाजन्मभ्यः स्वान्तेवासिभ्यः । तेषु सारस्वतेयो वृन्दीय-सामपि वन्द्य काव्यपुरुष आसीत् । तच्च सर्वसमयविदे दिव्येन चक्षुषा भविष्यदर्थदर्शनेन भूर्भुव-स्वस्त्रितयवर्तिनीषु प्रजासु हितकाम्यया प्रजापतिः काव्यविद्याप्रवर्तनायै प्रायुङ्क्त । सोऽष्टा-दशाधिकरणीं दिव्येभ्यः काव्यविद्यास्त्रातकेभ्यः संप्रपञ्चा प्रोवाच । तल्ल कविरहस्य सहस्राक्षः समाम्नासीन्, औक्तिकमुक्तिगर्भं, रीतिनिर्णय सुवर्णनामं, आनुप्रासिक प्रचेतायनं, यमकानि चित्त चित्ताङ्गदं, शब्दश्लेष शेषः, वास्तव पुलस्त्य, औपम्यमौपकायनं, अतिशय पाराशरं, अर्थश्लेषमुत्थं, उभयालंकारिक कुबेरं, वैनोदिक कामदेवं, रूपकनिरूपणीयं भरतं, रसाधि-कारिकं नन्दिकेश्वरं, दोषाधिकरणं धिषणं, गुणोपादानिकमुपमन्युं, औपनिषदिकं कृचिमारं इति । (Kāvya-mīmāṃsā, I 1)

Yāska speaks of Upamā or Simile and its varieties and he quotes (III 13) Gārgya's definition of Upamā. Pāṇini came after Yāska and he wrote his aphorisms which are the grammar of Classical Sanskrit. Pāṇini, as we shall see, was himself a great poet and many of his verses, probably from his poem *Jumbavati-harāṇam*,¹ delight us by their merit. Vararuci or Kāṣṭhāyana came after him and is said to have written a poem *Kaṇthābharāṇam*. Patañjali is more profuse in his references to plays, romances and poems. These grammarians who had before them a current literature of Sanskrit poetry long preceded the Christian era. In the chapter on Rūpaka or drama, we shall see

1 Kṛṣṇa-Līlāṭuka in his commentary on Bhoja's Aṣṭādhyāyī called Kṛṣṇalīlāvinoḍa, quotes from Pāṇini's Jāmbavāṭīharāṇa and in his Puruṣakāra the first verses of the 2nd, 17 & 18th Sargas of the same work.

that far earlier than the beginning of the Christian era, Sanskrit literature on drama and poems was perfect and abundant

4 **Panini** was the son of Dākṣī,¹ and lived at Śālātura.² According to Kaṭhāsaritsāgara,³ Pāṇini, Vyādi, Kāṭyāyana and Indradatta studied together under Upadhyāya Upavarsa and being dull, he practised penance and received from God Siva the *pratyūhāra sūtras*. According to Pañcatantra, he was killed by a lion.⁴ Pāṇini's age is very uncertain and scholars have varied from thousands of years before the Christian era to 350 B C.⁵

"Quite on a line with the statement about the 400 years is another traditional statement, reported by Huen Tsang in his story about Pāṇini under his account of Śālātura⁶ which has been held⁷ to place 500 years after the death of Buddha, not simply an alleged contemporary of Kaṁishka himself. We are told that, 500 years after the death of Buddha, a great Arhat from Kashmir arrived at Śālātura, and saw a Brahman teacher chastising a young pupil. He explained to the teacher that the boy was Pāṇini, reborn. And he told to the

1 Patanjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, I 75, calls him Dākṣiṣputra, and so too a verse in praise of Bhavabhūti in *Saduktikarnāmṛta* quoted *infra*

2 He is called Śālaturīya, (see Ganaraṭnamahodadhī, 81-2 and Bhāmahā-lakāra, Ch VI) Śālātura is identified by Cunningham with the present Lahaur in the Yusufzai Valley near Attock in N W Fr Province

3 Taranga IV

4 सिंहो व्याकरणस्य कर्तुरहरत्याणान् प्रियान् पाणिने — Tantra, II, 81-33

5 Satyavraṭa Sāmāśrami in his introduction to Yāska's *Nirukṭa* says that Pāṇini lived in 2400 B C. Goldstucker (*Panini, his place in Sanskrit Literature* f 243) and Belvalkar (*Systems of Sanskrit grammar*), give 700 B C. Bhandarkar and Pischel (*ZDMG*, XXXIX 95) place him earlier than 500 B C. Max Muller (*ASL*) makes Pāṇini, contemporary of Kāṭyāyana and gives the date 350 B C. Macdonell (*SL* 431) gives 350 B C. Dahman gives 3rd century B.C. Peterson [*Rep* (1882-3), 39] fixed the beginning of the Christian era. B. Liebig, (*Panini*, Leipzig, 1891) says in all probability he came after Buddha and before the Christian era and that he was nearer the earlier than the later limit (see *Review* by Grierson, *IA*, XXII, 222). Jayaswal [*Dates of Panini and Kātyāyana*, *IA*, XLVII 112, 138,] says Pāṇini lived before Chandragupta and places him 75 B.C. and Kāṭyāyana below 248 to 200 B.C. For his references to Afghan geography, see *IA*, I 21, for his technical terms, *IA*, VI 107, and for his reference to Buddhist Śramanas, *IA*, L 82. For a long account of Pāṇini's school see Belvalkar's *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, 12ff.

6 Julien, *Memoires*, I 127ff, Beal, *Records*, I, 115f, Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I 222

7 e.g., to quote what is probably the latest instance, by Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, 222.

teacher the story of 500 bats, which, in a subsequent birth had as the result of their merit become the 500 wise men whom "in these latter times" (Julien), "lately" (Beal), "in recent times" (Watters), king Kanishka and the reverend Pārśva had convoked in the "Council," held in Kashmir, at which there was drawn up the Vibhāṣhā-Śāstra. The great Arhat asserted that he himself had been one of the 500 bats. And, having narrated all this, he proved his divine power by instantly disappearing. Having been one of the 500 bats, this great Arhat was necessarily also one of the 500 members of the "Council" of Kanishka. And the story certainly places the great Arhat, at the time when he was telling it, in the 500th year after the death of Buddha. But the plain indication that he was a somewhat miraculous being entitles us to at any rate credit him with a certain amount of longevity, even to the occasional Buddhist extent of 120 years."¹

5 Tradition identifies Pāṇini, the grammarian, with Pāṇini, the poet and author of the poem Jāmbavaṭījayam. In the Sadukṣī-Karmāmṛta Śrīdharaḍāsa refers to the poet as Dākṣiṇya,² and Rājasekhara is more explicit.³ Aufrecht refers to this verse and says "we may lister to what the sage, bent double over grammar and who had foresworn all worldly joys has to say and sing."⁴ Kṣemendra in his Suvṛṭṭatīlaka says that Pāṇini excelled in Upajāti metre. Namisādhū in his commentary on Rudrata's Kāvya-lankāra (II. 8) quotes a line from "Pāṇini's Mahākāvya Pātālaviṇaya." This poem Jāmbavaṭījayam or Pātālaviṇaya is said to be still extant in a corner of Malabar and my inquiries show that the manuscript may soon be recovered. Jāmbavaṭī was the daughter of Jāmbavan, Rkṣarāja of Pātāla. Kṛṣṇa conquered him, got the Syamanṭakamani and won the hand of Jāmbavaṭī. The story of Jāmbavaṭī's marriage with Kṛṣṇa is described in the Mahā

1 Fleet's *Traditional date of Kanishka*, [JRAS (1906), 979ff].

2 सुबन्धो भक्तिर्न क इह शुकारे न रसते
धृतिर्दाक्षीपुत्रे हरति हरिचन्द्रोऽपि हृदयम् ।
बिम्बुद्वोक्ति सूर प्रकृतिमधुरा भारविगिर
तथाप्यन्तर्भौदं कमपि भवभूतिर्वितनुते ॥

3 खस्ति पाणिनये तस्मै येन रुद्रप्रसादतः ।
आदौ व्याकरण प्रोक्तं ततो जाम्बवतीजयम् ॥

4 PR, I, 5

bhārāta, Bhāgavata and Viṣṇu Purāṇa¹ The same story is described in a poem called Jāmbavaṭī-Pariprayam by Ekāmraṇāṭha,² and in a drama (Jāmbavaṭīkalvāna) by Krishnarāja of Vijayanagar³

Of the verses quoted in the anthologies as Pāṇini's, there are many and they are of exquisite beauty⁴ In Kṛṣṇaīlāsuka's commentary on Bhoja's grammatical treatise, Sarasvaṭī-Kanthābhāraṇa, Pāṇini's verses are quoted freely as illustrations⁵ It looks therefore as if Pāṇini, who composed his aphorisms for classical Sanskrit, illustrated his aphorisms by a poem of his own composition Rāvamukuta in his commentary on Amarakośa quotes fragments from Pāṇini's poems

1 *Mah Sabha*, 57, *Bhag* X 56, *Vīra* 1, IV 13 For Jāmbavaṭī's agni-prāveśa, see *Mah Mausala*, VII 74,

2 He composed his poem at the instance of King Ankusa of Rāna family. The poem in manuscript is available (*DC*, XX 7732) where extracts are given, and breaks off in the 5th canto

3 See Chapter on SANSKRIT DRAMA *post*

4 For verses of Pāṇini, see Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XIV 581, XXVII, 46 XXXVI 365, (where verses are translated into English), Pischell, *ZDMG*, XXXIX 95, Peterson, *JRAS* (1891), 3, *Rep.* IV lxxvi, *Int* to *Subh* 54, Bhandarkar, *Rep* (1883-4), xvii, xxxii, 62 479, Thomas (*Int* to *Kav* 51) gives a complete list of the verses in the anthologies Bhandarkar (*JBRAS*, XVI, 344) does not accept the identity

5 As instances of Pāṇini's imagery and expression we have, —

गतेर्धरात्रे परिमन्दमन्द
गर्जन्ति यत्प्रावृषि कालमेघा ।
अपश्यती वत्समिवेन्दुबिम्ब
तच्छर्वरी गौरिव हुकरोति ॥
उपोढरागेण विलोलतारक
तथा गृहीत शशिना निशामुखम् ।
यथा समस्त तिमिरांशुक तथा
पुरोऽपि रागाद्भलित न लक्षितम् ॥
विलोक्य सगमे राग पश्चिमाया विवस्वत ।
कृत कृष्णमुख प्राच्या न हि नार्यो विनेर्ष्यया ॥
अथाससादास्तमनिन्धतेजा
जनस्य दूरोऽञ्जितमृत्युमीते ।
उत्पत्तिमद्वस्तुविनाश्यवश्य
यथाहमित्येवमिवोपदेष्टुम् ॥
शरादि रविरश्मितसा विभ्राणा शोषमतिशयग्लपिता ।
ञ्चरिता इव लक्ष्यन्ते लङ्घनयोग्या महासरित ॥

6 Vararuci also called Kāṭyāyana was the son of Somadatta of Sankṛti gotra. He was born at Kauśāmbī on the Jumnā. He studied along with Pāṇini and Vyādi under Upavarṣa in Pāṭaliputra and married his daughter Upakośā.¹ He composed the Vārtika on Pāṇini and the slokas called *Bhujas Patāñjali* in his Mahabhashya (1-23) mentions a poem by him (IV iii). According to the Avantī-sundarī-Kathāsāra (IV 17) Vararuci was born in the reign of King Mahāpadma, son of King Mahānandi, who ruled at Viśālā. According to the Purāṇas, King Mahānandi son of Nandivardhana, ruled for 43 years from 1678 to 1635 B.C. Mahāpadma his son (born of a Sudra woman) known as Nanda, ruled over Magadha for 88 years from 1635 to 1547 B.C.² According to the Hindu tradition therefore Kāṭyāyana must have lived sometime between the 16th and 17th Century B.C. To Pāṇini's sūtra (VIII ii 50) Kāṭyāyana adds a vārtika to explain the term Nirvāna and says it means 'to blow out'. Patañjali explains this by various illustrations such as 'the lamp is blown out by the wind etc'. Nirvāna is a well known Buddhistic term, meaning absolute exemption from the cycle of transmigration, state of entire freedom from all forms of existence etc. If Kāṭyāyana and Patañjali had lived after the advent of Buddhism, they would not have failed to mention the technical use of the term. It is therefore inferred that they must have flourished before the days of Buddha. On the date of the Nirvāna of Buddha, there is great divergence of opinion, and according to Chinese chronology it is 944 or 973 B.C.³ If Patañjali lived before that date and Kāṭyāyana before Patañjali with an interval of time sufficient for the language to develop and change to an extent that needed Patañjali's explanations, the Puranic date for Kāṭyāyana does not appear improbable.⁴

1 This is the account given in Somadeva's Kathāsaritsagara, (Tar I-V). This account is supported by Bhoja. In Chapter 27, Dutādhyāya of Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, Bhoja enumerates various mediators between lovers and among them he mentions as an illustration Upavarṣa, Guru of Vararuci, as arranging the marriage of his own daughter Upakośa with Vararuci. According to the Avantī-sundarī-kathāsāra (chapter IV) Vararuci was the son of a virgin Kāṭyāyanī, daughter of a brahmin Kalāpi, who became pregnant by contact with Agni and suspected of unchastity she was abandoned and Vararuci was born to her on the banks of the Godavari, when Agni removed her. The poem refers to the association with Vyādi, Indradatta and Upavarṣa. For the story of Vararuci see I.A., XI 146.

2 For Puranic dates, see Introduction and T. S. Narayana Sastri's *Age of Saṅkara*, App I, 25.

3 Beal's *Catena of Chinese Scriptures*, II 6 note, Max Muller's *ASL*, 267.

4 Weber (*IL*. 222) says "with regard to the date of Kātyayana, the state-

Vararuci is mentioned in the well-known verse¹ as one of the nine gems of the Court of King Vikramāditya. In the absence of certainty on the date of that King Vikramāditya it is not possible to say anything definite about the poet Vararuci of his Court. It is probable he was different from Kātyāyana. Kātyāyana knew of a work dealing with the wars of gods and demons, *Darvācuram*. Patañjali mentions a *Vārurucam Kāvya*,² and the anthologies quote verses³ under the name of Vararuci. Jalhana in his *Sūktimuktāvalī* quotes a verse as Rājasekhara's⁴ which gives the name of the work called *Kaṇṭhābharanam*. It is conjectured that it was a poem with acrostics and alliteration as Vararuci is known to be fond of them.⁵ Vararuci's *Bhāna Ubhaśābhisārikā* shows the beauty of his poetry and the antiquity of the composition and in the colophon to the available manuscript he is described as *muni*. A manuscript of Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī* seen in the O. Mss. Library, Madras, says that the verse printed (1740) as Vararuci's,

आलोहितमकलयन्कन्दलमितिकम्पित मयुकरेण ।
सस्मरति पथि स पथिको दयिताङ्गलितर्जन ललितम् ॥

ment of Hiuan Tshang, to the effect that 300 years after Buddha's death, i.e., in B.C. 240, "le docteur Kia-to-yan-na" lived at Tamasaavana in the Punjab, is by Bohtlingk referred to this Katyayana, but when we remember that the same traveller assigns to Pāṇini's second existence a date so late as 500 years after Buddha, such a reference of course becomes highly precarious. Besides, the statement is in itself an extremely indefinite one, the "docteur" in question not being described as a grammarian at all, but simply as a descendant of the Kāṭya family. Even admitting however, that the reference really is to him, it would still be in conflict with the tradition—in itself, it is true, of no particular authority—of the *Kaṭhāsariṭsāgara*, which not only represents Kāṭyāyana as the contemporary of Pāṇini, but identifies him with Vararuci, a minister of King Nanda, the father of Chandragupta, according to which, of course, he must have flourished about B.C. 350. As regards the age of the Mahabhashya, we have seen that the assertion of the Rājatarāṅginī as to its introduction into Kashmir in the reign of Abhimanyu the successor of Kanishka, i.e., between A.D. 40 and 65, is, for the reasons above assigned, in the meantime discredited. Macdonell (*SL* 432) gives 3rd century B.C., Belvalkar (*SSG* 29) 500–850 B.C. and Bhandarkar and R. Mukerji (*IA*, LVI 21) 350 B.C. Goldstucker gives to Pāṇini 700 B.C. and says there was a long interval of time between Pāṇini and Kāṭyāyana who followed Pāṇini. See Jayaswal, *Dates of Pāṇini and Katyayana* (*IA*, XLVII 112, 138).

1 On this verse, see under *Kālidāsa*.

2 IV iii 191. Goldstucker's *Pāṇini*, 146 note, Weber, *IST*, XIII 450.

3 Peterson's *Subhāṣitāvalī* (*Int* 108–110), Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XXXVI 524, Pischel, *ZDMG*, XXXIX 98.

4 यथार्थता कथं नास्ति माध्वतु वरश्चेरिह । व्यथत कण्ठाभरण यत्सदारोहणप्रिय ॥

5 See *IA*, X, 366.

is from Cārumatī of Vararuci and Bhojadeva quotes the following verse in his *Śṛṅgārāprakāśa* from Cārumatī as spoken by a pair of Kinnaras before the hero on an amorous embassy

कनककुण्डलमण्डितगण्डया जघनदेशनिवेशितवीणया ।

अमरराजपुरो वरकन्यया तव यगो विमल परिगीयते ॥

The editors of *Avantisundarikāthā* say that Cārumatī was an akhyāyikā (in prose) and Paṭañjali mentions the existence of Akhyāyikās in his days. The name Cārumatī indicates it might be so.

There is a collection of eight verses called Mārya-takam, laudatory of Durga in the terrific pose and the pictures delineated in the verses are very graphic.

According to a tradition in Malabar Vararuci married girls in all 18 castes and consequently he was treated as a śvapach or a chandāla. Bhoja has quoted a verse (*Śṛ* Prakāśa XI) probably from the prologue of a drama which confirms the latter part of the tradition,

यूतैर्यत् श्वपचीकृतो वररुचि सर्वज्ञकल्पोऽपि सन्
जीवन्नेव पिशाचतां च गमितो मर्त्ये यदम्यर्च्यधी ।

छन्दोगोऽयमिति प्रमाकरगुरुदेशाच्च निर्वासित

यद्भक्तान्तविजृम्भितेन महता तत्सर्वमलपीकृतम् ॥

Bharu was a Maukhāri king and teacher of Bānabhaṭṭa. Prabhākara, a contemporary of Kumārila, if not his pupil, interpreted Mīmāṃsābhāṣya antagonistic to Kumārila.

7 *Paṭañjali* came after Kāṭyāyana.¹ There is no indication of any poetic composition by Paṭañjali. But he makes numerous references to poems, romances and plays in his *Mahābhāṣya*. Kielhorn has collected the poetic citations from the *Mahābhāṣya* and says that they show that the Kāvya prospered in Paṭañjali's times. "Many of these verses exhibit metres characteristic of the artificial poetry, such as, *Malatī*, *Pramitakshara*, *Praharshini* and *Vasantatilaka*. These verses as well as many others in the heroic *Anushtubha-Sloka* agree, in point of contents as well as the mode of expressions, not with epic works but with the Court Kavyas."²

¹ For Paṭañjali's date, Bohtlingk gives 250 B.C., MaxMüller (*ASL*), 200 B.C., Weber (*IL*, 224, *IA*, II 206) 140 to 60 B.C., Goldstucker (*Panini*, 234) 140-120 B.C., N. Bhashyacarya, (*Age of Paṭañjali*) 10th century B.C., Peterson (*IA*, XII 353) 2nd century A.D. and Bhandarkar (*IA*, I 299, *LII* 21) 144-142 B.C. On Paṭañjali, see *IS* I 141, 157, *IA*, I 299, II 57, 69, 94, 206-10, 238, 362, III 14, 285, IV 247, XIV 40, XV 80-4, *IASB* *LII* 269. On a Maurya passage, see *XVI* 156-172. On his mention of Śivabhāgavata, see *IA*, *XLI* 272.

² *IA*, XIV 326. See *Mahābhāṣya* (Kielborn's Edn.) I 426, 435, II, 119, III 143, 338. On Kielborn's Edn., see *IA*, XVIII. 128.

8 Theory of Renaissance —Max Muller propounded the theory of Renaissance. His main thesis is "that in the middle of 6th century A D the reign of a King Vikramāditya of Ujjain, with whom tradition connected the names of Kālidāsa and other distinguished authors, was the golden age of Indian Court Poetry. This Renaissance theory is based on Fergusson's ingenious chronological hypothesis that the supposed King Vikrama of Ujjain, having expelled the Scythians from India, in commemoration of his victory founded the Vikrama Era in 544 A D, dating its commencement back 600 years to 56 B C. Fergusson arrives at the following conclusions (i) that the Vikramāditya who conquered the Śākas at the battle of Karur was Harsha of Ujjain, (ii) that he died about 550 A D, (iii) that before 1000 A.D, when the struggle with the Buddhists was over and a new year was opening for Hindu religion the Hindus sought to establish some new method of marking time to supercede the Buddhist Saka Era of Kanishka,¹ (iv) that the Guptas and Kings of Valabhi having then passed away, in looking for some name for an event of sufficient importance to mark the commencement of New Era, they hit on the name of Vikramāditya as the most illustrious known to them and his victory at Karur, the most important event of his reign, (v) and that, since the date of victory in 544 A D, was too recent to be adopted, they antedated the epoch by ten cycles of sixty years thus arriving at 56 B C, and not content with this they devised another era which they called Harsha Era from the other part of his name the epoch of which was fixed at 456 B C, by placing it ten even centuries before the date of the battle of Karur." On the basis of these deductions Max Muller asserted that the Indians in consequence of the incursions of the Śākas and other foreigners ceased from literary activity during the first two centuries A.D. and Sanskrit poetry having been dormant for five centuries was revived and flourished in the reign of a King Vikramāditya of Ujjain in the 6th century A D.²

"The epigraphical researches of Mr. Fleet," says Macdonell,³ have destroyed Fergusson's hypothesis. From these researches it results that the Vikrama era of 57 B C., far from having been founded in 544 A D had already been in use for more than a century previously under the name of Malava Era (which came to be called the Vikrama Era about 800 A D). It further appears that no Salas (Scythians)

1 JRAS (1880), "On the Saka and Gupta Eras"

2 India, What can it teach us? 281, 284, Weber, II, 203 note.

3 SL, 323.

could have been driven out of western India in the middle of the sixth century, because that country had already been conquered by the Guptas more than a hundred years before. Lastly, it turns out that though other foreign conquerors, the Hunas, were actually expelled from western India in the first half of the sixth century, they were driven out, not by a Vikramāditya, but by a king named Yasodharman Vishnuvardhana."

The inscriptions that have been discovered at Krlr,¹ and Mandassor² by Fleet have completely belied Fergusson's hypothesis and with it the theory of Renaissance. They have been fully examined by Buhler and his essay has been rendered in English by V S Ghate of Poona.³ Buhler himself augmented the list of Fleet's 18 inscriptions by the inclusion of many other documents such as the Meherauli Pillar inscriptions of Emperor Chandra and the poetically coloured genealogy of the Maukharis on the Asirgadh Seal. These inscriptions show, says Buhler, that the use of Kāvya style in the inscriptions, especially in the longer ones was in vogue during the period from 350-550 A.D. and from this very circumstance it follows that Court poetry was zealously cultivated in India. After dealing with the merits of inscriptions Buhler proceeds thus to refute the theory of Renaissance

"His first proposition, that *the Indians did not show any literary activity during the first and second centuries of our era, in consequence of the invasions of*

1 *IA*, (1876), 152, see on this Max Muller (c.c. 286 note), Fleet's commentary in *IA*, XII 152, III 293

2 *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III 65-69, *Int* 55. मालवाना गणस्थित्या वाते द्यतचतुष्टये । त्रिनवत्यधिकेऽब्दानां क्रतो सेव्यधनसूने ॥

"When by the tribal constitution of the Malavas, four centuries of years, increased by ninety-three, had elapsed, to that season the low thunder of the muttering of clouds is to be welcomed"

Fleet translated this as "when 493 years had elapsed by the reckoning from the tribal constitution of the Malavas" (*Gupta Inscriptions*, 79-87) or "in accordance with the reckoning followed by the Malava tribe" [*JRAS*, (1913) 995, (1914), 745, (1915) 138]. Thomas [*JRAS* (1914), 413, 1010, (1915), 533] says it means continued existence. See also Jayaswal (*Mod Rev* 1913, May to September) R C Dutt (*Civ* II 51) and V S Gopala Iyer, *Chronology of Ancient India*, 153 *JMy*, VIII 275. In *IA*, (1913), 161, Bhandarkar notes the use of the word मालवगणान्नाति.

3 *IA*, XLII 29, 137 etc. See further on these inscriptions, Apté, *Age of Kalidasa*, 4, Nandargikar, *Int* to *Raghuvamśa*, 48-60, V. Smith, *EH* 327, Fleet, *IBRAS*, XVIII 71

the different foreign races, is contradicted by the clear proof provided by the Prasasti of the Sudarsana lake and the Nasik-inscription No 18 I think, I must further add that the extinction of the intellectual life of the Indian during the first two centuries by the Scythians and other foreigners is improbable for other reasons also. In the first place, never had the foreigners brought under their sway in the long run more than fifth part of India. To the east of the district of Mathura, no sure indications of their rule have been found, and the reports of the Greeks ascribe to the Indo Scythian kingdom no further extent in the east or south. In India proper, their Kingdom could permanently possess only the Panjab, besides the high valleys of the Himalaya, the extreme west of the North Western Provinces, the Eastern Rajputana, the Central Indian Agency with Gwalior and Malwa, Gujarat with Kathiawar, as well as Sindh. No doubt, temporarily these limits are further extended in several cases, as the inscriptions from the reign of Nahapana prove for the western border of the Deccan, and several traces of war might present themselves in further removed districts. The rulers of such a kingdom could indeed have exerted a considerable influence on the east of India, but they would never have been able to suppress the literary and scientific life of the Indians. Secondly, however,—and this is the most important point—the very will to show a hostile attitude towards the Indian culture, was wanting in the foreign kings of the time, as the sayings and authentic documents inform us. They themselves, as well as their comrades of the same race, were far inferior to the Indian, in point of civilisation and culture and the natural result was that they could not escape the influence of the Indian civilisation, but were themselves Hinduised. Their willingness to appropriate the culture of their subjects is shown by the very fact that the descendants or successors of the foreign conquerors immediately began to bear Indian names, even in the second generation. Havishka's successor is indeed a Shahi, but he is named Vasudeva. Nahapana's daughter is named Dakshamitra and his son-in-law the son of Dinika, a Saka, is named Ushavadata or Usabhadata, i e, Rishabhadatta. The son of Chashtana is Jayadaman. The leaning of these kings to the Indian systems of religion is equally indisputable. According to the Buddhist tradition, Kanishka is one of the greatest patrons of Buddhism and even a Buddhist himself. The latter fact is moreover known to be improbable by the inscriptions on his coins. On the other hand, there is no doubt that he built a Stupa and a Vihara in Purushapura, Peshawar. So also it is proved from the inscriptions that Huyishka had

founded a Vihara in Mathura¹ Ushavadata and his consort, according to the Nasik and Karle inscriptions,² made grants to Buddhists and Brahmanas without distinction, and the former, just like a pious Indian, carried out numerous works of public utility, for the sake of merit. The Mathura inscriptions further show that under Kanishka and his successors, by the side of Buddhism, many other systems of religion also, like Jainism, were not only tolerated, but enjoyed a high prosperity. These inscriptions as well as numerous archaeological finds also prove that the national Indian architecture and sculptures in Mathura were on a high level, and one of the newest discoveries of D. Fuhrer permits us to conclude that even the dramatic art was cultivated in the city of gods. The inscription No. 18, out of the collection prepared by me for the next number of the *Epigraphia Indica*, says that 'the sons of the actors of Mathura (Māthurānām Sailālakānām), who were known as Chandaka brothers, dedicated a stone-slab, for the redemption of their parents, at the holy place of the adorable Naga-prince, Dadhikarna.' If Mathura had its company of actors, then it would not have been in want of dramas. All these circumstances make it impossible in my opinion to look upon the times of the Indian popular migration as a period of wild barbarism. The conditions appear to be in no way essentially different from those of the times when there were national rulers. The Indians of the north-west and the west had indeed to obey foreign suzerains and to pay them tributes and taxes, in return for which, however, they had the triumph of exerting sway on their subjugators, through their high culture and of assimilating the same with themselves. The conditions necessary for literary activity must have been in existence, when Ushavadata noted his great deeds in a mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit itself³. He would certainly have lent his ear and opened his purse to bards and *Kavis* who would glorify him. These considerations appear to be of importance, for the statements in the Girnar Prasasti heighten their significance.

"A second proposition which Professor Max Muller in addition to other scholars advocates,—that the period of the bloom of artificial poetry is to be placed in the middle of the sixth century of the Christ,—is contradicted by the testimony of the Allahabad Prasasti of Harishena, of other compositions of the Gupta period and of the Mandasor Prasasti. These

1 Cunningham, *Arch Surv Rep* Vol. III, plate XIV, No. 12

2 *Arch Surv Rep West Ind*, IV 99ff

3 *Arch Surv Rep West Ind*, L.C. No. 5 1 3. ff

leave no doubt about the fact that there were not one but several such periods of the bloom of the Kavya, of which one fell before the time of Samudragupta, and they also make it probable that Kalidasa wrote before 472 A D. The same conclusion is favoured by the fact that Dr Fergusson's bold chronological combinations, on which is based the theory of the Indian Renaissance in the sixth century, have been shown to be insupportable by the researches of Mr (Dr) Fleet. The authentic documents going down to the year 533 A D. know absolutely nothing about the Vikramaditya of Ujjain whose existence is inferred or set up by new interpretations of the different legends, and who is reported to have driven away the Scythians from India and to have founded the Vikrama era in the year 544 A D, dating it as far backwards as 600 years. On the contrary they prove the following facts concerning western India. Samudragupta-Parakaramka, according to (Mr) Fleet's inscription No 11, had extended the kingdom of his father, at any rate as far as Eran in the Central-Provinces. His son Chandragupta II Vikramaditya, according to No III, conquered Malwa, before or in the year 400 and also possessed Mathura. Chandragupta's son, Kumaragupta-Mahendrāditya, held fast these possessions, because, according to No XVIII, he was the suzerain of the rulers of Dasapura-Mandasor, in the year 437. His son, Skandagupta-Kramaditya or Vikramaditya, according to No XIV, ruled over Gujarat and Kathiawar, about 455-457 or 456-458. In his time, the Hunas came forth, against whom he made a successful stand, according to No XIII. Later on, however, whether it was in his own reign which lasted at least till the year 467 or 468, or under his successors Puragupta and Narasimhagupta,¹ the most western possessions were lost and went over to the foreign race. In No XXXVI and XXXVII, there appear the kings, Toramana and Mihirakula² as rulers of Eran and Gwalior, and in No XXXVII, the latter is said to have reigned for fifteen years.

"The end of the rule of Mihirakula in these districts, is made known to us through Nos XXXIII, XXXIV and XXXV, according to which, he was defeated by a king *Yasodharman-Vishnuvardhana*, before the year 533 A D. These inscriptions represent Yasodharman as a very powerful ruler who had brought under his sway not only Western India from

1 See Dr Hoernle, *JBAS*, 158, 89, and Mr Fleet, *IA*, XIX, p 224.

2 See also Mr Fleet's articles on Mihirakula, *IA*, XV, p 245ff and on Toramana, *IA*, XVIII p 225. With Dr Hoernle (I c p 96, Note 2) I hold that Vishnuvardhana is a second name of Yasodharman, as is shown by the grammatical construction.

Dasapura-Mandasor down to the ocean, but also large parts in the east and north. In his possessions Malwa was naturally included, whose capital Ujjain lies only something like 70 English miles to the south of Dasapura. In No XXXV, and in two considerably early inscriptions Nos XVII, and XVIII, the Malava era is used, which is identical with the so-called Vikrama era beginning with 56-57 B C. These exceedingly important discoveries which we owe to Mr Fleet's zeal in collecting and his ingenuity, prove the absolute untenableness of the Fergussonian hypothesis. Because they show (1) that the era of 56-57 B C was not founded in the sixth century, but was in use under the name of the Malava era for more than a century,¹ (2) that at that time, no Sakas could have been driven from Western India. Inasmuch as the country had been conquered by the Guptas more than a hundred years ago, (3) that, on the contrary, other foreign conquerors the Hunas, were driven out² of western India in the first half of the sixth century, not, however, by a Vikramaditya, but by Yasodharman-Vishnuvardhana, and (4) that therefore, there is no room at all in the sixth century for a powerful Vikramaditya of Ujjain, whose exploits called forth such an upheaval in India."

9 These inscriptions⁴ are dated either in Gupta-Samvat or in the Malava Samvat or merely in Samvat. There is a wide difference of opinion, which will be referred to in the Introduction, on the meaning and the beginning of these Eras. In some of these inscriptions the names of the Gupta Kings Samudra Gupta, Candragupta, Kumāra

1 See also *IA*, Vol XV, p 194ff and XIX, p 56, in which latter place Prof Kielhorn has given the right explanation of difficult expression MALAVANAM or MALAVA-GANASTHITYA

2 As is quite clear, the Malava era has suffered the same fate as the Saka era and came to be known by another name, as its origin was forgotten. The change of name appears to have come in about 800 A D. The latest known Malava date is the year 795 which appears in the Kanaswa inscription, *IA*, Vol XIX, 55ff. Apart from the two doubtful documents, the oldest known Vikrama date is found in Dr Hultzsch's Dholpur inscription and corresponds to 16, April 842, as Prof Kielhorn has shown, *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 35

3 If it occurs to any one to conjecture that the Hunas had caused an interruption in the literary activity of India, I bring to his notice the fact that both the inscriptions of the age of Toramana and Mihirakula contain no mean composition and that their authors glorify the foreign kings as highly as if they had been the national rulers

4 For texts of many of these, see *Prācinalekhamāla* (Kavyamāla Series) and D R. Diskalkar's *Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions* (Rajkot).

Gupta, Bhānu Gupta and Skanda Gupta, are mentioned, and the years are in the reigns of these kings. Whether the Gupta Dynasty ruled before or after the Christian Era, as the opinions differ, these inscriptions disclose a literary composition in prose and in verse of great merit and show that "the use of Kavya style in inscriptions especially in the longer ones, was in vogue and from this very circumstance it follows that court-poetry was zealously cultivated in India" So says Buhler, but he would date this period as 350-550 A.D. though according to the Purāṇas, Śrī Gupta dynasty ruled between 328 and 83 B.C.

10 Yatsabhatti —The Praśastī in the Sun Temple in Mandasor¹ was composed by Yatsabhatti in Malava Samvat 529, which according to Buhler equals 473-4 A.D. The 44 verses in this Praśastī or panegyric begin and end with Mangalas or blessings in prose and in the intermediate verses there are exquisite descriptions of the sovereign Kumāra Gupta and his vassals Viśvavarman and Bandhuvvarman, of the temple then built and of the winter season, in a variety of metres, and it is said that the diction shows many marks which characterise, according to Dandin, the poets of the Eastern School. The whole piece incarnates fluid poetry and the description of the winter is enchanting². On this appreciation, Buhler may not agree, but his remarks are interesting.

1 *IA, XLII 32, 137, 146, 175, 244* Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, No 18. Here the words मालवानां गणस्थित्या is used. See also *IA, XV 194*. On Kumāra-gupta see *IA, XL 170*, and his possible name Candraprākāsa see *Ibid XL. 174*.

2 a केचित्सकर्मण्यधिकास्तथान्यै-

र्विज्ञायते ज्योतिषमात्मवद्भिः ।

अद्यापि चान्ये समरप्रगल्भा

कुर्वन्त्यरीणामहित प्रसङ्ग ॥

b प्राज्ञा मनोज्ञवचनं प्रथितोरुवशा

वशादुरूपचरितामरणास्तथान्यै ।

सत्यव्रता प्रणयिनामुपकारदक्षा

विश्रम्भपूर्वमपरे दृढसौहृदाश्च ॥

c. विजितविषयसङ्गैर्धर्मशीलैस्तथान्यै-

र्मद्वैमिराधिकसत्त्वैर्लोकयात्राभिरेव ।

सकुलतिलकभूतैर्मुक्तरागैर्हृदारै-

राधिकमाभिनिभाति श्रेणिरिवप्रकारै ॥

“ In the second half of the fourth century in Vatsabhatti's Prasasti of the sun-temple of Dasapura-Mandasor we see traces of the existence of the school of the Gaudas, the poets of eastern India. This work should be called rather the exercise of a scholar who busied himself with the study of the Kāvya literature, than a product of an actual poet. We can see therein that its author had studied the Kāvya and Rhetorics, but that, in spite of all the troubles he took to produce a real Kāvya, he possessed little of inborn talent. Small offences against good taste, such as the use of expletives and tautologous words, are more frequently met with. In one place, the author is led to forget one of the most elementary rules of Grammar, by the exigencies of the metre, in another place, in his zeal to form long compounds, he is tempted to disregard the rule, always observed by good writers, according to which, the weak pause can never come at the end of a half-verse. In a third place, he jumbles together two ideas in a manner the least permissible, and his attempt to bring out a new comparison between the clouds and the houses leads in no way to a happy result.

“These defects in Vatsabhatti's Prasasti make it the more important for the historian of literature, inasmuch as they bear testimony to the fact that everything worthy of attention in the Prasasti, is gathered from the literature of his time and compiled into a whole. Thus on

d. रामासनाथरचने दरभास्कराशु-

वह्निप्रतापसुमगे जललीनमीने ।

चन्द्राशुहर्म्यतलचन्दनतालवृन्त-

हारोपमोगरहिते हिमदग्धपद्मे ॥

e. लोभप्रियङ्गुतरकुन्दलताविकोश-

पुष्पासवप्रमुदितालिकलाभिरामे ।

काले तुषारकणककेश्यतीतवात-

वेगप्रवृत्तलवलीनगणैकशाये ॥

f. स्मरवद्यगतरुणजनवद्धमाङ्गनाविपुलकान्तपीनोर-

स्तनजघनघनालिङ्गननिर्मसिततुहिनहिमपाते ॥

and also the following verse

यद्वाल्याभिरम्यसरिद्वयेन चूपलोर्मिणा समुत्प्लवम् ।

रहसि कुचशालिनीभ्यां प्रीतिरतिभ्यां स्मराङ्गमिव ॥

Regarding verse [d] Kielhorn notices close similarity with a verse in Kālidāsa's R̥ṭusamhāra.

the one hand, we are assured of the fact that about the year¹ 472 A.D., there was a rich Kavya literature in existence, and on the other hand greater weight is gained by the points of accordance with the works handed down to us, which the Prasasti presents. It has been already pointed out about that verse 10 of the Prasasti only repeats, for the most part, the comparison contained in verse 65 of Meghaduta, with some points added in a very forced way, while the remaining points contained in that verse of Kalidasa, find themselves repeated in verse 11 of the Prasasti. Further it is to be noted that Vatsabhattacharya, like Kalidasa, shows a special predilection for the word Subhaga, and that while describing the king Bandhuvārman, plays upon his name just in the same way as Kalidasa does with the names of Raghus, whom he describes in the beginning of Sarga XVIII of Raghuvamśa. These facts make the conjecture more probable, that Vatsabhattacharya knew and made use of the works of Kalidasa. The same view is advocated by Prof. Keilhorn in a publication² just appearing, which reached me after this treatise was nearly finished. He reads verse 51 of the Prasasti (otherwise) and shows that the verse sufficiently agrees with Ritusamhara V 2-3, in both words and thoughts, as there are only two new points added. Although I am not in a position without examining a good impression of the inscription, to give a definite opinion regarding the proposed, and no doubt very interesting alteration of the text, still the truth of his assertion that verse 51 of the Prasasti is an imitation of Ritusamhara, V 2-3, appears to me quite undeniable. If we may believe in the tradition which ascribes Ritusamhara to the author of Meghaduta, then the point overlooked by me, which Prof. Keilhorn has made out, strengthens the probability of the supposition that Kalidasa lived before 472 A.D., which is very significant. In that case, however, it will have to be assumed that Vatsabhattacharya knew the Ritusamhara also."

11 **Harisena's** panegyric of Samudra Gupta³ inscribed on the Allahabad Pillar is undated, and according to Bühler must have been composed between 375-390 A.D. It has 8 verses with a long prose passage and a verse in conclusion. Harisena calls it a Kāvya. Partly in prose and partly in verse it may be called a Champu. He calls his patron the Prince of Poets. In describing his greatness, he says in the 8th verse "His is the poetic style which is worthy of study and his

1. 'The Mandasor-inscription of the Malava year 549 (=472 A.D.) and Kalidasa's Ritusamhara' Gottingen 1890, p. 251 ff.

2. *Fleet Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 32. D. B. Dikshakar (*Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions*) gives date about 360 A.D.

is the poetic verse which multiplies the spiritual treasures of poets." On this composition Buhler says, "It naturally follows that, during the reign of Samudragupta, the Kavya literature was in full bloom, and that the conditions at his court were absolutely similar to those which are reported to have prevailed in later times at the courts of Kanauj, Kashmir, Ujjain, Dhara and Kalyani, and which are found to exist even to this day, here and there in India. The cultivators of Sanskrit Poetry, who were called by the name of Kavi or Budha or Vidvat, were not born or self-taught poets, but were professional learned men or pandits who studied in Sastras, i.e., at the least, Vyakarana, Kosa, Alamkara and Chandas, and who wrote according to the hard and fast rules of poetics, as is shown by the form of Harishena's little composition. The Sanskrit Kavya, which owed its origin to the court-patronage, and which can exist only by means of the same, was assiduously cultivated at the courts. The King supported and raised to honour such poets, and even he himself, and with him his high officers, too, emulated with their proteges. Perhaps he had even a Kavi-raj, or a poet-laureate, appointed. At any rate the title as such was in use in the days of Samudragupta—the title which in later times occurs very often in Sanskrit literature, and which, even at present, is given by Indian princes, associated as it is with many benefits. His court could not thus have been the only one which patronized the exertions of the Pandits in the domain of poetry."

The inscription on Dhanya-Vishnu's Boar statue at Eran,² dated in the year one of King Toramana is also partly in prose and partly in verse of high flight. Vāsula's panegyric of King Yaśoḍharman,³ though undated inscribed on a pillar of Mandasor is spoken of as *Śloka*.

Among earlier inscriptions Buhler selects two, and describes their literary merit, the Nasik inscription⁴ dated in the 19th year of Śīrī Pulāmāyī, and Gīrnār inscription,⁵ of the reign of Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman. For these inscriptions Buhler gives dates between

1 निश्चितविदग्धसतिगान्धर्वललितैर्वीडितत्रिदशपतियशुस्तुभुवनारदोदविद्वज्जनोपजीव्यानेक-
काव्यक्रियाभिः प्रतिष्ठितकविराजशब्दस्य

2 Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions* No 30

3 *Ibid*, No 33 D.B. Diskalkar *op. cit* gives date about 532 A.D.

4 According to the Purāṇas this king reigned 409-377 B.C. as Pulomayī II of the Andhra dynasty

5 *El*, VIII 47. The date is रुद्रदाम्नो वर्षे द्विसप्ततितमे. It is said to be dated in Śaka 72 or 150 A.D. This inscription refers to Maurya Kings Chanḍragupta and Aśoka.

150-170 A.D. In the Girnar inscription the poet praises Rudradāman's skill in poetry and expresses the views of the author on the characteristics of good composition.² The Nasik inscription shows great affinity with Gadva kāvyas.

12 Kalidasa is a name which is the magic wand of India in the world's poetic literature. But as untold time had past, all that surrounded the life and times of that great poet have been forgotten and beyond the name everything connected with him, his age and nativity, is only a matter of vague conjecture. In this respect Kālidāsa may be compared with Homer, while however the tradition is that "Living Homer sought his daily bread" Kālidāsa was in affluence and beloved of Kings. While "seven cities claim the birth of Homer dead," the birth of Kalidasa is claimed by different parts of India,³ and by Ceylon. Tradition generally does not lie and it is possible that Kālidāsa was personally known in the several places where he is taken solely as their own. In spite of the prevalence of a vast body of poetic literature as indicated in the early writings it is surprising and not easily accountable that no complete work of poetry has come down to us as prior to Kālidāsa beyond dispute. Kālidāsa therefore leads the long list of classical Sanskrit poets like English Caedmon. If Caedmon sang of philosophy and cosmogony, Kālidāsa retold mythical tales of love, and theology. If Caedmon appeared almost at the dawn of the Anglo-Saxon literature, Kālidāsa flourished when the Sanskrit literature was in perfection. As is common in all cases when the truth is forgotten, tales spring up which may or may not have a tinge of reality and to such tales the life of Kālidāsa is not an exception.⁴ Many stories of his ready wit, pleasant life and delightful associations with occasions of vicissitudes are found told in various books, for instance, in Ballāla's Bhoja-Prabandha. A tradition is current that though a boor in birth he was by chance wedded to an obstinate princess and when in her

1. स्फुटलघुमधुरचित्रकान्तशब्दसमयोदारालङ्कृतगद्यपद्य

2. Haraprasadsastri, *Kalidasa, his home* [IBOS (1916) 15, 1A, XLVII, 264, 1A XI, 292] says his birth place was Dasapura in Malwa. According to A. C. Chatterjee (*Kalidasa his poetry and mind*, 148) it is Ujjain, according to Bhaui Daji (1 c) it must be Kashmir, and according to Majumdar, *Home of Kalidasa*, 1A, XLVII 264 it was Viḍarbha. The following verse in *Avantiusundarikathā* of Dandin supports Majumdar's view —

लिप्ता मधुद्वयेणासन्यस्य निर्विवक्षा गिरः ।

तेनेदं वर्त्म वैदर्भं कालिदासेन चोक्तिम् ॥

3. See Grierson, *Traditions about Kalidasa* (IASB, XLVI April).

first company, she put him the question अग्निं कश्चित् वागर्थो to ascertain if he was a man of letters. He displayed his ignorance and being ashamed or abandoned, he left her, and devoted himself to the service and worship and contemplation of Goddess Kālī. In time Kālī appeared before him in Divine Form, blessed him with literacy and poesy and made him her own. It is said that this brought him the name of Kālīdāsa, his real name being forgotten and for all his life Goddess Kālī was his guardian and protector at his invocation. Having thus become a poet he sought his princess who received him with pleasure and in remembrance of the three words of her question he composed his three Poems Kumārasambhava, Meghadūta, and Raghuvamśa beginning with those words.

13 Kalidasa's date—HIPPOLYTE FALCHE considers Kālīdāsa a contemporary of the posthumous son of Agnivarna, the last king mentioned in the Raghuvamśa and assigns to him a date about the 8th century B.C.¹

LASSEN assumes that Kālīdāsa was a poet of the Court of Samuḍragupta, chiefly on account of the title "Friend of Poets," applied to that king in inscriptions,² and places him in the commencement of the 3rd century A.D.

WILFORD discovers a Vikramaditya in the 5th century A.D.,³ on

1 *Collective works of Kalidasa*, Paris, Bhau Daji's Essay on Kalidasa (*Literary Remains*, Calcutta) 7, *Saturday Review*, January, 1860, *JBRAS*, (1861) 25. S. P. Pandit (*Introduction to Raghuvamśa*, 27-28) refutes this theory. "If Kalidasa were to be a contemporary of a reigning king his omission to give any history of his own ruler is unaccountable. Besides Raghuvamśa cannot be said to be a complete poem. Tradition says that the sequel to the history of Solar kings has been yet unrecovered. The simple fact that Kalidasa's account closes there cannot conclusively prove the end of the dynasty itself. The Vishnu Purana mentions a list of thirty-seven kings after Agnimitra."

2 *IA*, II 451, 1158-1160, *IS*, II 148, 415-417, M. Williams (*Indian Wisdom*, 494) accepts this date. S. P. Pandit (*op cit* 66) says that this argument is not conclusive, as many other kings like Śīlāditya of Malwa and Harṣavarḥana of Kanauj have similar titles. See also Hall (*Introduction to Vasavadatta*, 15), Nandargikar (*Int to Raghuvamśa*, 66), and Bhau Daji, *op cit* 7. Weber (*Malavika and Agnimitra*, Berlin) gives date between 2nd and 4th century A.D. T. S. Narayanasastri (*Age of Sankara*, app I 114) gives to Samuḍragupta the dates 321-270 B.C. according to the Puranas. On inscriptions of Samuḍragupta, see paras 8 to 10 supra.

3 *AR*, IX, 142, 156. See Wilford's Essay on *Vikramaditya and Salvahana* (*AS*, IX 117) and Nandargikar (*op cit* 66). S. P. Pandit (*op cit* 67) and Nandargikar (*op cit* 66) think that there are many Vikramādityas and this reference in the Śaṭrunjayamahātmya is not conclusive on the date of Kālīdāsa.

the authority of the Śaṭrunjayamāhātmya² which says that after 466 years of the era are elapsed there would appear the great and famous Vikramāditya, and his era Wilford understands to be the Samvat era which began in 56 B C. In his opinion J. PRINCEP and H. H. WILSON concur.

R. C. DUTT places Kālidāsa between 500 and 556 A D.³

BHAU DAJI identifies Mātṛgupta with Kālidāsa and places him in the reign of King Harṣa Vikramāditya of Kaśmir in the middle of the 6th century A D.⁴

His data have been thus summarised by Apté⁴ (i) The fact of Matrīgupta being King of Kashmir is in accordance with the tradition that King Vikrama bestowed half of the kingdom on Kalidasa (ii) There is no objection on the ground of the names Matrīgupta and Kalidasa being different, because names are often titles, and Matrīgupta may be taken as Kalīgupta or Kalidasa (iii) The author of Rajataranginī mentions other poets, even Bhavabhūti, but does not mention Kalidasa (iv) Kalidasa was in all likelihood a native of Kashmir or a neighbouring province, because his illustrations are chiefly derived from the natural history of those provinces (v) Meghaduta is simply a faithful picture of Kalidasa's feelings caused by separation from his dear wife and home a fact related

1. The Śaṭrunjaya Māhātmya was a Jain work by Dhaneśvarasūri. The work was composed as it says under the patronage of King Śīlāditya at Valabhi, who lived 477 years after Vikramārka, who is placed 470 years after the Viranurvāṇa, Vira or Varḍhamāna relates the legends connected with the mountain sacred to Rṣabha, the first Jina. The narrator does not confine strictly to Jain mythology, but includes the stories of the Rāmāyaṇa and Bhāraṭa. The language is noble, powerful and compares worthily with that of Bhaṭṭi Kāvya. The date of the Viranurvāṇa is very uncertain. V. Smith (*EH*, 46) makes Vira and Buddha contemporaries with one another and with Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru and dates Buddha's death at 487 B C. (See *IA*, II 139, 193, 363, *IX*, 158; *XI*, 245, *XIII* 279, *XX* 360, *XXI* 57, *XXIII* 169. Merutuṅga dates Puṣyamitra in the period 323-53 after Mahāvīra (Weber, *Sacred Literature of the Jains*, 133). For a full review of the date of Mahāvīra *alias* Varḍhamāna, see S. K. Venkateswara [*JRAS*, (1917) 122], T. S. Narayana Sastri (*Age of Saṅgha*, 134 note) places Varḍhamāna between 1862-1782 B C. see M. C. Gams, *Life of Mahāvīra* (Allahabad), Jacobi, Introduction to *SBE*, *XXII* and *XLV*; Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, 104.

² *Cw* I 25

³ *Literary Remains*, 18 et seq., *JBRAS*, VII 19, 207 (Bhau Daji calls him the author of *Seṭubandha*)

⁴ *Date of Kalidasa*, (Central Press, Bombay), 8

also of Matrigupta. (vi) The 252nd verse of Rajataranginī attributed to Matrigupta contains exactly the same sense as is found in nearly the same words in the 113th verse of Meghaduta. When Matrigupta was installed king, with his eyes filled with tears through gratitude he wrote to Vikrama "Thou givest not one sign, thou squanderest no praises, thou dost not even announce thy intention of giving, and nevertheless thou sendest beautiful fruit" (vii) After the death of Vikrama, when Pravarasena came to the throne of Kashmir, Matrigupta retired to Benares, and there is a poem in Prakrit, called Setukayva, which tradition says was composed by Kalidasa at the request of Pravarasena. This poem is praised by Pratapendra and Dandin and Ramashrama as that of Kalidasa. Tradition also says that Pravarasena constructed a well-known bridge of boats across the Vitasta, and that it was in connection with this bridge-poem, Bāna, a contemporary of Hiouen Tshang, says in his Haracarita —

कीर्ति प्रवरसेनस्य प्रयाता कुसुदोञ्चला ।

सागरस्य पर पार कपिमेनेव सेतुना ॥

(viii) Matrigupta being thus identified with Kalidasa, the latter must be placed in the 6th century A.D. with Pravarasena and Vikrama. Bhau Daji says that Hiouen Tshang was the guest of Pravarasena.¹

14 SIR WILLIAM JONES relies on a verse,² which records the tradition that nine poets, 'nine gems' flourished at the Court of king Vikramāditya and calls him a poet of the Court of a King who founded the era of Vikrama,³ or the Samvat era, in

1 Max Muller shows the inconsistency of this, and suggests that it was not Pravarasena but Baladitya who was most likely the host of the Chinese traveller. As Apte rightly remarked, (*op cit* 11), Rāghavabhatta in his commentary on the Śākuntala quotes from Mātṛgupta and Kālidāsa, as different poets and gives the name of a work by Mātṛgupta, as a commentary on Bharata. Kṣemendra in his Auchiṣyavicāracarṇa, also quotes similarly from these poets, as distinct. See Peterson's Paper on *Auch* 21 and paper on *Palanjalī*, 21 and *Int to Subh* 89. Here Peterson suggests that Mātṛgupta was identical with Mātṛguptācārya, a writer on *Alankāra*. For a criticism of Bhau Daji's view, see also S. P. Pandit (*op cit* 68-75), Max Muller (*India*, 133, 314) and Nandargikar (*op cit* 68-76).

2 धन्वन्तरिक्षणकामरसिंहशकुन्तेताळमट्टघटकर्परकालिदासा ।

ग्यातो ब्राह्ममिहिरो नृपते समयां रत्नानि वै वरसचिर्नव विक्रमस्य ॥

This verse is found in Jyotiṛvidābharaṇa, a treatise on astrology, attributed to Kālidāsa (See *JBRAS*, VI 25, *AR*, VIII 242, X 402). The extracts necessary for reference are translated by Bhau Daji (*o c* 10). Verse 21 of Chapter XXII says

56 B C¹ in commemoration of his victory over the Śakas or the

that the work was completed in the month of Kartika of the year 3068 of Kali, that is 34 B C Bhau Daji and others say that this is a literary forgery, [Kern (*Br Sn* n 12, 17), Wilson *Int to Vishv Purāṇa*, viii) Weber (*SL*, 228), Max Muller (*India*, 327), Apte, (*op cit* 42)] He adds "In framing a rule for finding out the *ayanūmsa*, we are told in the work that from the number of years after Śaka (the era of Śālivāhana, 78 A D) 445 years should be subtracted and the remainder divided by 60 This alone proves that the treatise was written at best seven centuries after Vikrama Samvat Also as Jishnu, the father of Brahmagupta who gives the date of his work as 628 A D is stated to have graced the Court of Vikramaditya in addition to the nine gems, it is clear that the author of the *Jyotiṛvādābharana* is sufficiently modern to have confounded Harsha Vikramaditya of Ujjain in the 6th century with the founder of the Samvat era "

There is a commentary on this work by Bhavarajna He was the son of Bāhlā and Mandana, a disciple of Mahimāpiabhasuri of Paurṇamiya gaccha It was written at Śripattana (Srinagar) in Śaka 1633 (1711 A D) See the Prasasti in the Ulwar catalogue, page 182, TC, III 3556

I K G SANKARA IYER (*JMy* VIII 279) sums up the view that the so-called Samvat era was not connected with the name of Vikramaditya till late in the 10th century In 343 and 371 A D the era was called *Kṛta*, यातेषु चतुर्षु कृतेषु मौम्येष्वसितचोत्तरपदेषु इहवत्सरेषु (Gupta Ins 75), कृतेषु चतुर्षु वर्षचतेषु अष्टावर्षेषु (Ibid 253) In 404 and 424 A D, it was called both "Kṛtaa" and "the era traditionally handed down by the Malava tribe" श्रीमालवगणान्नाते प्रचरते कृतस-

क्षिते । एकषष्ट्यब्दि के प्राप्ते समाश्रितचतुष्टये ॥ (Ibid 87, 158) The earliest inscription of the era being called Vikrama is dated 842 A D (*IA*, XX 406) and that being connected with a king Vikramāditya is dated 971 A D (*JBRAS*, XXII, 166) and earliest literary date is 973 A D in Amiṭagaṭi's *Subhāṣitaratnasandoha* [*IA*, XX. 406] Fleet collects these dates and says (*Im Gas* II. 4) that the era "was founded by Kanishka in the sense that the opening years of it were the years of his reign, that it was set going as an era by his successor, who continued it and that it was accepted and perpetrated as an era by the Malava people and so was transmitted to posterity by them" R. D BANERJEE [*JRAS*, (1917) 273-289] tries to prove that in the first century B C, Mālava was ruled by Nahapana and not by any king entitled Vikramāditya See para 8 note *supra*

GOPALA IYER [*Ind Rev* (1910) 505] considers that the era commemorated the consolidation of the tribes of Malwa into the great nation by King Chastana, the founder of the Kshatrapa dynasty in Malwa and Gujarat HOERNLE [*JRAS*, (1909) 100] says that Yaśodharman changed the name of the Malwa era into Vikrama era V SMITH (*EH*) and BHANDARKAR [*Ind Rev* (1909) 405] say that Chandra-gupta I of the Gupta dynasty first assumed the title of Vikramaditya and changed the name C V VAIDYA [*Ind Rev* (1909) 903] relies on Hāla's *Sapṭaṣṭi* (V 64) of the 1st century A D praising liberality of Vikramāditya He draws attention to a tradition rejected by Kalhana II 5) that Prajāpāditya was a relative of Vikramāditya Śakāri and asserts its truth, so that he considers that there were two Vikramādityas connected with Kashmir, the prior of them

Seythians ¹

15 T. S. NARAYANA SASTRI shows that Śrī Harsa Vikramādiṭya of Kāśmīr defeated the Śakas or the Persians and in commemoration of his victory founded the Harṣa era, in the year +57 B C and assigns Kālidāsa to his Court ²

APTE inclines to the view of Sir William Jones. He considers that Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita was modelled on Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśa, and as Aśvaghoṣa was a contemporary of Kanishka, the highest limit for Kālidāsa is placed at 78 A D, on the other side, is mentioned

connected with Praṭāpadiṭya, being separated from the latter connected with Mārguṣya by several centuries. He says " Though the era is mentioned in old documents as the era of the Malwa people or princes, this does not negative the idea of its being started by a particular king, *secondly*, the idea that any subsequent king utilised this era to commemorate his name is absurd and improbable " *thirdly*, that the identity of Vikramādiṭya of the 1st century B C is proved beyond doubt by the mention of his name in Hala's Saptasati, *fourthly*, that he was in ancient tradition recorded by Kalhana himself, regarded as Sakari and that he must have fought the battle of Karur as mentioned by Alberuni, *fifthly*, that the Śakas whom he overthrew most probably have been the Saka Śatrapas of Mathura and Taxila, whose disappearance in the 1st century B C has not been otherwise accounted for, *sixthly*, that the Takht-i-Bahi's inscription must be interpreted as giving the figure 103 in the era of 57 B C as Guduphars is connected by general tradition with the Apostle of St Thomas, and *lastly*, that this era could not have been founded by Kanishka " In his paper on *Pandiyas and the date of Kalidasa* he refers to the mention of Urugapura in *Raghu*, IV, 49 and VI 59-60 and says because Urugapura (Urariyar) was abandoned by Kanikala as a Pandya capital in the 1st century A.D, Kalidasa must have known the capital in a flourishing condition, Kalidasa must have lived earliest

1 Somadeva in his Kathāsariṭsāgara (XVIII 1) says that Vikramādiṭya destroyed the Mlecchas. For a similar account, see Kalhaṇa's *Rāj*, III 125-8

स्लेच्छेच्छेदाय वसुधा हरेरवतरिष्यत ।

शकान्विनाश्य येनादौ कार्यमारो निवेशित ॥

See the discussion by Huitsch, *IA*, 261 and Stein's notes in his edition of *Raj*, II 6 शकारिर्विक्रमादित्. etc

2 *Sri Harsha, the dramatist* (Madras), *Age of Sankara*, (Madras) Part I, Ch 11 24 and *Introduction to Haridamba-Vaidya* (Madras, 1917) The Śakas vanquished by the king are said to be the Persian hordes that invaded India from the province of Sace, under their monarch Cyrus the Great in 550 B C. Narayana Sastri calls this Vikramādiṭya the patron of Bhāsa so that Kālidāsa is according to him his younger contemporary

144 B C, as that of Paṭanjali, who refers to Puṣyamitra, Agnimitra was the son of Puṣyamitra and the hero of the Mālavikāgnimitra¹

16 K B PATHAK discovers Vikrama in king Skandagupta, the conqueror of the Huns, who flourished about 450 A D and makes Kālidāsa a contemporary of Kings Kumāragupta and Skandagupta, the latter being Vikramāditya II of the Gupta dynasty²

1 Apte's *Date of Kālidāsa* (Bombay) This essay contains an elaborate review of the several opinions held on Kālidāsa. Apte says "Puṣyamitra, the Sunga king, put the last Maurya King to death and came to the throne of Magadha in 188 B C. His son Agnimitra is mentioned in this play as the king of Viḍiśā. Mālavikā is the sister of Madhavasena and cousin of Yajnasena, the king of Berars. A quarrel arose between Madhavasena and Yajnasena about the succession to the throne, and the latter for a time took possession of the seals of the kingdom. Madhavasena thus humbled by misfortune, and aware of the danger which threatened him, secretly marched off with Malavika and his counsellor Sumati. He was taken prisoner, however, on the frontier, by a general of Yajnasena, though Malavika escaped. Now the prime minister of the Maurya king, who was a brother in law of Yajnasena, was kept in custody by Puṣyamitra and his son Agnimitra. When Agnimitra demanded the release of Madhavasena, Yajnasena proposed an exchange of prisoners. This provoked Agnimitra to a severe retaliation. He sent an army against the king of Viḍarbha and subdued him, and the kingdom of Viḍarbha was divided between the two cousins. From these historical incidents it is clear that Kālidāsa cannot be put as we have seen, before the first king of the Sunga dynasty. Very little is known about these kings from the Puranas and it is probable that these events must be quite fresh in the memory of our poet, as the history of the Peshawas is in the memory of the Marathas of to-day."

Arguments based on principles of law, medicine and geography are also added. On similar points, see S P Pandit (*op cit* 92), Nandargikar (*op cit* 201) on a very similar argument places Kālidāsa somewhere between 300 and 100 B C. Duff's *Indian Chronology* gives date 178 B C for Puṣyamitra and 140 B C for Paṭanjali. On Puṣyamitra, see V Smith (*op cit* 201, 218), Weber (*op cit* 224 note), Goldstucker (*Panini*, 228 288), *IA*, I, 299, II 57, 69, 94, 206, 288, 362, XV 80, XVI 156, 173; *JBRAS*, XVI 181, 199. Bhandarkar's *Early History of Deccan*, 189, *IA*, (1872) 229.

2 *Introduction to Meghaduta* (Poona) and *IA*, XLI 265. Pathak refers to Huns mentioned in Raghuvamsha, IV 66 69. He says that Hunas crossed the Oxus (or Vamshu) about A D 425 and defeated the Sassanian king Peroz in 484, but their empire was entirely destroyed by Khusrū Anushirvan, grandson of Peroz, between 568 and 567 A D. The defeat of the Huns by Skandagupta is recorded in Junagadh Rock Inscription dated in Gupta Samvat 186 (or A D 455 456). V Smith's statement that Skandagupta died about 480 A D. (*EEH*, 810) seems to be contradicted by the inscriptions (*IA*, XV 142) which show Kumāragupta as reigning in Gupta Samvat 154 (473 A D) and Buddhagupta as reigning in Gupta Samvat 157 (476 A D). T. S. Narayana Sastri assigns to Skandagupta B C 192 to 187 [*Age of Saṅkara*, App I 125]. Apte (*op cit* 24) and Nandargikar (*op cit* 88) considers that the Hunas referred to in this verse are the Indo-Scythians who established a vast empire on the threshold of ancient India and on the borders of Bactria from the middle of the 3rd century B C to the close of the 1st or 2nd century A D. Jayaswal (*IA*, XL 265) thinks that the

R HOERNLE accepts this Har-a Vikramāditya of Kashmir and goes further in identifying him with Yaśodharman, King of C India, as the conqueror of Kashmir and the Huns about 490-550 A D² and says that the memory of this great achievement survives in the Indian tradition which changed the name of the Mālava era into that of the Vikrama era

Huna occupation of Kashmir was after Mihirakula's defeat in A D 580 and places Kālidāsa therefore about 540 or 550 A D On the Huna argument, see also Pathak [JBRAS, XIX 35] and Chakravarti [JRAS, (1904) 158, (1908) 188], Bloch [ZDMG, (1903) 671], Schreier (*Das Datum Candragomms und Kalidasa's*, Breslau), Hoernle [JRAS, (1903) 89, 144], Kennedy [JRAS (1908), 879] Telang's Int to Mudrarāshasa, Cunningham's paper on white Hunas in the Tr of the 9th Congress of the Orientalists and G Huth (*Die Zeit des Kalidasa*, Berlin) Pathak (JBRAS, XIX 35) also brings the time of Kālidāsa being contemporary of King Kumāradasa of Ceylon in support of his date and concludes that Kālidāsa must be placed in the first half of the 6th century or about 532 A D (As to this, see the life of Kumāradasa post) Panna Lal [Dates of Skandagupta and his successors, Hindustan Review, (Jan. 1918) JRAS, (1919) 260] gives to Skandagupta 455-467 A D Pathak also relies on the allusion to Dingnāga in Meghadūta and assigns him to the 5th century A D [V Smith, op cit 329, JASB, (1905) 227] For a similar opinion, see Macdonel, (SL, 324, 304), Keith [JRAS, (1909), 438-9] and B C Majumdar [JRAS, (1909) 781]

1 JRAS, (1903), 549, (1904) 639, (1909), 89; Hoernle's arguments are summed up by J J Modi (*Asiatic Papers*, II 343-6) Hoernle relies on inscriptions on two Rana stambhas (columns of victory in war), recorded in CII, II 147-8 (Inscriptions Nos 33 and 34) wherein the subjugation of king Mihirakula and other Huna kings is expressly stated He also refers to the tradition of the "Nine Gems" and infers that Kālidāsa and Varāhamihira flourished at Yaśodharman's Court For this, see also Pathak (JBRAS, XIX 39), V Smith (EH, 319) cites the authority of Hiyuen Tsang (*Beal's Records*, I 165-72, *Walters*, I, 1 288) and says that Yaśodharman's boast was unfounded and gives the real credit of the defeat of the Huns to Narasimhagupta Balāditya (485-535 A D) M Chakravarti [JRAS, (1908), 188, (1904), 159] assigns the victory over the Huns to Skandagupta For a summary of Chakravarti's views and criticism thereon, see J J Modi (*Asiatic Papers*, I 347) Haraprasada Sastri adds additional arguments to this view —

(i) Kālidāsa's limit of geography is Persia and he does not describe the western Empire of Rome Persia was powerful in the 6th century A D and the reference to Persia (*Ragh* IV 60) shows that it was powerful at that time

(ii) The description of Skanda in the Meghadūta (I, 27) is of a statue of Skanda on horseback on Devagin Hill on the road from Ujjain to Mandasor supposed to be erected by king Skandagupta

(iii) Yaśodharman made the Himālayas for the first time accessible and Kālidāsa describes the Himālayas

These arguments about Yaśodharman &c of Haraprasad Sastri are quoted and refuted in detail by R G Sankarā Iyer (*JMy*, VIII 282) and D Banerji (*Ibid*, X 77 192),

17 FERGUSSON started a theory that the Vikramāditya of the Samvat era was Harṣa Vikramāditya of Ujjain who defeated the Mlechhas at Karur in 544 A.D. and to give an air of antiquity to an era of his own started in commemoration of his victory, it was thrown back for 600 years, that is 10 cycles of 60 years, so that the Samvat era was imagined to have begun in 56 B.C. This is known as the Renaissance theory made much of by Max Muller¹

MAX MULLER took up the idea of Fergusson and was ready with other arguments in its support. He refers to the commentary of Mallinātha on a verse in the Meghasandēśa alluding to the poets Dīgnāga and Nicula as contemporaries of Kālidāsa and in fixing the date of Dīgnāga as the pupil of Asānga gives the date of Kālidāsa as the 6th century A.D.²

1 See para 8 *supra*

2 अद्रे शृङ्ग हरति पवनं किस्त्रिदित्युन्मुखीमि-

दृष्टोत्साहश्चकितचकित मुग्धसिद्धाङ्गनामि ।

द्वीपादस्मात्सरसनिञ्जलादुत्पतोदङ्मुख ख

दिङ्नागानां पथि परिहरन् स्थूलहस्तावलेपान् ॥

Megha, I 14

"From this place, abounding in wet canes, rise into the sky with thy face to the north, avoiding on the way contact with the massive trunks of the quarter elephants, thy movements being watched by the silly wives of the Siddhas with their uplifted faces, full of surprise, as if the wind were carrying away the crest of the mountain"

"From this place where stands thy champion Nichula, ascend, O Muse, the heaven of invention, holding up thy head, and avoiding in the course of thy effort the salient faults indicated by Dīgnaga with his hands, while thy flight is admired by good poets and fair women filled with surprise and looking upwards as if the genius of the almighty Dīgnaga, were eclipsed by these" Pathak's *Meghaduta*, 77

Ganapati Sastri (Int. to *Pratimānātaka*, TSS, No 42 xi), refers to a passage Dakṣiṇāvarṇa's commentary दिङ्नाग इति कोऽयाचार्य कालिदासप्रबोधान् अन्यतो-क्तोऽयमर्थ इति स्थूलहस्तामिन्यै दूषयति ॥ and says that Kālidāsa was guilty of plagiarism from Bhāsa

Apte (*op cit* 7), says that Mallinātha's commentary is at best based on tradition and cannot at best be placed with the tradition of Kālidāsa, as a poet of king Vikramāditya's Court in 56 B.C. Seshagiri Sastri (*Id*, I 940) says Nicula wrote a commentary on lexicon Nānārṥasābdaraṇṇāvali written by one Kālidāsa at the Court of King Bhoja (See *DC*, III 1171-1174) and this must be a different author of a very late age, as this lexicon is not referred to by the author of the *Meḡim*, who is particular in enumerating all the names of authors and works on lexicography

There seems to be much merit in the tradition of an allusion to Dīgnāga in this verse and the recent discovery of a work called *Hastavāla* by F. W. Thomas makes the quotation more interesting. Referring to the above work of which a Tibetan translation

18 P V KANE thinks that Kāmandakī in the Nīṭisāra appears to criticise the advantages of hunting as depicted by Kālidāsa and that Varāhamihira took his list of poisoned kings from Kāmandakī. On

now exists (*Tanur Mdo*, XVII 312, XVIII 21) ascribed generally to Āryadeva, a predecessor of Dignāga, Thomas conjectures that the commentary on it might be the work of Dignāga. He says [*JRAS* (1918) 118], "It might have seemed to Kālidāsa to deserve the epithet *sthūla*, 'coarse,' or unsuitable the standing epithet which philosophers affix to what they regard as merely *prima facie* views. And *pro tanto*, we should have an argument in favour of Mallinātha's suggestion of a slighting allusion to that philosopher in the var-a quoted *supra*. It is certainly noticeable coincidence that Dignāga should be a reputed author of a work so called and there is a further coincidence with the fact that the fifth of the six Karikas comprising the text appears to be the subtle (*sthūlīmā*) minded, who are to forego belief in coarse (*sthūla*) things. But unfortunately the Chinese tradition appears to fluctuate regarding the authorship which is sometimes ascribed in fact to Āryadeva. I have advanced the suggestion that Āryadeva was author of the text, Dignāga, who often functions as a commentator, of the commentary. If so the fact has certainly some significance. The *Hand* treatise, an extremely compendious demonstration of the *vignāna* or else the *śūnyatā* doctrine (the latter term is not mentioned) may well have been a familiar as controversial weapon and so have provoked a slighting mention by Kālidāsa."

Dignāga is a celebrated author on *Pramāṇa Sastra*. See Weber (*op cit* 209 note); Watanabe "On the life of Dignāga" (*Japanese Oriental Philosophy* (1904) No 5, Cowell, *Preface* to *Kusumanjali*, vii, Hall (*op cit* 9), *JBRAS*, XVIII 229, XVII 51, Tarasūtha, *History of Buddhism*, 118 S P Pandit (*op cit* 76 82), Goldschmidt, *ZDMG*, XXVI 808, Lieblon, *Das Datum des Kālidāsa* (Strassburg) 201, 1A, XLI 244 (Itsing refers to Dignāga as later than Vasubandhu and places him between 475 and 525 and Vasubandhu was a contemporary of Candragupta II and his literary career occupies the first three quarters of the 5th century. See Meghasandesa vīmāśa, page 16 Peterson's *Int to Sub* 45,

Pathak (1A, XLI 244) and V Smith (*EH* 329) and K O Sankara Iyer (*JMy* VIII 85) place Dignāga in the 5th century A D. These opinions of Dignāga's date are based on the Tibetan tradition [*JASB*, (1206) 927] that Dignāga was a disciple of Vasubandhu. According to Chinese tradition, Vasubandhu and his elder brother Asaṅga lived 900 years after the death of Buddha. This starting point, namely Buḍḍha's death, is so uncertain, that the fabric constructed on such basis must necessarily be unreliable and inconclusive. For instance, Buddha's Nirvāṇa is placed by Northern Buddhists in 2422 B C, Ami Akbari at 1246 B C, Southern Buddhists 548 B C, Rhys Davids 412 B C, Kern, 888 B C, Max Muller, 477 B C, Fleet [*JBAS*, (1908) 179, 669] 488 B C, Oldenburg and Barth (*Ind Rev* VIII 561), Gopala Iyer (*Ind Rev* 1908, 884) 487 B C, Kirtikar (*Ind Rev* 1908, 101) 500 B C., V Smith (*Asoka EH*, 479) finds some coincidences and fixes the date 487 B C.

On Vasubandhu's date, see Paramartha's *Life of Vasubandhu*, Macdonnel (*SL*, 825), S O Vidyabhushan [*JASB* (1905) 227], N Peri *Bull de l'Ecote fr. d'Extrême Orient*, XI 389 90, Pathak [1A, (1911), 170, (1912), 244], Hoernle 1A, (1911) 264], R Narasimhacharya, (*Ibid* 812) D R Bhandarkar (1A, 1912 1) Haraprasad Sastri (*Ibid*. 15), Watters (I 210), Takakasu [*JRAS*, (1905), 44] and *Life of Vasubandhu*

this reasoning he says that Kāmandakā being older than Bhavabhūti, Kālidāsa must be earlier than 6th century A D ¹

19 KERN and BHANDARKAR accept the tradition of the "Nine Gems" that Varāhamihira and Kālidāsa were contemporaries and while fixing the date of Varāhamihira's work from a statement of Amoraja as 587 A.D., they say that his friend Kālidāsa must have lived about the latter part of the 6th century A D ²

TOP says "while Hindu literature survives, the name of Bhoja Paramāra and the nine gems of his Court cannot perish though it is difficult to say who of the three princes of his name is particularly alluded to *op cit* as they all appear to have been patrons of Science'

1. (IA, XL 236 note) This conclusion would show that Varāhamihira and Kālidāsa were not contemporaries. But A F Hoernle (IA, XLI 156) controverts this view. Carlo Formichi in his paper on Kāmandakī's Nīṣara before the 12th Congress of Orientalists of Rome argues that Kāmandakī was either a contemporary of or earlier than Varāhamihira who flourished, as he said, between 505 and 587 A D. Jacobi however in his paper on Indian Philosophy (*Sitzungsberichte*, XXXV) places Kāmandakī earlier than the 4th century. Weber (*IST*, III 145) and (*IL*, 271 note) inclines to the same view and says (*op cit* 325) that the Kāvī Translation of the work probably belongs at the earliest to about the same date as the translation of the Mahābhārata. See also Int to the book edited in Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No 14, with the commentary of Sankararya and *Bibl Ind* (1849 61). The lists poisoned kings in Kāmandakī was taken from Koutalya's Arthashastra and hence Varāhamihira need not be indebted to Kamandaka.

2. Kern (*Preface to Brihatsamhita*, 20) Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Deccan*, 12, *JBRAS*, XIV 24) Bhau Daji (*op cit* 45) Amoraja wrote a commentary on the Khanda Khādyā of Brahmagupta, who lived in 628 A D. On these astronomers, see Bhau Daji's (*op cit* 223-159). Colebrooke (*Essays*, II 434) assigned Varāhamihira to the end of the 6th century A D. See also Fleet, *OII*, III App 143, *JAOS*, VI Art 3, and *JRAS*, NS I 407, 392. This opinion, says S P Pandit (*op cit* 69), also rests on the unreliable authority of the memorial verse on "Nine Gems". On this question see also Apte (*op cit* 2). M Duff (*Ind Chr*) gives date 587 A D. See also *The Pandit*, NS XIV 13. Kern also relies on an inscription in the Buddhist Temple at Gaya which according to Cunningham shows that that temple was built by Amaraśeva, one of the nine gems of Vikrama. Kern also says that Jishnu, the father of Brahmagupta, was a contemporary of Kālidāsa and in 638, Brahmagupta was 80 years of age and Varāhamihira's date, 587 A D, confirms this tradition. See Max Müller, *op cit* 327, Apte, *op cit* 2.

Bhandarkar [*Ind. Rev* (1909) 405] says that Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya, put an end to the Śaka dynasty ruling over Ujjain and also the Kushana dynasty and he was probably the famous Vikramāditya Śākari, the patron of the learned poets and fixes his dates 388-412 A D.

3. *Annals of Rajasthan*, I 92, Tod gives for the three kings of that time Samvat 681-721, 1100, that is, 575, 665 and 1044 A D, respectively. See also Bhau Daji (*op cit* 8).

BENTLEY relies on the authority of the Bhojaprabandha and makes Kālidāsa a poet of the Court of King Bhoja of Dhar in the 11th century A D¹

20. Of direct references to Kālidāsa the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II is the earliest and it is dated 634 A D² The famous Mandassor inscription contains an exquisite panegyric by Vatsabhatta and several verses in it have a very close resemblance to some in Kālidāsa's Meghasandesa and Rtusimbhāra³ This Panegyric was composed in 472 A D⁴

21 The theory of the "Nine Gems" of Vikrama's Court may not be accepted as real history Jyotirvidyabharana may be a forgery of a late date or the verse that embodies the story may be an interpolation But the fact remains that the tradition was current as early as the 7th or 8th century A D Subandhu alludes to it and the allusion cannot be easily explained away⁵ The tradition has become so saturated with the Indian sentiment, that it is impossible for any orientalist to shake off the impression The feeling has become so intuitive that whenever any researcher, sceptic as he is towards anything save bare historical evidence, discovers a King, as the patron of Kālidāsa, be he Samudragupta, Kumāragupta or Candragupta, Yaśodharman, Harṣa, Śūdraka, of the centuries before or after the era of Grace, the theorist always seeks to trace an association of his name with the appellation of Vikramāditya If in fact the tradition is false or unreliable, why should this anxiety be evinced everywhere to connect the name with a Vikramāditya at all?

1 *Asiatic Researches*, VIII 248 Bhanu Daji (*op cit* 6 and *JBRAS*, VI 28 note) and S P Pandit (*op cit* 68) and Nandargikar (*op cit* 68) say that Bhoja Prabandha is a medley and is of little value as history On this work, see under Bhoja post.

2. येनायोजिनवेरम् स्थिरमर्थविधौ विवेकिना जिनवेरम् ।

विजयतां रविकीर्तिं कविताश्रितकालिदासमारविकीर्तिं ॥

IA, VIII 287

3 On this similarity, see Apte (*op cit* 14) Kielhorn [*Got N* (1890), 257, IA, XIX 285] S P Pandit (*op cit* 127) and Leibich (*Annual Rep of the Sch Ges fur Vaterlandische Kultur Breslau*, 1908, 6-7) rely on the identity of the verses in Rtusambhara (V 28) and fix Kālidāsa's date before 478 A D See Jacobi (*VOJ*, III, 127) Hoernle [*JRAS*, (1909), 41] criticises this view

4 Fleet's *CII*, III 65 69, see para 10 supra

5 सारसवनाविहता नवका विलसन्ति चरति नो कङ्क ।

सरसीव कीर्तिशेषं गतवति भुवि विक्रमादित्ये ॥ *Vāsavadattā*

Hoernle and Haraprasad Sastri take this verse to refer to Candragupta Vikramāditya (See IA, XLI 1, 15) who died according to them about 418 A.D., but they ignore the effect of the word *navaaka*, which curiously alludes by the pun on it to the nine gems.

22 Among the several data that have formed the basis of discussion, it may not be possible to make light of at least a few. The idea that the hero of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* was the king Agnimitra of the Sunga dynasty and the allusion to the successive names of Gupta kings or the reference to the names of Dīngnāga in his works, are all expressive pieces of material evidence, which must command a serious consideration in the determination of dates. But when an argument as to age is to be invoked on internal evidence, it necessarily follows that the conclusion can hold good only in respect of the particular work that shows the evidence, and it is a mistake to follow an a priori reasoning and to assert that the conclusion is good as the standard for all works, fathered on the name of Kālidāsa.

Of external evidence, there is nothing safe to go by. Vikramāditya or the 'Sun of Valour' is more an appellation than a name and the title has come to be a formal attribute to any ruler in India irrespective of distinction.¹ The literature of the inscriptions abound in such instances. Of Vikramāditya, was he a reality and if he is, where is his identity? Of the Śakas, were they the Persians or the Indo-Scythians? Of the Huns, were they the marauders of the countries, before or after the Christian era? Of Dīngnāga, when did he flourish? It is dependent upon Asanga, that on Vasubandhu and that on Buddha, which still hangs in the air. Of Aśvaghoṣa, was he a contemporary of Kaniska and when did Kaniska rule over Indian dominions? Of Agnimitra, was he the son of Pūyamitra and if he was referred to in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Pāṇjali, when did Pāṇjali flourish? Of Greek astronomy, did Kālidāsa copy from Āryabhata and when was the Greek astronomy brought into India? These are questions that are yet to be answered with unanimity and until then such external evidence can only beget a diversity of conclusion.

1. Kielhorn (*IA*, XX 409) as summed up by Fleet, (*IA*, XXX 4), says "The word Vikrama, from which the idea of the King Vikrama or Vikramāditya was evoked most probably came to be connected with the era by the poets, because the year of reckoning originally began in the autumn and the autumn was the season of commencing campaigns and was in short the Vikramakāla or war time."

On Vikramāditya, see Seshagiri Sastri, *IA*, I 314, Lassen, *IAit*, II 800, Weber, *IAit*, II 416, Wilford, *AR*, IX, Princep, *Essays*, II. 249, *JBRAS*, VI 27, V. Smith, *EH*, 332 note, 421, A. C. Chatterjee, *Kalidasa, His Poetry and Mind*, 90.

Kshetresachandra Chattopadhyaya (*All Un. Studies*, II 80 *et seq*) elaborately discusses the date of Kālidāsa and says Vikramāditya, who was Kālidāsa's patron was son of Gardabhulla. He refers to passages from Kālakācārya Kathānaka, from which extracts are given by Rapson in *Cambridge History of India* (532 f).

23 In this state of uncertainty the student of research is bewildered and if the arguments advanced by various scholars are all accepted it would be impossible to foist all the works that go by the name of Kālidāsa on one Kālidāsa. As early as 8th and 9th century A.D. the existence of three Kālidāsas in the past age appears to have been noticed. Dēvendra author of *Kavikalpalatā* refers to it¹ and Rājaśekhara² and Abhinanda³ seem to say so.

24 T. S. Narayana Sastry in his introduction to *Haidimba Vaidagdhya*, an epitome of Bhāsa's *Madhvamavāgoga*, classifies the works under several Kālidāsas thus:

1. KALIDASA (I) alias MATRGLPTA of the court of King Harsha Vikramāditya of Ujjain who lived in the 6th Century B.C. He was the author of the three plays and the *Mahākāvya* *Setubandha*.⁴

II. KALIDASA (II), alias MEDHARUDRA of the Court of King Vikramarka of Malwa the founder of the Malava era in 57 B.C. He wrote the three poems *Kumārasambhava*, *Raghuvamśa* and *Meghadūta* and a treatise on astronomy *Jyotiṛvidābharana*.⁵

1. See *GO*, I 99, *Kāvya-mālā*, I 8.

2. एकोऽपि जीयते हन्त कालिदासो न केनचित् ।

शृङ्गारे ललितोदारे कालिदामत्रयी किमु ॥—*Sukṭimuktāvali*

It may be that this verse has been misunderstood, for कालिदासत्रयी means generally his three poems and Rājaśekhara might have punned upon the word त्रयी. किमु and हन्त mean that it is चित्त or pun.

3. हालेनोत्तमपूजया कविवृष श्रीपालितो ललित

ख्याति कामपि कालिदासकवयो नीता जकारातिना । *Rāmacarita*

4. In his commentary on this poem King Ramadāsa of Jayapura who lived in the days of King Akbar says

धीराणां काव्यचर्चाचतुरिमविधये विक्रमादित्यवाचा

य चक्रे कालिदास कविकुमुदविषु सेतुनाम प्रबन्धम् ।

Setubandha or *Rāvaṇavadhā* in 16 āśvāsas describes the story of Rāma, the building of the Setu and the defeat of Rāvaṇa. It is perhaps the best poem in Prakrit literature and may certainly have been the production of Kālidāsa. There are commentaries by Rāmadāsa, written at the instance of Emperor Akbar in 1595 A.D. and by Kālānātha, Sri Kṛṣṇa Mādhavayajvan Ed. Bombay with Rāmadāsa's commentary Ed. Göttingen and translated by Goldschmidt (Strassburg). See Stein Konow's *Int. to Karpuramāṇari* [*BOS* No. 5 194] and S. P. Pandit [*Int. to Raghu*, 72]. Apte, *Date of Kālidāsa*, 41. Dandin calls it "an ocean of jewels of beautiful sentences." Bāṇa praises *Pravaraśena* and his poem *Setu*. Vidyānaṭha calls the poem *Mahāprabandha* and quotes an āryā from it.

5. This bears date 3068 Kali or 34 B.C. In the *Seṣādhyāya* the poet says —

काव्यत्रयं सुमतिक्रष्टुवशपूर्वं जातं ततो ननु कियच्छ्रुतिकर्मवाद ।

ज्योतिर्विदामरणकालविधानशाला श्रीकालिदासकवितो हि ततो बभूव ॥

III KALIDASA (III), alias KOTIJIT a disciple of Mūka Śaṅkar of Kamakoti Peetam (1397-430 A.D.) He wrote Rāksambara, Śṛṅgāra-tilaka, Śyāmalādāṇḍaka, Navarāṭnamāla and many minor poems and Śruṭabodha (on prosody)

[These three are said to represent कालिदसत्रयी mentioned by Rājāśekhara]

IV PARIMALA KALIDASA (IV), alias PADMAGUPTA, contemporary of King Munja of Dhāra and author of Navasāhasāṅkacarita

V KALIDASA (V) known as YAMAKAKAVI, author of the poem Nalodaya

VI NAVA KALIDASA (VI), author of Champu Bhāgavata

VII KALIDASA ĀLBARĪA (VII) contemporary of King Akbar, composed a number of Samasyas¹

VIII KALIDASA (VIII), author of Lambodara Prahasana

IX ABHINAVA KALIDASA, alias MADHAVA, author of Saṅkṣepaṣaṅkaraviṇayam

25 Raghuvamśa in 19 cantos² narrates the history of the race of Raghu and in five cantos, 10 to 15, the story of Rama's life is recounted. Then follows an account of the successors of Rāma until Agnivarna. The last canto presents to us the coronation of his posthumous prince then in embryo and the verse is enchanting³. It is said that his object might have been to connect some one of the dynasties of kings existing in his time with the race descended from the Sun and others think that Kālidāsa was a contemporary of Agnivarna, with

1 He is quoted by Hari in his Subhāṣitahārāvalī. See Thomas, *Kav* 14

2 Translated by S. P. Pandit, Bombay, by Nandargikar, Bombay, by K. M. Joglekar, Bombay, by Louis Renous (into French), Paris. See Analysis of Raghuvamśa, *JASB*, XXI 445. Ed. with eight commentaries, Bombay. D. T. Tatacharya '1st verse of Raghuvamśa' (Paper read at 3rd Oriental Conference, Madras)

For comparison of verses in Raghuvamśa and other poems of Kālidāsa with Aśvaghoṣa's verses, see references under Aśvaghoṣa. For a historical appreciation of the kings and kingdoms mentioned in Raghuvamśa, see Kshetresvara Chandra Chatteropadhyaya's *Date of Kalidasa*, (*All Un. Studies*, II 76 et seq). There he says that the poem was complete and that Agnivarna was probably Devabhūmi of the Sunga dynasty who was slaughtered by his indignant Brahmin minister Vasudeva (I c. 154). S. Ray (*Int. to Sakuntala*, 28) says Kālidāsa could be contemporary of Agnimitra, the hero of Mālavikāgnimitra.

3

तस्यास्तथाविधनरेन्द्रविपत्तिशोका-

दुष्णैर्विलोचनजलैः प्रथमाभितप्तः ।

निर्वापितः कनककुम्भमुखोज्ज्वलेन

वशामिषैकविधिना शिशिरेण गर्भः ॥ *Ragh* XIX 56.

whose death the poem, as it is, ends. Either Kālidāsa did not finish his poem or the rest of the entire poem has not come down to us.

The following 21 Kings are mentioned: Dilīpa, Raghu, Aja, Dasaratha, Rāma, Kusa, Atithi, Nisadha, Nala, Nābha, Pundarika, Kṣemadhanya, Devānika, Ahimantu, Pārvātra, Śīla, Unnābha, Vajraghoṣa, Śankhaṇḍa, Viṣṭāśva, Viśvasaha, Hiranvanābha, Kausalya, Brahmītha, Putra, Punva, Dhruvasandhi, Sudarśana, Agnivarṇa. S. P. Pandit examines these lists as given in the Rāmāvana and Vāyu and Viṣṇu Purāṇas and concludes, "The list of the kings as given by Kālidāsa in his Raghuvamśa does not at all agree with that given in the Ramayana but it generally agrees with those which are found in the Vayu Purana and the Vishnu Purana. Some difference of course is observed even between the list of Kālidāsa and those of the Puranas. From these lists of the kings it is clear that Kālidāsa has not adopted the Ramayana as the basis of his Raghuvamśa. It also appears probably that the author of the Raghuvamśa and of the Vayu Purana had a common source to draw their materials upon which is now beyond the hope of recovery. The Ramayana gives two kings between Dilīpa and Raghu and between Raghu and Aja are mentioned eleven kings, while in the Vayu Purana between Raghu and Dilīpa intervenes Dirghabahu and Aja is mentioned as the son of Raghu. And this statement tallies well with Vishnu Purana."

26. Kumarasambhava, a poem in 17 cantos, describes the birth of Kumāra, the War God¹. As antecedent history, the poem narrates the supplication of the Gods to Lord Śiva for the creation of a general for the forces of the Gods, capable of destroying their enemy Tāraka, whose depredations they were then unable to bear. Then follow the birth of Pārvatī as the daughter of Himācala, Śiva's penance in the Himālayas and his marriage with Pārvatī. With the union of Śiva and Pārvatī, the 8th canto closes and the remaining cantos describe the story of the birth of Kumāra and destruction of Tāraka. Kālidāsa was a great votary of Vālmīki and named his poem after the verse of Rāmāyaṇa :

एष ते राम गङ्गायाः विस्तरोऽभिहितो मया ।

कुमारसम्बन्धैव धन्यः पुण्यस्तथैव च ॥

Bālakāṇḍa, xxxvii, 32

"The birth of the War God," says Griffith "was either left unfinished

1 Ed. with notes and English translation by M. R. Kale (Cantos 1—8) Translated into English poetry by Griffith (Oriental Tr. Fund Ser.).

or time has robbed us of the conclusion. The latter is the more probable supposition, tradition informing us that the poem originally consisted of 22 cantos." The language of cantos 9 to 17 is inferior to the language of cantos 1 to 8,¹ and commentators have noticed only cantos 1 to 8, it is therefore said that cantos 9 to 17 are not the work of Kālidāsa. There are some who say that canto 8 in which the amorous pleasures of actual union between Śiva and Pārvatī are described is also not the work of Kālidāsa, because it is a sacrilege and Kālidāsa would not have been guilty of it. These objections are answered by Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita in his commentary Vivaraṇa.²

1 R. V. Krishnamacharya (*Saḥ* ix. 151) collects defects of language and expression in cantos 9 to 17 and generally says

नवमादय सर्गास्तु यन केनापि विरचिता स्युरिति माति । नवमादिषु किल मवेष्टु क्वचित्क्वचिच्छब्दतो वर्णनादिमिश्र पूर्वतरसवाददर्शनेऽपि भूयसा विमवाद एव ममुपलभ्यत । किंच तत्र प्रायेण विसंशुलानि परस्परसौहार्दविरहितानि शिथिलशिथिलानि क्वचित्क्वचिदश्लीलप्रायाणि अपप्रयुक्तानि पुनरुक्तकन्यानि पदजातानि नियतमकालिदासीयन्वमेव नवमादिना सर्गाणामावेदयन्ति ॥

Śiva Prasad Bhattacharya discusses the question and says cantos 9-22 are Kālidāsa's only (Paper read at 4th Oriental Conference, Allahabad)

२ 'ननु काव्यं यत्साव्यं तदनुसारेणैव काव्यस्य सङ्गा कर्तव्या । यथा—युधिष्ठिरविजय-जानकीहरणशिञ्जुपालवधप्रभृतीनाम् । अत्र तु तारकासुरनिग्रह काव्ये साध्यतया निर्दिष्ट, 'तस्मिन्विप्रकृता कालं तारकेण दिवौकस' इत्युपक्रमान् । तस्मात्तारकवध इत्येव सङ्गा कर्तव्या । तत्पर्यन्तं च काव्यं प्रवर्तयितव्यम् । न चैतत्कृतम् । तस्मादसमञ्जसमिदं काव्यम् । अपि च कुमारोत्पत्तिपर्यन्तमपि न काव्यं कृतम् । तस्मादनुपपन्नमिदं नामापीति । अत्रोच्यते—नात्र तारकासुरवध काव्ये साव्य, 'तदिच्छामो विमो स्रष्टु सेनान्य तस्य शान्तये' इति देवैः कुमारसृष्टिमात्रस्यैव ब्रह्माण प्रति प्रार्थितत्वात् । तारकासुरनिग्रहस्तु कुमारद्रव्यप्रस्तावकतया निमित्तत्वेनापेक्षित, यथा—किरातार्जुनीये दुर्योधनजय । तस्मात् कुमारमसव इत्येव सङ्गा युक्ता । न चेन्न सर्ति तत्पर्यन्तं काव्यं प्रवर्तयितव्यमिति वाच्यम्, 'उमारूपेण ते यूयं संयमस्तिमित मन । शमोर्यतध्वमाक्रष्टुसंयस्कान्तेन लोहवत्' इति ब्रह्माण प्रतिकवनेन शमोश्चिचाकर्षणमात्रस्यैव परमसाध्यत्वेन प्रतिपादनात् । कारणपौष्कल्ये कार्यस्यावश्यमाव एव ब्रह्माणस्तथा निर्देशे हेतुरिति चावगन्तव्यम् । शमोश्चिचाकर्षण पुनरष्टमे सर्वे विस्तरतः प्रतिपादितम् । यथोक्तमन्यश्लोके—

‘समादिवसनिशीथं सङ्गिनस्तत्र शमो
शतमगमदत्ता सार्धमेका निशेव ।
स न मुरतमुखेषु छिन्तुष्णो बभूव
ज्वलन इव समुद्रान्तर्गतस्तज्जलेषु ॥’ इति ।

27 There are commentaries ¹ on Raghuvamsa by Nārāyaṇa ² by

उक्त च पञ्चमसर्गान्ते देवीं प्रति देवेनैव 'अद्यप्रभृत्यवनताङ्गि तवास्मि दास क्रीतस्तपोभि' इति । तस्मात् 'उमारूपेण—' इत्युपक्रमान् 'अद्यप्रभृति' इति परामर्शात्, 'समादिवसनिशीघ्रम्' इत्युपसहाराच्च शमोश्चित्ताकर्षणमात्र एव तात्पर्यम्, 'उपक्रमोपमहारावभ्यासाऽपूर्वता फलम् । अर्थवादोपपत्ती च लिङ्ग तात्पर्यनिर्णये' इति वचनान् । तच्च सम्यक्प्रतिपादितम् । अष्टमसर्गे समोगवर्णनेन कुमारोत्पत्तेर्बिन्दुपक्षेपोऽपि कृत इति सर्वमनवद्यम् । यत्तत्र तारकासुरनिग्रहपर्यन्त चिकीर्षितमिदं काव्यम्, निजममोगवर्णनेन कुपिताया देव्या शापादसपूर्णं जनितमिति कैश्चिदुक्तम्, तदप्युक्तया रीत्या परिहृतं वेदितव्यम् । क्वेश्चिकीर्षाया एतत्पर्यन्तत्वस्य समाधितत्त्वान् । देव्या शापाभाव पुनरष्टममर्गादौ निपुणमुपपादयिष्यामः" इति ।

अत्रैव विनिवृत्ति विवरणकार — "पार्वतीपरमेश्वरयोः शरीरग्रहणमात्रमपि लोकाग्रहार्थमेव । यथोक्तं भगवता—'विदितं वो यथा स्वार्था न मे काश्चित्प्रवृत्तयः' इति । देव्या अपि शरीरग्रहणादिकं लोकाग्रहार्थमेवेति देवीमाहत्म्यादिषु तत्र तत्र प्रतिपादितम् । विविधा हि लोके जना—मुक्ता, मुमुक्षु, सत्ताश्चेति । तत्र मुक्तानां कृतकृत्यत्वादेतया लीलायितानां भवन्ति नश्रवणादिभिः परब्रह्मानुभवतुल्यकुल्य परमाह्लादो भवतीति अनुग्रहो भूयानेव । मुमुक्षूणां तु लीलायितश्रवणानुसधानादिभिरन्तःकरणशुद्धिरूपो महाअनुग्रहः स्पष्ट एव । किं च महत्तरैरपि तपश्चरणैरुभाभ्यामपि तदनुग्रहः एव कृतः, इत्थं कर्तव्यमित्युपदेशमात्रपरत्वाच्च योस्तपश्चरणानाम् । कामिना तु चित्तावर्जनं समोगशृङ्गारानुगृहीतकथाश्रवणैर्न सुकरमिति लीलागृहीतशरीरैर्भगवन्ताविमं प्रकारमारब्धवन्तौ । येन केनापि प्रकारेण भगवति मनःप्रणिधानमेव मुक्तिकारणमित्युक्तं भागवते—'काम क्रोध मय स्नेहमैव सौहृदमेव वा । नित्यं हरौ विदधतो यान्ति तन्मयता हि ते ।' इति । महाकाविरपि कामिना चित् पार्वतीपरमेश्वरपादारविन्दाम्भक्त विधातुमेवाष्टमे सर्गे वात्स्यायनशास्त्रानुसारिणीं पदवीधुरीचकार । तस्माच्छोकोत्तरलौकिकनायकव्यवहारमखिलजनानुग्रहार्थमनुकुर्वतो रेतयोर्महानटयोस्तदनुगुणानां प्रबन्धानां निर्माणतद्व्याख्यानश्रवणादिभिरनुग्रहः एव भूयानाविर्भवति । तदनुबद्धानि वचनानि तु स्तुतावेव पर्यवस्यन्तीत्यलमिति प्रसङ्गेन ॥" इति ।

ध्वनिकारस्तु—'अव्युत्पत्तिकृतो दोषः शक्यः सप्रियते कवे' इत्युक्त्वा, 'महाकवीनामभ्युत्तमदेवताविषयप्रसिद्धसमोगशृङ्गारनिबन्धनाद्यनौचित्यशक्तिरिस्कृतत्वाद्भ्राम्यत्वेन न प्रतिभासते, यथा—कुमारसम्भवे देवीसमोगवर्णनम्' इत्याह ।

1 See S P Pandit's *Int to Raghu*, 9 et seq Nandargikar's *Int to Raghu*, Sivadaṭṭa's *Int to Nāṣhadha* and Durgaprasad's *Int to Māgha*

2. DC, XX, 7720, TC, II 2598, Op, 2651. He was a disciple of Kṛṣṇa and lived in Malabar.

Sumativijaya,³ by Udayākara,⁹ by Hemādri,⁸ by Vallabha,⁴ by Haridāśa,⁵ by Cāritravardhana,⁶ by Mallinātha,⁷ by Dinakara,⁸ by Vijayagani,⁹ by Dharmameru,¹⁰ three anonymous,¹¹ by Bharatasāra,¹² by Brihaspati-misra,¹³ by Kṛṣṇapaṭisarma,¹⁴ Guṇavijayagani,¹⁵ Gopīnātha Kavirāja,¹⁶ Janārdana,¹⁷ Mahesvara,¹⁸ Nagnadhara,¹⁹ Bhagīratha,²⁰ Bhūvadev-misra,²¹ Rāmabhadra,²² Kṛṣṇabhalla,²³ Tṛdivākara,²⁴ Iśa-taka,²⁵ Śrīnātha,²⁶ Aruṇagiri-nātha,²⁷ Raṇnacandra,²⁸ Bhāgavahamśa,²⁹ Jñānen-

1 PR, IV 28, 34, Dec Col No 46, *Kash Cat* 72 He was a native of Vikrama-pura (Bikaner?) and composed his work between A D 1635-42 He quotes Vallabha and Kṛṣṇabhalla The manuscript contains all the 19 Cantos S P Pandit's l c 11, Nandargikar l c 24

2 PR, IV 28, 34

3 PR, III 895, B, II 100, TC, IV 5574 He refers to commentators Viśvarakāra, Dakṣiṇāvarta, Kṛṣṇa and Vallabha S P Pandit l c 10, Nandargikar c 12

4 PR, I 118, IF 28, 34 S P Pandit l c 10, Nandargikar, l c 10 and Durgaprasad l v. to *Rajju* 5 He is quoted by Hemādri, Cāritravardhana, Mallinātha and Sumativijaya

5 PR, IV 29 He was son of Viṣṇudāsa

6 PR, II, 189 III 210, IV App 210 xxviii *Kash Cat* 72 He was a Jain and wrote at the request of Śādhū Aradakvamalla of Śrīmata race He mentions commentaries by Bhoja Vallabha, Viśvarakāra, Dakṣiṇāvarta and Kṛṣṇabhalla

7 Ed Bombay, Madras and elsewhere

8 B, II 100 He was son of Dharmāṅgada and Kamalā He wrote his commentary in Samvat 1441 (=1885 A.D.) He was probably a contemporary of Mallinātha and copied Chāritravardhana He refers to a commentator Prabhākara For S P Pandit's remarks see l c 17

9 Dec Col No 44 He was pupil of Rāmavijaya of Tapagaccha The manuscript is a fragment and breaks off in 10th Canto

10 PC, I 487 See S P Pandit, l c 25

11 The author of one was pupil of Vijayānandasuri See NP, VII 44, *Radh*, 22, Op 2975

12 IO, 551, VII 1416, 1420 He was son of Gaurāṅgamallika of Ambaṭṭa Vaidya Hariharkhan family and lived in the 18th century He has commented on other Mahākāvyas also (See CC, II 418)

13 IO, 531, 997, VII 1420

14 *Mitra Rep* VII, L 2404

15 L 3060

16 B, II 100

17 NW 620

18 L 2374

19 *Mitra Rep* VII, L 2505 He was Nyayalankara

20 Rgb 895

21 *Kash Cat*, 71

22 BC, 311, Ed Trichur

23 Bd., 447

16 L 1184

18 Op 5156, TC, IV 5643

20 L 1421

24 Rgb 396

26 Cu, 1896

28 Bd 446

dra,¹ Bhoja,² Bharaṭamallika,³ Jibānanda Vidyāsāgara,⁴ Samudrasūrī,⁵ a pupil of Vijavānanda,⁶ Dakṣināvartanāṭha,⁷ Samavasundara,⁸ Kanaklal Thakur⁹

28 There are commentaries on Kumāra-Sambhava by Kṛṣṇapaṭi Śarma,¹⁰ Kṛṣṇamīṭhācārya,¹¹ Gopālānanda,¹² Govindarāma,¹³ Cāṇṭhravardhana,¹⁴ Jinabhadrasūrī,¹⁵ Narahari,¹⁶ Prabhākara,¹⁷ Bhaṭṭapaṭi,¹⁸ Bharaṭasena,¹⁹ Bhīmamīśra,²⁰ Munimāṭiratna,²¹ Mallināṭha,²² Raghupati,²³ Vāṭsa or Vāṣa Vāṭsa,²⁴ Ānandadevayānīvallabha,²⁵ Vallabhādeva,²⁶ Vindhyaesvarīprajāda,²⁷ Haricaranadāsa,²⁸ Navanīṭarāmamīśra,²⁹ Bharaṭamallika,³⁰ Jayasimha,³¹ Lakṣmīvallabha,³² Dakṣināvartanāṭha,³³ Vidyāmādhava,³⁴ Nandagopāla,³⁵ Śiṭārāma,³⁶ Nārāyaṇa,³⁷ Haridāsa,³⁸ Arunagirinātha,³⁹ Gopālādāsa,⁴⁰ Farkavācaspati,⁴¹ Sarasvatītīrtha,⁴² Rāma Pārasava,⁴³ Jibānanda Vidyāsāgara,⁴⁴ Kumārasena⁴⁵ and two anonymous⁴⁶

1 BC, 410

2 S P Pandit, *Int to Ragh* 26

3 IO, 551

4 Ed Calcutta

5 *Lah* 4

6 Dec Col No 65 He quotes Vallabha, Dakṣināvarta, Kṛṣṇabhatta and Cāṇṭhravardhana. S P Pandit says he was a contemporary of Dinakara

7 The manuscript is in Madras library He is quoted by Arunagirināṭha and he quotes Keaṇṇaswāmī's Nānārthhārnavasamkṣepa composed in the 12th century. He was a native of the Chola country, (See *Int to Meghasandēśa*, Tr S Series No 64)8 *Kaśh Cat* 71

9 Ed Benares

10 L 2408, *Mitra Rep* VII This commentary refers to earlier voluminous commentaries by Jyāddhara and Divākara now unknown11 *Oudh* X 6

12 IO, 222, AS, 47

13 L, 701

14 Kh 65, Ed Bombay, Benares

15 *Lah* 4, *Ryb* 387

16 B 156, De, 171

17 B 2

18 IO, 228, 1073

19 IO, 229

20 *Oudh* XIX 42

21 PR, II 54

22 Ed everywhere.

23 L 1964, on 8 cantos

24 B 2, 78, BJ, 17

25 *Oudh*, XIV 28, PR, I 114

26 PR, I 114, NW, 614

27 NW 640 He was the pupil of Kṛṣṇa He refers to another commentary by Śiva Dāsa which he proposes to follow

28 PR, I 114

29 AS, 47

30 AS, 47 He is older than Śaka 1650, the date of a manuscript of his commentary on Ghatakarpara (*Mitra* IX No. 4172), see JASB, (1917) 9

31 TC, IV 4715, 4718

32 *Saśh* XIX 106

33 TC, III 3863

34 IC, II 2592, *Kup Rep* (1916 19)

35 IO, 228

36 L, 3289 Ed Bombay (Cantos 8 17)

37 DC, XX 7720 2, TC, IV 5014, 5543 Ed Trivandrum

38 AK, 476 (1-3)

39 Ed Trivandrum.

40 PR, IV 25

41 Ed Calcutta

42 *Kaśh Cat* 67,

43 Cochin State Library, 110

44 Ed Calcutta

45 B Or RI, Cat, 46 (3 cantos)

46 *Ibid* 14-15 (7 and 8 cantos).

R Krishnamāchārva's *Raghuvamśa-vimarśa* and Kumārasambhava-vimarśa are running critiques on these poems commenting on their innate excellences.¹ Raghuśanksepa gives a succinct account of *Raghuvamśa*.² Kumāravijaya³ of Bhaskaravajjan, son of Īśvarasūrya, of Vatsagoṭra and Kumāroḍṛya⁴ by Korāda Ramachandra relate the same story. Kumārasambhava of Javāśekharaśūrī is a Jun work.⁵

29 The commentators—VALLABHA was the son of Ānandadeva and was a follower of Kashmir śaivism.⁶ He criticises Hemacandra's opinion expressed in his Sanskrit grammar and is attacked in Ganaratnamahodadhī completed in 1141 AD. Hemacandra lived in Jayasimba's reign (1094-1143 AD).⁷ K. B. Pathak therefore says that Vallabha must have finished his commentary on Kumārasambhava about 1120 or a few years before 1141 AD.⁸ S. P. Pandit says he must have lived long before Dinakara, that is, 1383 AD.⁹ Durgaprasād identified him with Vallabhadeva, grandfather of Kayyata, who wrote in 977-8 AD.¹⁰ and Hultzsch¹¹ and Peterson¹² agree with him, and the latter says that the verses quoted in *Suhāṣitāvalī* and *Sārngadharapaddhati* under Vallabhadeva must have been by the commentator Vallabhadeva. These verses show excellent poetry.¹³

Kayyata was the son of Candrāditya and wrote a commentary on Ānandavardhana's *Deviśāṭaka* in 977 AD. He is different from Kayyata, son Jayyata, author of *Bhāṣyapradīpa*.

1 Ed Madras

2 S. P. Pandit's *Int* to *Ragh*, 15-17

3 *TC*, IV 5818 (f). He is the author of *Akṣilāndanāyakiṇḍaka* (*TC*, IV 5819)

4 Ed Masulipatam

5 Ed Bombay

6 For a distinction of this author from the anthologist Vallabha, see S. K. De, *JRAS*, (1927), 471-7, (1928), 408 and D. C. Bhattacharya, *JRAS*, (1928), 135

7 See for his life, later in this Chapter

8 *Int* to *Megha*

9 *Int* to *Raghu*, 10

10. *Int* to *Vakrokti-pancūśika*

11 *Int* to *Megha*

12 *Int* to *Suhā*

13 अयमवसर सरस्ते सलिलैरुपकर्तुमर्थिनामनिशम् ।

इदमपि च सुलभममो भवति पुरा जलधराभ्युदये ॥

परिमलसुरमितनमसो बहव काननाद्रिपरिसरे तरव ।

तदपि सुराणां चेतसि निवसितमिव पारिजातेन ॥

पाणिपल्लवयुगेन मुग्धया यन्मुखं पिहितमशुके हते ।

वज्रमेन सुरतेन तद्विद्याद्योक्तां कथमियान्निशाचर ॥

30 HEMADRI, known as Makkibhatta was the son of Īśvarasūri. He mentions Mahrāti synonyms of Sanskrit words and he might therefore have been a Mahrāti Brahmin. He came after Vallabha. Vāmanācārya in his introduction to Kāvya prakāśa says that he must have been a resident of Gajengraghad in Dharwar District. His commentaries are replete with innumerable quotations. He was counsellor of Mahādeva and Ramarāja, the Yādava kings of Devagiri who ruled from 1271 to 1309 A.D. Bopadeva was his protegee.¹

31 MALLINĀTHA,² Telugu Brahmin, of Kāśīyapa gotra of Kolacala-family, was the grandson of Mallinātha and son of Kapardin. Peddibhatta or Peddayārya and Kumāraswāmin were his sons.³ The latter was the commentator on Praṭāparudrīya. Mallinātha had Kanakābhiseka (bath in gold and pearls) at the hands of Sarvajña Singabhūpāla, evidently of Recharla family, on the occasion of Sodaśa sacrifice which he performed with the help of his four brothers, four sons, four sons-in-law and four relatives.⁴ He was invited by Devaraja (I) of Vijayanagar to settle some contests about the terms *raiśya* and *vyāpāri* in connection with a stone inscription found at Conjeevaram. The manuscript containing his judgment is found in the G. O. Library, Mysore. This gives him a date of 1400-14 A.D. Mallinātha quotes from Sāhityacintāmaṇi, a work of Komaṭi-śema of 1409 A.D.

K. B. Pathak says "Mallinātha frequently quotes the Sangītaratnā-lara a work composed in the time of Yādava king Singhapa who reigned from Śaka 1133-1150. In his commentary on the Kumārasambhava (II s. 1), Mallinātha mentions Bopadeva, the author of the Mugdhabodha, who was contemporary with the Yādava king Mahadeva and his successor Ramachandra. The last mentioned king reigned from A.D. 1271 to 1309. Another work quoted in Mallinātha's

1 See S. P. Pandit's *Int. to Raghu*, 2, 12, *EHD*, 117, 120, *JRAS*, V, 1899.

2 See Section V, Ch. I *suṣṭra*.

3 Mallinātha father of Narahari alias Sarasvatīṭīrtha, who commented on Kāvya prakāśa, is a different person and is not known to be an author. Narahari says he was born in 1242 A.D. For particulars, see Chapter on Poetics under Mammata, see Vāmanācārya's *Int. to Kāvya prakāśa*, 27, 9.

4 Nārāyaṇa in his commentary on *Campurāmāyaṇa* (*DC*, XXI, 8212) gives the genealogy. According to him Kumāraswāmin was the son of Peddubhatta and Peddubhatta and Mallinātha were brothers. Here the genealogy differs from that given above by Kumāraswāmin himself which must be more authentic. Nārāyaṇa traces his genealogy thus, Kumāraswāmin, Śambhu, Bhāskara, Nāgeśvara, Kondubhatta, Nāgeśvara, Nārāyaṇa.

5 So says Kumāraswāmin in his commentary on Praṭāparudrīya.

commentary on the Meghadūta is the Lkāvaṇ of Vidyādhara who frequently speaks of king Vīranarasimha as having humbled the pride of Hammīra who was contemporary with Singhana¹ king Vīranarasimha reigned up to 1314 A D² Mallinātha has also written a commentary on the Ekāvali His son Kumarasamin has written a commentary on the Praṭāparudrīva, a treatise on Alankar The last named work frequently mentions the Kākaṭīya king Pratāparudra who invaded the kingdom of the Yadava king Ramachandra and reigned from A D 1295 to 1323³ The second verse in Mallinātha's introduction to his commentaries on the Raghuvamsa, Meghaduta and Kumārasambhava is quoted in an inscription dated in Saka 1435 or A D 1533⁴ From these facts it is clear that Mallinatha must have flourished in the latter half of the fourteenth century⁵

Mallinātha commented on the six mahākāvya, on Lkāvali of Vidyādhara and on Tārikarakā of Varadarāja and is said to have written⁶ the poems Udārakāvya⁷ and Raghuvīracarita⁸ Aowedit his learning was varied and his commentaries are held everywhere in the highest esteem

32 Kuntasvaradautya⁹ is a poem apparently describing an embassy to the court of Kuṇṭala. It is expressly ascribed by Kṣemenḍra to Kālidāsa Kālidāsa was himself the ambassador The King of Kuṇṭala received him with the honour due to the representative of King Vikramāditya and once by chance when Kālidāsa squatted on the floor and the King of Kuṇṭala appeared not to relish it, Kālidāsa humorously answered that on the floor stood the Great Meru and there

1 EHD, 82

2 IA, XXI, 164

3 R G Bhandarkar's Int. to Ekāvali

4 IA, V (19)

5 Int to Megha.

6 For works of Mallinātha, see CG, I 484

7 B, II 72 Udārakāvya was probably mistaken for Udāraśhava of Kavimallamalla who was a different poet,

8 A poem of this name is printed in Travancore (Tr Sans Series No 57).

It is in 17 cantos and has good poetry but is anonymous as it is So is the Manuscript TC, III 8953 The poem begins with the entry of Rāma into Dandaka and relates the whole story of Rāmāyaṇa Can it be Mallinātha's?

In the Travancore State Library, there is a Raghuvīracarita by Bhatta Sukumāra (Cat, 186) which is a drama

9 Rangaswami Sarasvati says it must have been a drama (JMy, XV 275)

rested the seven oceans.¹ On returning from the errand, Vikramāditya asked him what the King of Kuntala was doing and Kālidāsa gave a facetious answer in indirect praise of his King and parody of King of Kuntala.²

Kṛṣṇa in his Bharatacaṇṭha ascribes Setubandha to a King of Kuntala

जडावयस्यान्तरगाधमार्ग-
मलब्धरन्ध्र गिरि चौर्यवृत्त्या ।
लोकेष्वलङ्कान्तमपूर्वसेतु
बन्ध कीर्त्या सह कुन्तलेश ॥

In the introduction to Harṣacarita, Bāna thus praises Setubandha

कीर्तिं प्रवरसेनस्य प्रयाता कुमुदोज्ज्वला ।
सागरस्य पर पारं कपिमेनेव सेतुना ॥

1 So says Kṣemendra

अधिकरणौचित्यं यथा कुन्तेश्वरदौत्यं—

इह निवसति मेरु शेखर क्षमाधराणा-
मिह विनिहितभारा सागरा सप्त चान्य ।
इदमहिपतिभोगस्तस्मविभ्राजमान
धराणितलमिहैव स्थानमस्मद्विधानाम् ॥

अत्र महाराजदूतोऽपि सामन्तास्थाने स्वप्नभुसंयुचितगौरवपूजार्हमासनमापाद्य कार्यवशेन भूमावेवोपविष्ट प्रागल्भ्यगान्भीर्येणैव ब्रूते, यथास्मद्विधाना वसुधातल एव भुजगपतिभोगस्तस्म-
प्राग्मारानिष्कम्पे धरासने स्थान युक्तं, यस्मादिहैव मेरुचलचक्रवर्ती समुपविष्ट, सप्त महावधयश्च,
तत्पुण्यतैवास्माकमित्यौचित्यमधिकरणपदसंबद्धमेव ॥

2 This passage is in Bhoja's Śrngāraprakāśa, VIII.

नैयायिकी यथा—कालिदास किं कुन्तलेश्वर करोतीति विक्रमादित्येन पृष्ट उक्तवान्—

असकलहसितत्वान् क्षालितानीव कान्सा
मुकुलितनयनत्वाद् व्यक्तकर्णोत्पलानि ।
पिबति मधुसुगन्धीन्याननानि प्रियाणां
त्वयि विनिहितभार कुन्तलानामधीश ॥

इदमेवोहयित्वा विक्रमादित्यः प्रत्युचे—

पिबति मधुसुगन्धीन्याननानि प्रियाणां
मयि विनिहितभार कुन्तलानामधीश १ ।

This verse is also quoted in Rājasekhara's Kāvya-mīmāṃsā and Bhoja's Sarasvatī Kāṇṭhābharanam

It is therefore a safe inference that Pravarasena mentioned as the author of *Setubandha* was a king of Kuntala.¹ The ascription of its authorship to Kālidāsa by the commentator and the strong tradition in support of it, when considered with the embassy of Kālidāsa to the Court of Kuntala (as described in *Kuntasara-dantva*) can only suggest that either the poem written by Kālidāsa at Vikramaditya's direction was dedicated later to Pravarasena, or a poem written by Pravarasena was revised by Kālidāsa and this created a talk that Kālidāsa was really the author of it.

Who was the King of Kuntala? Pravarasena was considered by many scholars as a king of Kashmir, who composed the poem in commemoration of the construction of a bridge on the *Vitastā*.² This has now come to be doubted, as in some old manuscripts recently acquired for the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, the colophon ascribes the authorship to the Vakātaka king Pravarasena, of Kuntala.³ The Kuntala Kingdom was conquered by Prthvisena I, and this Pravarasena, it is said, must be Pravarasena II, who came to the throne about the year 400 A. D.⁴

Speaking of the Chamak plates of Pravarasena,⁵ Fleet said "The date of the Vakataka inscriptions is determined by the marriage of Rudrasena II with Prabhavātagupta, the daughter of the paramount sovereign Devagupta, who, it can hardly be doubted, was Devagupta of Magadha, the son of Adityasena mentioned in the Dev Baranark Ins (No. 46, p. 213, Gupta Ins) and belonging to the period of about A.D. 680 to 700. From another set of copper plates, it is seen that Rudrasena married Prabhāvatiguptā, a daughter of Candragupta II

1 So says the commentary of Rāmarāja on *Setubandha*.

धीराणां काव्यचर्चाचतुरिभविष्ये विक्रमादित्थनाचा
य चक्रे कालिदास कविकुमुदविधु सेतुनामप्रबन्धम् ।

2 वितस्ताया स भूपालो बृहत्सेतुमकल्पयत् ।

रव्याता ततः प्रभृत्येव तादृङ्गनौ सेतुकल्पना ॥ *Ragu*, III 854

3 Kuntala is the country between the rivers Bhīma and Veṇṇayā, bounded on the west by the Ghats including Shimoga, Chitaldoorg, Bellary, Dharwar, Mysore, and adjacent parts to the north in Bombay and Nizam's dominions. *Mysore Gazette*, I 289

Kuntala was the empire of the Kaṇḍambas, and adjoined the territory of the Vākātakas. *ERI*, XIII 299. The Kuntala kingdom was conquered by the Vākātakas king Prthivisena I. See G. J. Dubreuil's *Ancient History of Decan*, 72-74. See also Buhler, *JA*, XVIII 24.

4 *JMy*, XV 272

5 *Int. to Gupta Inscriptions*

Aśvaghoṣa accompanied Kaniska to Kāśmīr and was treated by him with great veneration and in Kaniska's Council, he took a leading part.

As a contemporary of King Kaniska, Aśvaghoṣa may have flourished at the latest, in the 1st century A D.¹ His biography was translated into Chinese under the dynasty of Yao-twine (384-417 A D) by Kumarāśva.² ITsing mentions him as an old teacher and places him before Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva. He praises his poems and collects his hymns, which were used in the Buddhist ritual.³

34 HIS BUDDHACAKITA is a Mahākāvya, with 17 cantos now extant,⁴ celebrating the history and teachings of Buddha. From the middle of the 14th Canto, the poem diverges widely from the Chinese translation,⁵ probably because Cantos 14 to 17 were lost and had to be made up by poet Amṛtānanda, about the year 1800.⁶ His

748, Beal's *Si-yu ki* I 151, U, *Int. to Vīśeṣika Philosophy*, Das Gupta's *History of Indian Philosophy* (Calcutti).

1 On Aśvaghoṣa being contemporary of Kaniska, see *Journal of Buddhist Text Society*, III 13, Schiefner's *Taranath*, Ch XII, Watters, I 209, II 104, Baron Staol Holstein, *Was there a Kushana race?* [*JRAS*, (1914), 80] Levi, *Notes Sur les Indo Scythes*, 86, R D Banerji, *The Scythian period of Indian History* [*IA* (1908) 25-75], Hoernle, *IA*, X, 324, V Smith [*JH*, 255-270] thinks that 78 A D marks either the accession or coronation of Kaniska. Fleet (*JRAS*, 1908, 1905, 1906, 1913) says that Kaniska founded the era of 56 B C. Tradition places Kaniska, 700 years after Buddha (*IA*, XXXII 382). See for date of Kaniska, *IA*, XLII, 182, and XLVI, 261. Kalhaṇa places Kaniska 150 years after the Nirvāṇa (*Raj* I 168-172). Hsuen Tsang (I 181) placed Kaniska 960 years after Buddha, and Max Muller (*India* 306) 400 years after Buddha. According to Narnandan Prasad [*Mod Rev* (1920), 389] and to Foucher [*L'Art greco-bouddhique*, I 623], Aśvaghoṣa lived in 2nd century A D. So also says Marshall, Director General of Archaeology on the evidence of stratification of the remains of Taxila. Bhandarkar gives date 278 A D. The name of Kaniska is discussed in *IA*, XIII, 58.

2 *IA*, IV 141, Max Muller's *India* 312, Nanjo, V, 1829.

3 *IA*, (1898), 425. Hsuen Tsang also refers to him (Julien's Translation, II, 214).

4 Ed by Cowell (Clarendon Press, Oxford). Tr into Italian by O Formichi, see *JRAS*, (1914), 105 and *ZDMG*, XLVI, 517-19 for reviews. I Tsing says that the poem was of considerable length about 3000 Slokas [Takakusu, *Rec of Buddhist Religion*, (Lvi, 181, 153)]. For critical notes, by J S Spayer, see *JRAS*, (1914), 105. There is a commentary on the 8th canto by Jagannath Prasad.

5 The poem was translated by Sanghavarman into Chinese in 414-421 A D and into Tibetan in the 7th or 8th century A D and into English (*SBS*, No 49). The Chinese translation has 28 chapters.

6 The Cambridge Ms says so सर्वतान्त्रिप्यतोऽरुन्धवा चतुस्सर्गं च निर्मितम्. Amṛtānanda is mentioned as a poet and author between years 1796 and 1830. See Mitra's *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*. In the colophon Aśvaghoṣa is called Bhadrāṇḍī (venerable).

OUNDARANANDA¹ is an exquisite poem of 18 cantos. It describes the story of the conversion of King Nanda of the Ikṣvāku race and his redemption from the ocean of worldly pleasures in which he was immersed in the company of his consort Sundarī. Aśvaghoṣa avows that this poem was intended to teach philosophy by the detectable means of alluring poetry. "The Soundarananda has been somewhat neglected by students of Buddhism in the past, surprisingly perhaps, because apart from its interest as an example of early Buddhist poetry, it is," as Mr Johnston tells us in his preface, "The earliest work presenting to us a logical and carefully thought out description of the path to Enlightenment. It enables us to see the force and bearing of technical terms and arguments, which are enunciated in earlier Buddhist literature in a manner liable to cause misconception further, as Aśvaghoṣa is generally agreed to have flourished early in the second century A.D., the indications he gives of developments in doctrine deserve consideration."

35 These two poems supplement each other on the life of Buddha. Aśvaghoṣa's plays will be referred to in the chapter on SANSKRIT DRAMA. If "to the ordinary critic the fame of Kālidāsa rests on the charm of his similes, Aśvaghoṣa certainly excels him"². His vocabulary is very ancient and several of his words have now become obsolete in their

1 Ed. by Haraprasad Sastri *Bibl Ind* (Calcutta), where the introduction gives summary of the poem. Ed. by E. H. Johnson (Oxford) with critical notes and readings.

2 For verses containing parallel ideas, see S. P. Pandit and Nandargikar's *Introductions to Raghuvamśa*, Haraprasad Sastri's *Int to Saundarananda*, *op. cit* iv vi and Kshetres Chandra Chattopadhyaya's *Date of Kālidāsa (All Ind Studies, II, 79)*. For instance, compare the following

ASVAGHOSA

तां सुन्दरीं चैव लभेत नन्द
सा वा निषेवेत न त नतभू ।
द्वन्द्वं ध्रुव तद्विकल न शोभे-
तान्योन्यहीनाविव राक्षिचन्द्रौ ॥

Saund. iv 7

वाता ववुः स्पर्शसुखं मनोज्ञा
दिव्यमिव वासाखवपातयन्त्य ।
सूर्यं स एवाम्याधिकं चकाशे
ज्ज्वाल सौम्याऽर्जिरनीरितोऽग्निः ॥

Buddha. xiii. 78

KALIDASA

परस्परं स्पृहर्णायशोम
न चेदिस द्वन्द्वमयोजयिष्यत् ।
अस्मिन्द्वये रूपविधानकम्
पत्यु प्रजाना वितथोऽभविष्यत् ॥

Raghu vii 14

वाता ववुः सौख्यकरा प्रसेदु-
राद्या विधूमो हुतभृदिदीपे ।
जलान्यथैवन्विमलानि तयो-
त्सवेज्ज्वलरिष प्रससाद सद्य ॥

Kum. xi. 87.

peculiar meanings.¹ His philosophy was of a high order. He belonged to a school, probably of Yogacara, which preceded the Mahayana school with its theory of Sunyata propounded by Nagarjunā two generations later.² "Asvaghosha," says Cowell, "seems to be entitled to the name of the Ennius of the classical age of Sanskrit poetry. His style is often rough and obscure, but it is full of native strength of beauty, his descriptions are not too much laboured, nor are they *purpurei panni*, they spring from the narrative growing from it as natural blossoms, not as external appendages."

(On the identity of Asvaghosha with Ārya-Sūra and Mātṛceta, scholars are not agreed.³ These names appear on their reading genuinely distinct proper names and not titles and may designate different individuals.⁴ It seems therefore not easy to assign to Asvaghosha all works, in Sanskrit, Chinese or Tibetan, going under any of these names

ASVAGHOSA

स हि खगालप्रमगोञ्ज्वलन्त्या
दीपप्रभा मास्करवन्मुषोष ।
महार्हजाम्बूनदचारुवर्णा
विद्योतयामास दिशश्च सर्वा ॥

Buddha i 32

द्वन्द्वानि सर्वस्य यत प्रसक्ता-
न्यलाभलामप्रभृतीनि लोके ।
अतोऽपि नैकान्तमुखोऽस्ति कश्चि-
न्नैकान्तदु ख पुरुष पृथिव्याम् ॥

Buddha xi 43

KALIDASA

अरिष्टशय्या परितो विसारिणा
सुजन्मनस्तस्य निजेन तेजसा ।
निशीथदीपा सहसा हतत्विषो
भृगुरालेख्यसमर्पिता इव ॥

Ragh iii 15

कस्यैकान्तं सुखमुपनतं दुःखमेकान्ततो वा
नीचैर्गच्छत्युपरि च दशा चक्रनेमिक्रमेण ।

Megha ii 48

The extreme similarity of the ideas and diction has given rise to a controversy as to the relative priority of Kālidāsa and Asvaghosha.

1 For instance, *विषय* means dwelling, *गन्ती*, cart, and *धर्मन्* custom.

2 It is pointed out in *JRAS* (1914) 747 by Vidhusēkhara Bhattacharya that though Asvaghosha preceded Nāgārjuna, he still refers to the theory of *Sūnyata* in the *Soundarānanda*.

3 See *Album Kern* (Leiden) 405-8, *IA*, (1908), 845-60.

4 Other works directly attributed to Asvaghosha are *Gandī Stotra* (*Bib. Buddhica*, No. XV. St. Petersburg, [1913], *JRAS*, (1914), 752], *Vajrasūtra* (Weber, *op. cit.* 205-64). These are in Sanskrit. *Dakṣaśatakarmamūrga Sūtra*, *Mahāyānaśāstrādīpikā* (Translated by Suzuki, Chicago) and *Sūtrālaṅkāra śāstra* (Translated into French by Huber, Paris). These are in Chinese. See Nanjo's Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripitaka (Oxford). For a full list of the works in the names of Mātṛceta and Āryasūra, see Thomas *Int. to Kan* (Bibl. Ind. Calcutta 25 29).

36 “**Buddhaghosa** was a Brahman born in Thaton² He was an inmate of the Kelāsa monastery, and in A.D. 387 he was deputed to Ceylon by King Thiri Gaung (Dhammapala) in order to bring away a copy of the Buddhist Scriptures At Bassein, he took ship for Tamalitti, the Indian port, and first went to Gava by the Gangetic route, to obtain drawings of the principal sacred sites He returned by the same route and proceeded to Ceylon where he stayed for three years He composed the Visuddhimagga while at Anuradhapura, and on his return to Thaton, brought a complete copy of the Pīṭakas with their commentaries as well as other works in the Telugu characters”³ This is the account given by James Gray in the *Buddhaghosuppatti*, but an earlier date is not impossible The name of Buddhaghosa is held in high reverence by the southern Buddhists and he was the proponent of Buddhism as current in the south

His *PADYACUDAMANI*, a poem in 10 cantos, describes the birth, marriage and other incidents in the life of Buddha The story differs in some details from the narrative in the *Lalitavistara* and *Buddhacarita* The plot of the poem has thus been summarised by Prof. S. Kuppaswamy Sastri

“There ruled at Kapila, a king named Suddhodana of the Sakya race, with his queen Mayadevi As he had no issue, he performed penance Meanwhile the Lord of the Tusita world resolved at the instance of the Devas to incarnate in this world for enlightening it and entered the womb of Mayadevi The birth of the son Siddhartha was attended with supernatural phenomena After the due performance of the natal ceremonies, arrangements were made for his boyish sports, and for his education. In due time as he grew, he was installed as the heir-apparent, and his marriage was thought of He was formally married to the daughter of the king of the Koliya country Then the

1 On Buddhaghosa, see B. O. Law, *Life and work of Buddhaghosa* (Calcutta), Foulkes, *IA*, XIX 105-122 and S. Kuppaswamy Sastri, *Introduction to Padyacudamani* Takakusu, *Paramartha's Life of Vasubandhu* [*JRAS*, (1905)] says that *Samantapāsādikā* of Buddhaghosa was translated into Chinese by Sanghabhadra in 488 A.D. For Æsopic fable in Buddhaghosa, see *IA*, I 320 For date and legends, see *IA*, XIX 105

2 T. Foulkes (*loc. cit.*) gives a summary of the dates assigned to Buddhaghosa and “it is stated that living in the extreme improbable date they extend from 386 to 557 A.D. and group themselves about the reign of King Mahanama of Ceylon.” S. Kuppaswamy Sastri says that the consensus of opinion is in favour of assigning the poet to the latter part of the fifth century A.D. Senaviratne (*Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, I Pt II) says Buddhaghosa visited Ceylon in 488 A.D.

prince with his wife returned to his own city amidst great rejoicings. The king took particular care to make ample provision for his son's enjoyments in the various seasons of the year. During the autumn the prince practised the use of martial weapons and mastered it in seven days. One day in the spring season when he started for the pleasure garden, he saw on the royal road, as arranged by the Devas, visions of an old man, an afflicted person and a corpse. He was greatly impressed with the sight and questioned the attendants of the chariot. On learning from the charioteer the nature of the ills to which the human body is liable, he desired to return home. On his way back, he perceived some ascetics, who were reported to have found the means of deliverance from the ills of human existence. He again started for the pleasure garden where he spent the day very agreeably in various pastimes. He returned home, where formal rejoicings were conducted. Suddenly he took his resolve to renounce his royal home, travelled 30 Yojanas crossed the river Anavama, dismissed his attendants and put on the ascetic robe. He practised severe austerities and lived by begging his food in the Bimbasāra city. Failing to attain salvation he thought over the means of securing it. During the night he had five dreams and in the morning after making out the significance of these dreams he decided on the means of attaining Nirvana. Sitting under a banyan tree, he received Pavasa from a woman, proceeded to the Nairanjara river and ate the food. After spending the day in the dense Sala forest, he went to the Bodhi tree in the evening and seated himself there on a miraculously provided seat. The devas eulogised Buddha, and Manmatha, learning the news, resolved to conquer him. Manmatha's army first delivered the attack but failed to make any advance. Manmatha then made a personal attack which was repulsed. As a last resort he sent his women, who performed dexterous dances before Buddha and tried their utmost to captivate and overpower him. Finding their efforts wholly futile, they ran away. Thus came to be firmly established the supreme sovereignty of the great Siddhartha over the empire of salvation."

Being a Mahākāvya, the poet adheres to the canons of poetics in describing the various phenomena of nature, such as courses of sun and moon, the seasons, cities, oceans etc. He appears to have studied the works of Kālidāsa and Aśvaghoṣa and become so familiar with them that his own verses so closely resemble theirs that without fear of detection they could be interpolated in Kumārasambhava or Buddha-carita. Buddhaghoṣa is resourceful in finding series of similes and fancies

in description, where the idea is often continuous from verse to verse. In describing the moon, for instance, in the eighth canto all the 22 verses depict the internment of the moon under the sea, the gradual ascent and descent in the horizon and disappearance in the dark fortnight, as an evolution of a child from birth to end. The whole poem reads as a garden of poetic blossoms, where to cull one for show is well nigh impossible ¹

37 Mentha better known as Bhartṛ Mentha² has been held in rhetoricians in high esteem probably higher than Kālidāsa. The word Mentha means elephant-driver and there is a reference to that

1 Read the following —

सुधासनाथेन सुधामयम्ब कलासमग्र करपञ्चन ।
विलिम्पतीव क्षणदासु यस्या क्रीडागृहाणामुपरिस्थलानि ॥ 1 14

यदिन्द्रनीलांपलकुट्टिमपु प्रविष्टबिम्बा प्रथमन्दुलेखाम् ।
मृणालखण्डस्पृहया मरालाश्चम्बूपुटैश्चुम्बितुमुत्सहन्ते ॥ 11 15

लीलाचकोररसनाञ्जललिङ्गमान-
प्रासाददन्तवल्मीकिरणप्ररोहाम् ।
तिर्यक्प्रवृत्तमणितोरणदीर्घरश्मि-
मालावलीगुणितवन्दनमालिकामाम् ॥ 11 3

प्रसन्नमूर्णावलयाभिराम ज्योतिर्मय तस्य मुखारविन्दम् ।
भूयिष्ठमन्तर्गतचन्द्रलेखा बालार्कबिम्बाश्रियमाततान ॥ 111 60

ऊर्णाभिरामा नरपालसूनार्निटालभूमिर्नितरां चकाशे ।
वप्रक्रियामग्निलीनदन्तिदन्ताङ्कुरा मेरुशिलातटीव ॥ 111 61

रराज तस्या नवरोमराजिरारोहतस्तुङ्गपयोधराद्रिम् ।
शृङ्गारयोनेरवलम्बनार्थमालम्बितेन्दीवरमालिकेव ॥ 111 23

वीरुन्मर्या विप्रयमन्त्रदोलामारोप्य शृङ्गीमविगीतगीताम् ।
समीरणैरात्मगरुत्समुत्थै सानन्दमान्दोलयति स्म शृङ्ग ॥ 111 18.

सुवर्णकारेण तपात्पयात्मना पयोदपालीनिकषोपलान्तरे ।
निघृष्यमाणा इव हेमराजयस्वटिच्छता भान्ति चकोरलोचने ॥ 111 14

कृताभिषेका प्रथम धनान्मुभिर्धृतोत्तरीयाः शरदप्रसन्नयै ।
विलसगात्र्य चाधिरश्मिचन्दनैर्दिको दधुस्तारकहारयष्टिकाम् ॥ 111 47

2 In Aufrecht's Ms the name is spelt as Bhartṛmedhra (Peterson, *Subh.* 98)

sense in a verse of Rājasekhara quoted by Jalhana in his *Sūktumuktāvalī*¹ The anthologies quote the same verse under name Mentha or Hastipaka and some of the extant verses give an exquisite description of wild elephants just caught in pit.² This confirms a doubt if Mentha was really engaged in that pursuit. Kalhana mentions him as attached to the court of Mātṛgupta of Ka-mir.³ If Mātṛgupta's date is taken as 430 A.D., Mentha must have lived about that date. The well-known verse *limpatīva tamongūm* which occurs in the *Mṛtchakatikā*, in *Avimāra*, in *Bālacarita*, and in *kāvya-darsa* is found quoted in *Sārngadhara-paddhaṭi* as the joint composition of Vikramāditya and Mentha and this increases the cloud surrounding the authorship of that verse, but it may suggest that Mentha was connected with the court of a King Vikramāditya. Mankha in his *Śrīkanthacarita* mentions him with Subandhu, Bhāravi and Bāna. Rājasekhara calls him an incarnation of Vālmiki, and Bhavabhūti and himself as his later incarnations.⁴ This

- 1 वक्रोत्तथा मेण्ठराजस्य बहन्त्या सणिरूपताम् ।
आविद्धा इव धुन्वन्ति मूर्धानं कविकुञ्जरा ॥
- 2 लुक्तो विन्ध्यगिरिः पिता भगवती मातेव रेवानदी
ते ते स्नेहनिबन्धनधुरधियस्तुल्योदया दन्तिन ।
त्वष्ट्रेभाञ्जु हस्तिनि खयमिदं बन्धाय दत्त वपु-
स्त दूरं प्रियसं लुठन्ति च शिर पीठे कठोराङ्कुशा ॥
घासग्रास गृहाण त्यज गजकल्मषं प्रेमबन्धं करिण्या
पाशप्रन्थिषणानामभिमतमधुना देहि पङ्कानुलेपम् ।
दूरीभूतास्तवैते शबरवरवधुविभ्रमोद्भ्रान्तरम्या
रेवाकूलोपकण्ठद्रुमकुसुमरजोधूसरा विन्ध्यपादा ॥ हस्तिपकस्य
- 3 हयग्रीववध मेण्ठस्तदग्रे दर्शयन्नवम् ।
आसमाप्तिं ततो नापत्साध्वसाध्विति वा वच ॥
अथ प्रथयितुं तस्मिन् पुस्तकं प्रस्तुते न्यधात् ।
लावण्यनिर्याणमिया तदधः स्वर्णभाजनम् ॥
अन्तरङ्गतया तस्य तादृश्या कृतसत्कृति ।
मर्तुमेण्ठ कविर्मेने पुनरुक्तं श्रियोऽर्पणम् ॥ *Raj* III 260 2

See Max Muller's *India*, 314 note

- 4 बभ्रुव बल्मीकभव पुरा कवि
ततः प्रपेदे भुवि मर्तुमेण्ठताम् ।
स्थितः पुनर्यो भवभूतिरेखया
स वर्तते सप्रति राजशेखर ॥

lends support to the tradition that Menthaverse a long poem Rīmacarita in 100 cantos and it is believed a copy of it is still available at Benares.

His poem¹ HAYAGRIVAADHA is lost. The first verse of it is quoted by Rājasekhara in his Kāvya-mīmāṃsā and Kemendra in his Śuṅgīttatilaka,² and another by Raghava in his commentary of Sakuntalā.³ Many verses are extracted by Bhoja and in the anthologies as Menthā's or Hastipaka's and rightly merit their appreciation.⁴

38 Kumāradasa was a King of Ceylon.⁵ He was the son of King Kumāramani who died on the battle field and on that day Kumārādāsa was born. He was bred up by his two distinguished maternal uncles Sri Megha and Agrabodhi with paternal affection.⁶

1 PR, I 9 Hemacandra in his haṃyānusāsana (p 15) mentions it as a poem (BKR, 42) For references, see OC, 754 Troyer thought it was a drama (JBRAS, XII)

- 2 आसीद्वैलो हयग्रीव सुहृद्वैमसु यय्य ता ।
प्रथयन्ति बल बाह्वो सितच्छत्रस्मिता श्रिय ॥
- 3 य प्रेक्ष्य चिररूढापि निवामप्रीतिरुज्झिता ।
मदनैरावणमुखे मानेन हृदये हरे ॥
- 4 बाचो माधुर्यवर्षिण्यो नामय शिथिलाशुका ।
दृष्टयश्च चलञ्जका मण्डनान्यन्धयोषिताम् ॥
तथाप्यकृतकोचालहासपङ्कविताधरम् ।
मुख ग्रामविलासिन्या सकल राज्यमर्हति ॥
न तथा नागरस्त्रीणां विलासा रमयन्ति न ।
यथा स्वभावमुग्धानि वृत्तानि ग्राम्ययोषिताम् ॥

5 There are poets by the names Kumāra, Kumārādatta, Kumārabbhatta and Bhatta Kumāra mentioned in the anthologies. Are these identical?

6 So says he himself in the last four verses of Jānakīharana (TC, IV 4248-9)

नित्यं सद्गुणमक्तिरिन्द्रियदमश्रीसयतः सयतं
स्त्रक्ष्योतितमूर्ध्नि मुक्तहृदयोऽभीसगतः सङ्गतः ।
विद्वानस्य कवेः पितार्यहृदयधीमानितो मानितो
लङ्केश्वर्यमुजः कुमारमणिरित्यासन्नयः सन्नयः ॥
येनान्यप्रकृतिं निराकृतवता समानितो मानितो
यस्य स्वाङ्गमभिन्ततो रिपुष्टब्धनाञ्जोऽक्षितः ॥
श्रीमेघोऽस्य कवेरसौ किल बृहद्भामातुलो मातुलो
दृष्ट्वासजडद्विषामधिगतवासेनया सेनया ॥
श्रीमानेकशरण्यः परिमन्त्रविषदां माजनानां जनानां
रूपेणानुप्रयातो दिव्यमस्तिमुष्मन् रक्षन्तजयन्तम् ।

Writers on the Indian literary history now take it for granted that Kumāradāsa whose name as such appears in the colophon to the poem is the same as king Kumāra Dhātusena who ruled over Ceylon according to Mahāvamśa in the year after Buddha's Nirvāna which corresponds, as worked out by European Chroniclers, to A D 515-524. In the last four verses of canto 20 of the poem Kumāradāsa gives his father's name as Kumāramani and says that on the day his father died in the battle-field he was born and thenceforward he was brought up by his mother's brothers, Sri Megha and Agrabodhi. In the last verse there is also an indication that as a child he was troubled by disease. What the disease was we are not told, but Rājasekhara in his Kāvya-Mimāmsa instances Kumāradāsa as a poet born blind¹. Is it possible that the disease was congenital blindness?

39 The Mahāvamśa² thus notices the acts of this celebrated Prince —“ After his (Moggalana's) demise, his son, who was known as Kumara Dhatusena, (both) mighty and godlike, became king. He repaired the temple which had been built by his father, held a convocation of (Dhamma) the Buddha Scriptures, and purified the religion. He pleased the priesthood with the four pachchya, and, having done many meritorious actions, passed away in the ninth year. Kittisena his son then became king ”

This account given in Mahāvamśa shows that the name of the king was Kumāra Dhātusena and not Kumāra Dāsa, that that king's father was Moggalana and not Kumāramani, that Kumāra Dhātusena

आता तन्मातुरस्या शशिधवल्यश्च कारणानां रणानां
 कर्तुं पुत्रोऽयमबोधिर्जनशिरसि लसद्भासुराङ्ग सुराङ्ग ॥
 आदायैन दशया स्थितमपि तदहसस्तनाभ्या स्तनाभ्यां
 तुष्टे तस्मिन्नादानामरिहतापितृके पारयन्तौ रयन्तौ ।
 आत्मापत्याविशेष पुपुषतुरहतप्रेमदान्तौ मदान्तौ
 यत्सानाप्यात्स काव्य न्यरचयदसुरद्विगमहार्थं महार्थम् ॥

These four verses are found in the above manuscript but not in the other manuscript. But the last two lines are found in the poem as originally restored by Dharmarāma as the end of the 25th canto which ought to be 20, for there are only 20 cantos in the complete manuscripts now available. This would show that the four verses must have been part of the original poem and not any suspicious later addition.

The colophon in the manuscript is इति सिंहलस्य कुमारदासस्य इतौ जानकीहरणे महाकाव्ये विंशति सर्ग परिसमाप्तिमगमन् ॥

1 Gaek Ed page 12.

2 Translated by L. C. Wijesinha, 1889.

was a mighty king and ruled well, that he was not incapacitated by any disease or that his father died on the battle field when he was just born, and that there is no mention there of his maternal uncle Sri Megha and Aggabodhi. The latter names occur 40 years later in the list of kings in Chapter 44 of the Mahāvamsa as the 76th king. After his death after a reign of nine years his son Kittisena succeeded him.¹ It will therefore be observed that the account given by the poet of himself in the poem differs in every respect from Mahāvamsa's description of King Kumāra Dhātusena. This name Kumāra Dhātusena when read with his son's name Kittisena shows that the main part of the name was Dhātusena and the word Kumāra was prefixed to it.

The identity therefore of the poet with that particular king cannot possibly be accepted. The language of the poem which in its merit is very akin to that of Kālidāsa and the earliest poets, when read with the tradition that Kālidāsa and Kumāradāsa were friends, suggests the conclusion that Kumāradāsa must have been a far earlier poet than the 5th or 6th century A.D., which is induced by the wrong identification. Even in Ceylon, it is not now generally accepted that the author of the poem was this king of Ceylon.²

1. In the chronological table Part II Ch. xvi in Wijesinha's Mahāvamsa, we have a list of Kings and there we find,

67	Kumara Dhatusena	515 24 A.D.
74	Kittisiri	560 1 A.D.
76	Aggabodhi I	564 A.D.

2. Mr S. Paranatana, Assistant to Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon, writes to me so and was kind enough to give this following information, which is at best available now. King Kumāradāsa is mentioned in the Mahāvamsa by the epithet of Kumāra Dhātusena (Kumāra Dhātusena). But in Sinhalese historical works this king is always referred to as Kumāradāsa. In the chapter dealing with the history of Ceylon in the *Pujāvāla*, a Sinhalese work written about 1366 A.D., it is said that Moggallāna I's son was Kumāradāsa and that he was a great scholar and a contemporary of Kālidāsa, the Indian poet. Other Sinhalese works such as the *Nikāya Saṅgraha*, *Saddharmma Ratnākara*, *Bhāratavāṇanāsa*, and *Rājāvāla*, also mention the same. The *Perakumbā Sūtra*, a Sinhalese poem composed in the 15th century, attributes to King Kumāradāsa the authorship of the *Jānakīkāvya*. The identification of Kumāra Dhātusena with Kumāradāsa, by Turnour and others, is evidently based on these Sinhalese authorities. There is an inscription of King Kumāradāsa at a place called Naganikanda. In this, the king is styled Māha Kumāratasa rāja, the Sinhalese form of Māha Kumāradāsa rāja. This inscription has been published by Muller in his *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon*. The stone on which it is inscribed is somewhat weathered, he has not been able to read the characters in the first line of the inscription. The first line of this record will be

40 Tradition makes him a contemporary of Kālidāsa and the following story is current. Kumārādāsa had a fair courtesan and in one of his visits to her he wrote a line *वमले वमलेन्यत्ति श्रूयते न च दृश्यते* and promised a reward for the completion of the verse. Kālidāsa was then on a visit to the royal court and happened to lodge in the same mansion and seeing the incomplete verse added *बाले तव मुखाम्भोजे दृष्टमिन्दीवरद्वयम्*. On learning this the courtesan made away with the poet and concealed the body and demanded the reward, but the king suspected that the real poet was elsewhere and made her confess the crime. Aggrieved by the loss of his friend the king consigned himself, in despair, to the fire on the funeral pile of Kālidāsa.¹

Peralumba Sirta thus notices both author and work —“King Kumaradasa, who on the very same day celebrated a three-fold feast in honor of the inauguration of the queen-consort, the installation into office of a number of priests, and the founding of 18 temples and 18 tanks, and who in masterly and elegant strains composed Janakiharana and other (maha kavya) great poems offered his life for the poet Kalidasa” Apart from the merit of this story for the purposes of chronology, there can be no doubt that Kumārādāsa was a devout admirer of Kālidāsa and his works.

41 His *Janakiharana*, a poem in 20 cantos describes the story of Rāma and the abduction of Sītā by Rāvana.²

published in the *Epigraphia Ceylanica* at an early date. I attach herewith a transcript in Nagari of the verses dealing with Kumaradatusena in the *Mahāvamsa*

तस्सच्चये कुमारदि धातुसेनोऽति विस्सुतो
अहु तस्ससुतो राजा देवरूपो महाबलो
कारिते पितुनाऽकासि विहारे नवकम्मक
कारेत्वा धम्मसंगीतिं परिसोधेसि सासन
सतप्पेसि महासव पच्चयेहि चत्तुहिऽपि
कत्वा पुञ्जानिऽनेकानि नवमे हायनेऽतिगा

Mahāvamsa, Ch 41, verses 1-8

1 A description of Ceylon by J. Cordier, (1907), *Ceylon, ancient and modern*, by an officer of the Ceylon Rifles mentioned in Sethagiri Sastri's *Rep* II (1899), 20, Nandargikar's *Int to Bagh* 122. This story is attributed also to Kalidasa's wife, Kamalā, in Bhau Daj's *Literary Remains*, 51.

2 On Kumārādāsa and his work, see D'Alwis *Des Cat of Sanskrit, Pal and Singhalese Manuscripts* (Ceylon), Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XXVII, 17 and *CC* I 110, Peterson *PR*, IV 24, *JBRAS*, XVI 10, and *Int to Subh*, 24, *BR*, (1897), xxx, Laumann, *Zum Janakiharana des Kumaradasa* [VOJ, VII 226-22]. S. K. De.

The poem was not available for a long time, when Dharmarāma reclaimed 15 cantos from a Sinhalese sanna¹ (paraphrase) of Kāṇḍasundara and edited the poem so far Nandargikar and Haraprasad Sasiri brought out other editions, but their editions also extended only to 10 and 14 cantos respectively. The 16th canto was edited by Barnett for the London School of Oriental Studies recently. There are now manuscripts of the whole poem in tact and they show two recensions of the poem. In the manuscript recently obtained by Mr Ramakrishna Kavi of Madras, the number of verses in each canto is far more than in the manuscript of the Oriental 'Manuscripts' Library of Madras and in the published editions.

"The first chapter treats of the history of Dasaratha, the second, of the visit of Indra, and the gods, to Vishnu in the Nagaloka, after they were defeated by Ravana, and Vishnu's promise to be born in the human world, the third is on Ritu Varnanā, the fourth, on the worship of Agni, and the birth of Rama in the womb of Kausalyā, the Queen of Dasaratha—his education—his departure with Lakshmana on the application of Vasishtha to fight with Rakshasa, etc., the fifth gives a description of, and particulars connected with, the jungle-residence of Vasishtha, the sixth treats of the departure of Rama, etc to Mithila, where a marriage was concluded for him, the arrival there

Some readings of Janakiharana, XVI (Bull of Sch of Or Studies, London, VI, 611 2, Kalidasa in Ceylon [JRAS, (1894) 397], Kumaradasa [JRAS (1901) 578, 253, 128]

Ed. by Dharmarama Colombo, (1891), by Haraprasada Sasiri (Calcutta, 1899), Nandargikar (Bombay, 1907, 10 cantos only). For quotations of Kumaradasa's version in the anthologies, and in Ujjvalaṭṭha's commentary, see Thomas, *It to Kav* 85 and Peterson, *Int to Subh*, 26. There is a controversy on the original of the verse, quoted by Kshemendra in his *Anuṣṭupavivāṇanā*.

अथि विजहीहि दृढोपगृह्णत्यज नवसगमसीर वदन्ते ।

अरुणकरोद्गम एष वर्तते वरतनु संप्रवदन्ति कुक्कुटा ॥

based on the last line, found in Paṭanjali's *Mahābhāṣya* (T 288). Seshagiri Sasiri (*Rep*, II 20) says, "The verse is not found in the present edition of Janakiharana and the full stanza as quoted by Kshemendra is quite different from that quoted in Paṭmanjari except the last lines which are identical

अपनय पादसरोजमङ्कत शिथिलय बाहुलतां गलादताम् ।

क्वच वदन्त्येकमाकुलीकृत वरतनु संप्रवदन्ति कुक्कुटा ॥

On this question, see *BR*, 1888 84, 56 and *JRAS*, XVI 170 199, Nandargikar, *Int to Ragh*, 126. It seems as if the last line was taken from Paṭanjali and the rest of the verse was made up by way of *samasyā pūrva*:

1 *Cat of Colombo Museum Library*, page 11,

of Dasaratha etc , the seventh on Rama's marriage with Sitā, the daughter of king Janaka , the eighth treats of their honey-moon , the ninth, the departure of Dasaratha and the new married couple to Ayodhya—the battle fought during their journey, etc , the tenth relates the circumstances attending Rama's expulsion by the infirm Dasaratha, owing to the application for the throne by Kaikeyī for her own son, the invitation of Bharata to Rama, and the abduction of Sitā by Ravana , the eleventh contains the fight between Garuda and Ravana to prevent Sita being carried away, the death of Garuda, the flight of Ravana with Sita to Lanka, and the acts of Rama in connection with the battle of Sugriva and Vali , the twelfth gives a description of Autumn or Sarat Varnana, and Sugriva's visit to Rama , the thirteenth records Rama's lament for the loss of Sita, gives description of Varsha, or the rainy season, Sugriva's attempt at consoling Rama etc , the fourteenth mentions the construction of Adam's bridge , and the fifteenth (which is called the twenty-fifth, and which is evidently deficient in matter) gives a glowing picture of (the blessing of) Barce, as opposed to (the ravages of) war , which is introduced as a message sent by Rama to Ravana "1 The remaining cantos continue the story of Rāmāyana

Kumārādāsa follows Kālidāsa in every line of his description and if imitation is not laudable, he is at least a worthy compeer The poem has been held in high estimation and Jalhana praises him in the name of Rājasekhara as an adept in relating the story of Rāna, next only to Kālidāsa 2

1 As summarised by D'Alwis (10) 194

2 In Suktamuktāvali

जानकीहरणं कर्तुं रघुवशे स्थिते सति ।

कवि कुमारदासश्च रावणश्च यदि क्षम ॥

For illustration of his language

यत् वातायनासन्नवारमुख्यामुखेन्दव ।

रथ्यासचारिणो यून् स्वलबन्ति पदे पदे ॥

उल्लसत्सु कुमुदेषु षट्पदा सपतन्ति परितो हिमांशुना ।

मिथ्यमानतमसो नम स्थलात् विव्युता इव तमिस्रबिन्दव ॥

स्त्रियो न पुसासुदयस्य साधनं त एव तद्वाम विभूतिहेतव ।

तडिद्वियुक्तोऽपि घनं प्रजृम्भते विना न मेघ विलसन्ति विव्युत ॥

गतापि भर्ते परिकोपमायत गिर कथा मा परुषार्थदीपिनीम् ।

कुलक्षियो मर्त्यजनस्य मर्त्येनैव वदन्ति मौनं परमं हि साधनम् ॥

42 **Bhatti** was the son of Śrīswāmin or Śrīdharaswāmin Bhatti has been identified with Bhartṛhari and Bhatti is said to be a prakritised form of Bhartṛ. The fact that Bhatti and Bhartṛhari were both grammarians and the tales that sprang up about their connection with

करोति शैलेन पतिव्रता पति गुणस्पृह वश्यमवश्यमङ्गना ।
 परामव मर्तुर्ह्येति दुस्तर विनष्टचारित्र्यगुणा गुणैषिण ॥
 उभे वक्षामि वश्याना तिष्ठतो रक्तकर्कशे ।
 यौवने वनिता वल्कसन्ततिर्वार्धके च न ॥
 नरेन्द्रचन्द्रस्य यशोवितानज्योत्स्ना महीमण्डलमण्डनस्य ।
 तरयारिनारीनयनेन्दुकान्तनिप्यन्दहेतुर्मवन ततान ॥
 तेनोपयेमे विधिवद्विधेया वडे समक्ष समय विदित्वा ।
 इन्द्रद्विषदमर्तुनिषूदनस्य माता मविल्ली मवतुल्यधाम्न ॥
 नामिपन्नस्पृशौ येन भीमौ मायाशयालुना ।
 पाणिमि पाटितौ काम कीटवन्मधुकैटभौ ॥
 नृपेण केलीकलहे परस्याश्चिन्नच्युतस्याम्बुजिनीपलाशे ।
 हारस्य वीचीकणिका समीपे पूर्वस्थिता. सवरणा बभ्रूवु ॥
 क्रीडाविमर्दे वलयस्य भिन्नभ्रष्टस्य चिक्षेप विकृप्य हस. ।
 खण्डे जले बालमृणालमङ्गशङ्काहृत शङ्खमयस्य खण्डम् ॥
 फुल्ल यदीद वमल किमेतत्तत्रैव नीलोत्पलयोर्विकास. ।
 इत्यात्तशङ्खानुसरस्तरन्त्या हस सिषेवे वदन मुदला ॥
 न स राम इह क यात इत्यनुयुक्तो वनिताभिरप्रत. ।
 निजहस्तपुटावृताननो विदधेऽ लीकनिलीनमर्मक. ॥
 मुखमाहितधूले गण्डयो करघृष्टाञ्जनदानमस्य तत् ।
 वदन मुरदन्तिनो यथा विबभौ दन्तचतुष्टयोज्ज्वलम् ॥
 कतरस्तव तात उच्यतामितिधात्रीवचनेन चोदित ।
 हचिरेण करेण निर्दिशन् जगदीश प्रमदेन संदधौ ॥
 सवेदवेदाङ्गविदो यमव्यय विदन्ति यत्नेन पद तपसिन. ।
 स लोककृत्यानि विचिन्त्य कानिचित् तपस्यति स्मेह पुमान् पुरातन ॥
 अति विसृज्य वनातिकृताटना मनुजलोकसमीपनिषेविणः ।
 तट्टिदलातशतैरमिताडिता वनगजा इव सखैरुत्तुष्टुदा. ॥
 पतति वृष्टिरियन्मु निरन्तरं रजतरज्जुश्रुताकृतिरयता ।
 जलधरस्य पतद्भवि मण्डल स्फटिकदण्डस्तैर्दे विधारितम् ॥

नवेन कृत्वा नवचन्द्रमन्त्रिभ विधाय वनूकदल कपोलयो ।
प्रियाय कोप समुदाहरन्वत्सौ परत्य गोपी नवमार्गशङ्किने ॥
मननतश्चेनहित करोज्ज्वल परिगदिते ममधिश्रितश्च मौनम् ।
निःश्रितमपि सन्वने भ्रातृ प्रणयिजने युवतरेथ हि दण्ड ॥
युवतिमुख्यतेन लोचनेन स्फुटमपि मे न शृणोषि जपिताति ।
मुखमगुरुजङ्घ येन मलय कुलिगते नयनश्रवोऽपि जात ॥
सततुवितरणेन त प्रलोभ्य द्विपथिव वन्यमिहोपनेतुकामा ।
सवि गजगणिकेव चधितासि स्फुरति हि सज्जन एव मित्रकले ॥
परिभ्रमन्तो मनुजा महीतले विदूरभावादितस्मदर्शना ।
विमान्जनी वर्मनि शुक्लवास मुखाहितान्ता इव कोपपङ्कज ॥

Two verses attributed to Bhartṛhari in Subhāṣiṭṭavalī are shown as Bhartṛ swamin's or Bhartṛswamin's in Śrīrāgharapaddhaṭi. Jayamangala calls the work Bhartṛ Kāvya and author Bhartṛ. Anfrecht says Bhatti, called also Bhartṛswamin or Bhartṛaswamin or Swāmi Bhatta, was the author of Bhatti Kāvya and was the son of Śidharaśwamin or Śiśwāmin. Bhatti is said to be a prakṛitised form of Bhartṛ. Mitra (Notices, VI i 145) says Bhatti is a diminutive of Bhavā. Kṣemendra and Vallabhadra quote distinctly from Bhatti and Bhartṛhari (See Peterson, *PR*, I 2 Subh 73 4) Bhaṭ Dajī Śaṣhaṅgi Śaṣtri, Hoernle [*JRAS*, (1909) 112] and Kielhorn (*IA*, III 218) distinguish them. B. O. Muṣṇṇār [*JRAS*, (1904), 897] and probably Hoernle [*JRAS*, (1909), 112] identify Bhatti with Vatsabhatti of the inscriptions. But Muṣṇār [*JRAS*, (1909) 753] seems to waver and withdraw. See also Keith [*JRAS*] (1909) 435], S. Ray, *Introduction to Elin Calcutta*, R. O. Dutta, *Cov* I 26]. A. B. Keith, *OSL*, 58, Weber, *SL*, 196, S. K. De, *SP*, 50, Jacobi, *Sanskrit* d

सा रम्या नगरी महान् स नृपाति सामन्तचक्र च त-
त्पार्श्वे तस्य च सा विदग्धपरिषत्ताञ्चन्द्रबिम्बानना ।
उद्धृत् स च राजपुत्रनिवहस्ते वन्दिनस्ता कथा
सर्वे यस्य वशादगात्स्मृतिपथ कालाय तस्मै नम ॥

काव्यमिदं विहितं मया बलभ्यां श्रीधरसेननरेन्द्रपालितायाम् ।
कीर्तिरयं भवतादत्तो नृपस्य क्षेमकरः क्षितिपो यतः प्रजानाम् ॥

Valabhi was the capital of Samrastra (Gujrat) Kingdom and has been identified with Walleh⁵ There were four Dharasenans, the first

On Bhartṛhari, see Kisthorm, *IA*, XII 226. K P Pathak, *Bhartṛhari and Kumārila, JBRAS*, XVIII 213, *Was Bhartṛhari a Buddhist? Ibid* XVIII 341, and Telang, *Int to Satakas*, and *IA*, IX 308 On his *Vakya-padiya* see *IA*, III 235

5 LA. I 109

about Valabhī Samvat 183 and the last 330 Valabhī Samvat appears to be identical with Gupta Valabhī Samvat¹ and the epoch of the Gupta era varies according to different scholars, 167, 190, 319 A.D.² It is not possible to say which of these four Dharasenās was the patron of Bhatti and it is likely Bhatti flourished in the 4th or 5th century A.D.³

1 See *IA*, XV 187 and XIII 160, when these terms are used, indicating identity of meaning

2 The Gupta era is placed by different writers in different years, (see *IA* XV 338) by Cunningham in 167 A.D., by Bayley in 190 A.D. and Alberuni in 319 A.D. For his Kaira grant, see Fleet, CII 134-93 dated Gupta Valabhī 380 which according to Fleet is 319-20, plus 380 or 640-50 A.D. See also Tol's *Rajasthan*, I 705, Phandarkar, *EHD* 18, Dasabai's *History of Gujarat*, 325, Lassen (See Max Muller, *India*, 351) says that Bhatti's patron was Dharasena II [*IA*, VII 68, VIII 301, XV, 187, dated *Val Sam* 252]. The name Bhatti is found in two grants of Dhruvasena I (*Sam* 221) and Dhruvasena III (*Sam* 334) as Superintendent of the Kitchen (See Archaeological Survey of India, 86-86, Trivedi's Int to Edn xxi)

3 The following grants and inscription with dates will be useful for research

Dhruvasena I	<i>IA</i> , V 204	<i>Val S</i> 207
	" IV 104	" 216
Guhasena	" VII 266	" 240
	" V 206	" 268
Dharasena I	" VI 9	" 269
Dharasena II	" XV. 187	<i>Gupta Val S</i> 252
	" XIII 160	<i>Val S</i> 252
	" VII 68, 72 }	" 252, 270
	" VIII 301 }	
Dharasena IV	" I 45	" 272
	" VII 73 }	" 380
	" XV 335 }	
Dharasena IV	" I 45	" 286
and Śīlāditya I	" XIV 327	" 272
Śīlāditya I	" IX 237 }	" 290
	" XI 305 }	
	" XI 327 }	
Dhruvasena II	" VI 12	" 310
Kharagraha II	" VII. 76	" 337
Śīlāditya II	" XI 305	" 352
Śīlāditya V	" VI 16	" 441
Śīlāditya III		
(Dhruvabhatta)	" VII 79	" 447

See also *JBRAS*, VII 116, VIII, 230 For the genealogy from Bhattarak see C V Vaidya's *History of Medieval India*, I 250 But on the dates given in the inscriptions, the order of these kings requires reconsideration

For a discussion regarding Valabhī chronograms, see *IA*, VII 303

There is a tradition that one day when Bhartṛhari was lecturing on grammar, an elephant passed between him and his pupils and as a result of the evil omen, the lectures had to be suspended for a year. Bhartṛhari could not forbear so long and resorted to the device of teaching grammar through the medium of poetry and at the end of the year, the poem was complete¹. True or untrue, the method so adopted has really served to achieve the end and to this day, a study of Bhatti helps the teaching of language with felicity.

43 Bhattikavyam is a work of great renown². In four parts, Prakīrpa, Prasanna, Alankāra and Tīñanta, it illustrates the grammatical formations according to the aphorisms of Pāṇini, figures of speech and other rhetorical devices, but often we see verses of real poetic merit³. In Canto X, there are illustrations of Alankāras⁴ and from their number and their significance, it is conjectured that Bhatti came after Bhāmaha⁵.

1 S Ray, *Int. to Edn.*, viii.

2 Ed. Bombay [BSS, 56, 57], Maṭras and Calcutta. On works ascribed to Bhatti, see *Id.*, XI 285.

- 8 हिरण्मयी साललतेव जङ्गमा च्युता दिवः स्थास्तुरिवाचिरप्रमा ।
 शशाङ्कान्तेरधिदेवताकृतिः सुता ददे तस्य सुताय मैथिली ॥
 न तञ्जल यन्न सुचारुपङ्कजं न पङ्कजं यत्तदलीनवटपदम् ।
 न षट्पदोऽसौ न छयुञ्ज यः कलः न युञ्जितं तन्न जहार यन्मनः ॥
 अथैष्ट वेदोऽस्तिदशानयष्ट पितृनताप्सोऽत् सममस्तं बन्धून् ।
 अजेष्ट षड्वर्गमरस्तं नीतौ संमूलवातं न्यवधीदरींश्च ॥
 पपात राक्षसो भूमौ रराट् च मयकरम् ।
 तुतोद गदया चारिं तं दम्बावाद्रिणा कपि ॥

4 For the list of alankāras illustrated in Canto X, see *JRAS.*, (1929), 890 *et. seq.*

5 On this question there is a difference of opinion. It mainly turns on the two verses

काव्यान्यपि यदीमानि व्याख्यागम्यानि शास्त्रवत् ।
 उत्सवः सुधियामेव हन्तुं दुर्मेघसो हता ॥

Bhāmaha, li. 20,

and

व्याख्यागम्यमिदं काव्यमुत्सवं सुधियामलम् ।
 हता दुर्मेघसञ्चास्मिन् विद्वत्प्रियतया मया ॥

Bhatti, xxii. 34

44 Dasānanavadhakāvyam of Yogīndranāṭha Ṭarkacūdāmaṇi embraces the same theme¹

There are commentaries on Bhaṭṭakāvyam by [Kandarpacakra-varṇin Bharatāsena, Nārāyaṇa Viḍyāvinoda, Puṇḍarikākṣa, Kumudanandana, Puraṇoṭṭama, Rāmacandra-vācaspaṭi, Rāmānanda, Hariharācārya].²

"Even if these, which, like scientific treatises, can be understood only by commentaries, be poems, it is only a festival to those who have a fine intellect, but alas undone are the dull witted"

"This poem is explicable by a commentary. It is, however, sufficient that it will be a festival for the intelligent, and it is because I like the wise, that I have not thought much of the dull witted"

Which of these could be the earlier? Either Bhāmaha criticised Bhaṭṭi [Jacobi, *ZDMG*, LXIV, *sb der preses A AD* (1922), 210 3, Keith, *SL*, 51] or Bhaṭṭi wrote in anticipation of the rhetorical objection as already set out by Bhāmaha. The former seems more likely. S. K. De, [*SP*, 50], H. R. Diwekar [*JRAS* (1924), 880] says "It is not thus a boast, but rather an excuse. If a poet is to boast of his poem as being a hard nut to crack, he will boast that the learned and not the dull witted will find it difficult. To puzzle the dull-witted is not a thing to be proud of, and this is why Bhaṭṭi gives vidvatpriyatā as an excuse for that. It will, therefore, be not wrong if it is said that the verse of Bhāmaha, whose conception of a poem is अविद्वदङ्गनाबालप्रतीतार्थं प्ररुढवत्, must be the original, and the verse of Bhaṭṭi, was also accepts that conception, is based on Bhāmaha's words. The word *eva* which signifies a praṭiṣeḍha (contradiction), and the reason vidvatpriyatā put forward makes this position quite clear in the minds of the readers."

For striking resemblances between Bhāmaha and Bhaṭṭi compare also

1. स्विक्रमाक्रान्तमुवाञ्चिन्न यन्न तवोद्धते ।
को वा सेतुरल सिन्धोर्विकारकरण प्रति ॥

Bhāmaha, 11 10

and

- बुद्धिमान् राक्षसो मूढश्चिन्न नासौ यदुद्धत ।
को वा हेतुरनार्याणां धर्मे वर्त्मनि वर्तितुम् ॥

Bhaṭṭi, x 27

11. यथेवशब्दौ सादृश्यमाहतुर्व्यतिरेकिणो ।
दूर्वाकाण्डमिव श्यामा तन्वी श्यामा लता यथा ॥

Bhāmaha, 11 81

and

- योषिद्वन्द्वारिका तस्य दयिता हसगामिनी ।
दूर्वाकाण्डमिव श्यामा न्यग्रोधपरिमण्डला ॥

Bhaṭṭi, v 18

1. Ed. Calcutta

2. For these commentaries, see *IO*, 544 5, *CC*, I 418

Bharata or Bharatamallika,¹ Jayamangala,² Jibānandavidyāsāgara,³ Mallinātha,⁴ Śrīdhara,⁵ Śaṅkarācārya⁶

45 Bhatti's example has been fruitful in similar compositions. In *Rāvaṇārjunīyam*⁷ in 27 cantos, Bhūma or Bhaumaka⁸ relates the story of Kārtavīrya and illustrates almost the whole *Aṅgadhārvī* of Pāṇini. He is quoted by Jayāditya in his *Kāśīka* and by Kṛṣṇamendra in *Sūtratilaka* and may have lived about 7th century A.D. In Mss. available in Malabar the author's name is given as Bhosa and the colophon runs as इति श्री बलमीवास्तन्यमहम्मोमविरचिते. There is a commentary on it by Parameśvara.

Similarly in *Lakṣānādarśa*, Mahāmohopādhyāya Divākara,⁹ narrates in 14 cantos the story of Mahabhārata, with expressions illustrative of grammatical rules of Pāṇini¹⁰

46 Kāśīnātha's *Yaduvamsakāvyam*, describing the history of Yadus,¹¹ *Pāṇinisūtroḍāharanam*, of unknown authorship dealing with the story of Bhagavatam¹² illustrates the aphorisms of Pāṇini. So also

1 Ed Calcutta *DC*, XX 7788. He was the son of Ambastha Gaurāṅga Mallika and lived about 1800. He mentions Kavikalpadruma of Bopadeva. See *Mitra*, VI 144, *CO*, I 899.

2 Ed Calcutta. Jayamangala's definitions of *Alaṅkāras* in Cantō X show him to be older than Mammata (see Trivedi's *Int. to Edn*). There is a criticism of this commentary, *TC*, IV 5467.

3 Ed Calcutta. 4 Ed everywhere. 5 *DC*, XX 7787.

6 *CO*, I 418, quoted in *Mādhaviya Dhātuvṛtti*.

7 Ed Bombay *BKR*, 62, Trivedi's *Int. (op cit)*.

8 There is an *Angada nātaka* by Bhubhatta (*B*, II 116; *CO*, I 4) which seems to be a mistake for Subhata. Bhūmata (*CO*, I 413) and Bhūma Kavi (*LI*, XXXI 229) are different. The other variants seen in Mss. are Bhūma Bhatta, Bhu Bhatta, Bhūmabhatta. See Peterson, *Subh* 83. There are verses quoted in *Śāraṅgaḍhara-pāṇḍhī*.

9 *TC*, IV 5664. Kaviṇḍīśācārya, also known as Devakara son of Vaidyēśvara and Guṇavaṇī of Bhāradvāja gotra lived in the court of King Kṛṣṇaraya of Vizianagar and wrote the poem *Bhāratāvarṇanam* in 20 cantos (*TC*, IV 5502). His brother Madhusudana wrote *Dharmacarīṭabhāṇa*.

10 The following colophon will show the object of the poem.

इति लक्षणादर्शे पाण्डवचरिते महाकव्ये पाणिनीये कुटुम्बिभूषणि नन्ददत्तलक्ष्मणसप्तहा.
पाण्डवविजयो नास प्रथमस्तर्ग ॥

11 *Nep. Cat.*, II. 220; *Cudh.*, II. 55; *PR*, III. 295. Kāśīnātha was son of Śaṅkara and Rājapī.

12 *TC* IV. 4648. A commentary on it by Kṛṣṇadeva of the Court of King Ravi Varma of Malabar.

are Subhadrāharanam (in 20 cantos) of Nārāyaṇa, son of Brahmadatta of Kudalūr-mana of Malabar¹ and Vāsudevaviṇyayam of Vasudeva,² treating of the marriage of Subhadrā and story of Kṛṣṇa respectively. Nārāyaṇa's Dhātukāvyaṃ is a sequel to the latter, in illustration particularly of verbal forms, as dealt with by Bhīmasena's Dhātupāṭham and Mādhava's Dhātuvṛtti.³ Vālyāvali illustrates in four cantos grammatical peculiarities, figures of speech, prosody and poetical tricks.⁴ Śrīcinakāvyaṃ in 12 cantos relates the life of Kṛṣṇa, the first eight cantos were written by Kṛṣṇanillāśuka in illustration of Vararuci's Prākṛtaprakāśa and the rest by his pupil Durgāprasādayaṭi, in illustration of Ṭivikrama's Prākṛta grammar.⁵

47. Bhattara-Harichandra,⁶ is praised by Bāṇa in his Harṣacarita. It is said that he wrote a romance Mālaṭī. He may therefore be assigned to the 5th or 6th century A D. In Sadukti-Karṇāmṛta (5139) he is mentioned as an "enchanting poet" and classed with great poets.⁷ His verses are quoted in the anthologies.⁸

Harichandra,⁹ a Jain poet of the Digambara sect, was the son of Ādradeva and Rādhā and brother of Lakṣmana of the Kāyastha Sanomaka family. He bore the title of Sarasvaṭīpuṭra.¹⁰ He is mentioned by Rājasekhara in his Karpūramanjari.

1 TC, III 8883, There is a commentary by the author himself for 16 cantos. He is different from Nārāyaṇa Bhattaṭṭin, who wrote Nārāyaṇiyam in 1587 A D. See JBAS, (1900), 763 and *Int. to Nārāyaṇiyam* (Tr. Sans. Series).

2 Ed. Bombay, Kāvya-mālā Part X. See on this author, *post*.

3 DC, XX, 7744. There is a commentary probably by the author himself.

4 Kup. Rep. (1919), 39.

5 TC, V B No 4156.

6. Hultzsch (JMy, XII, 818) denies and Peterson is not certain about his identity (PR, II 77) with the other Haricandra.

7

सुबन्धौ सतिर्न क इह रघुकरे न रमते

धृतिर्दाक्षीपुत्रे हरति हरिचन्द्रोऽपि हृदयम् ।

विशुद्धोक्तिः सूरः प्रकृतिमधुरा भारविगिरः.

तथाप्यन्तर्मोदं कमपि भवभूतिर्वितनुते ॥

8 ZDMG, XXXVI 269, Subh. 161.

9 He is called Hariscandra by Lakṣmana in his Commentary in Vāḍirāja's Yōśodharacarita (IO, III 8824).

A poet Haricandra, son of Rudrapandita, lived in the court of Bhīllama III of Devagiri and composed an inscription in 1025 (Saka ?) (IA, XVII 120, XXIII 129).

Another Haricandra known as Vaiḍya Haricandra, an ancestor of Mahesvara, author of Viśyakośa, was a poet and he is quoted in Subhāṣṭivāli. See *Auf Bod. Cat.* 187, 857, *Sesh. Rep.* II 45-6, Peterson, *Subh.* 186, *Bāṇa*, *His predecessors and Contemporaries*, (JBAS, XVI, app. II p. 111).

10. PR, II 77.

HIS DHARMASARMADHYUDAYAM¹ is a poem in 21 cantos describing the life of Dharmanātha, the fifteenth Tīrthankara from his birth to nirvāna. The hero was born as the son of Mahāsena of Ikṣvāku family and king of Raṭṇapūra by his wife Suvratā. His verse is full of melody and his expression noted for its lucidity.²

In his JIVANDHARACAMPU³ he relates in 13 lambhas the story of a Jaina prince Jivandhara, son of king Saṭyandhara as related by Sudharmā to King Śrenika. The language is charming and takes rank with the best of its kind. T. S. Kuppuswami Sastri mentions a drama, Jivandharacaritam by Haricandra.

48 Bharavi, known also as Dāmodara, was the son of Nārāyaṇaswāmin of Kausika goṭra. His ancestors lived at Ānandapura in N. W. India and migrated later into the country of Nāsikya⁴ (Dekhan). Once accompanying the local prince Viṣṇuvardhana⁵ on a hunting expedition, in dire distress, he was obliged to eat meat and he set out on pilgrimage to expiate the sin. On his way he made acquaintance with Duvriniṭa⁶ (a Ganga prince). Having heard his glory sung by a

1. Ed. Bombay.

2. He himself says so in his concluding verse.

सकर्मपीयूषरसप्रवाह रसध्वनेरध्वनि सार्धवाह ।

श्रीधर्मधर्माभ्युदयामिधान महाकवि काव्यमिद व्यञ्जत ॥

3. Ed. Tanjore, DC, XXI 8219. T. S. Kuppuswami Sastri says that he lived after 900 A. D. on the analogy of story and language and with Vāḍibhasimha's Kṣātracudāmaṇi.

Other works about Jivandhara edited by T. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, Tanjore, are Guṇabhadra's Jivandharacaritram, and Vāḍibhasimha's Gadyasainṭāman. On the story of Jivandhara, by E. Hultzsch, see JMY, XII 317.

4. The word probably means Peninsula. Dandin uses this word in the sense of South India where Kānoi is situated.

5. Viṣṇuvardhana here referred to might be Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana of the inscriptions. He was the younger brother of Saṭyāśraya Pulakesin II who ascended the throne in 608 A. D. As a general under the latter he captured Vengi from the Pallavas and conquered king Harṣavardhana. He was viceroy of a province with the capital at Piṣṭapura, now Piṭhapuram in Godavari District. Later, he declared his independence of his brother and founded the dynasty of Eastern Chalukyas. On Pulakesin and Viṣṇuvardhana, see V. Smith, BH 426, 436, Rep. of Epigraphy (Madras) G. O. No. 574, 11th July 1906, Kailash, EI VIII App. 11. For grants of Viṣṇuvardhana I (E. Chalukya) see IA, XIX 308 (589-40 Saka = 608-9 A. D.) and XX 15 (682 A. D.) and of Viṣṇuvardhana V, see IA, VII 186 (540 Saka = 608-9 A. D.) and VII 191 (581 Saka = 609-60 A. D.). JAHs, I 86.

6. Duvriniṭa was the son of king Aviniṭa of Kongari and daughter's son of Punnasaraṇa. Duvriniṭa was disinherited by his father and in his banishment wandered

Gandharva in a couplet, king Simhaviṣṇu,² of Kāंची invited the author of it and that was Bhāravi. Here he lived happily in the company of the royal prince Mahendravikrama, the son of Simhaviṣṇu. He had a son Manōraṭha and Dandin, as we shall see, was the son's son of Manoraṭha. This is the account given in the *Avantīsundarikathā*.

over distant countries. He was a great scholar and wrote a commentary on 15 cantos of Bharavi's *Kirātārjuniya*, a Sanskrit version of the *Bṛhatkathā* and the work called *Sadbhāṣṭara*. See,

श्रीमत्कोङ्कणमहाराजाधिराजस्य, अविनीतनाम्न पुत्रेण ज्वदावतारकारेण देवभारती-
निबद्धवृत्तकथेन, किरातार्जुनीयपञ्चदशमर्गटीकाकारेण दुर्विनीतनामधेयेन

[*My Arch Rep* (1916) 36], also *EO* (Tumkur) 23, 1A, XLII 204

On the genuineness of these inscriptions doubts were expressed but there is no reason to suspect a forgery. There is a learned discussion by R. Narasimhaachar Durvinita is mentioned in *Nṛpīṅga's* *Kavirājamārga* as a great Kanarese author.

1. Simhaviṣṇu was the Pallava king who ruled between 575 and 600 A. D. at Kāंची. He vanquished the Mūḍa, Pandya, Chola etc. kings and took possession of the banks of the Kāveri. His son was Mahendavarman or Mahendravikramavarman I (600-635 A. D.). He bore the titles Śaṭṭrumalla and Avaribhājana. He was the author of the *Maṭṭavilāsa Prahasanam*, a farce known after his own title *Maṭṭavilāsa* (Ed. Tr. Sanskrit series, No. 55). In this play are described the drunken revelry of a Kāpālika with his female companion, his quarrel with a hypocritical Śākya Bhikṣu for alleged theft of a bowl, the mediation by a degenerate Pāśupaṭa and the final recovery of the bowl from a madman.

The genealogy from Simhaviṣṇu is given by V. Venkayya in *Mod. Rev.* VIII 185 in this order—Simhaviṣṇu—Mahendravarman I—Narasimhavarman—Mahendravarman II—Paramesvaravarman (defeated Chalukya Vikramaditya)—Rajasimha—Mahendravarman II and Paramesvaravarman II—Nandivarman (about 760 A. D.).

In the Mamandoor inscription we find गवदञ्जुकमत्तविलासादि and the rest of the inscription is mutilated. If गवदञ्जुक means भगवदञ्जुक, the coupling of it with मत्तविलास would mean that their author was the same. There is also a broken line in the *Avantīsundarikathā* स च तथा गुह्यमाणगन्धमादनप्रभृतिभिः श्रीवरकृतैः संस्कृतप्राकृतानां च...

Śrīvara is the general name of Pallava kings, used in inscriptions. It is possible that this verse may refer to a work called *Gandhamādana* by Mahendravikramavarman. See also the following verse of Rājasekhara quoted in Jalhana's *Sukṛtumuktāvalī*.

शूरः शास्त्रविदे ज्ञाता साहसाङ्गः स भूपति ।

सेव्यः सकललोकस्य विदधे गन्धमादनम् ॥

Here the word *Sāhasāṅka* may refer to this king.

For relevant inscriptions, see *HI*, IV 152 and *SLI*, I 29-30, and Venkayya, *Inscriptions in the Trichinopoly cave* (*Arch. Sur. Annual* 1908-4, 270 ff.); G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan* (Pondicherry), 68, and *The Pallavas* (Pondicherry), 89, *Pallava Antiquities*, I Ch. 11, T. Ganapati Sastri, *Int. to Maṭṭavilāsa-prahasana*.

There is a doubt whether Bhāravi and Dāmodara were identical and Bhāravi was another name of Dāmodara. Avantīsundarikāṭhā-sāra is a version in verse of Avantīsundarikāṭhā in prose and the version is almost a faithful reproduction. In Kāṭhāsāra (123) the verse is

दामोदर इति श्रीमानादि ब्रह्मवत् । म मेधावी कविर्विद्वान्भारवि प्रभव (त्रो) गिराम्-
अनुरुध्याकरोन्मेव नरेन्द्रे विष्णुवर्धने ।

The corresponding prose passage in Kāṭhā as printed by M R Kavi is mutilated and indistinct

यत कौशि व पुण्यकर्माणि विष्णुवर्धनाख्ये राजसूनां प्रणयमन्वन्नान् ।

G Harihara Sastrī has made an extract of this passage from another manuscript obtained from the Department of Publication of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Trivandram

यत कौशिककुमारो (दामोदरो) महाशैव महाप्रभाव श्रद्धामगम भारवि रविमिवेन्दु-
रनुरुध्य दर्श इव पुण्यकर्माणि विष्णुवर्धनाख्ये राजसूनां प्रणयमन्वन्नान् ।

That is, this passage reads Bhāravi and the adjectives attached to it in the objective declension so that the word becomes an object of the verb *anurudhya*. Harihara Sastrī says 'what we learn from the prose and metrical versions is that Bharavi was a saivite (*mahasava*) and great poet (*gīrāmprabhavah*) attached to the Prince Viṣṇuvardhana and that Dāmodara, who was also endowed with poetical gifts of a high order, secured the friendship of the Prince through the medium of Bharavi.' This does not however affect the date to be assigned to Bhāravi.*

Besides these synchronisms, the name of Bhāravi is mentioned in the Aihole inscription³ of Pulekesin II, dated Saka 556 (=A D 634) Bhāravi may therefore be taken to have lived on either side of the beginning of the 6th century A D

1 *IHQ*, III 169

2 S K De, (*IHQ*, I 31, III 162) concurs in this view. S K De, assigns Bhāravi to the end of the 6th or beginning of the 7th Century A D

3 *IA* V 67-71 where the whole inscription is published

येनायोजि न वेस्म स्थिरमर्थविधौ विवेकिना जिनवेस्म ।

स विजयता रविकीर्ति कविताश्रितकालिदासमारविकीर्ति ॥

'May this Ravikirti, who has obtained the fame of Kalidasa and Bharavi who followed the noble path of poetical be victorious! May he flourish for ever, who in his great wisdom had this temple of Jina constructed, as firm as rock itself on a costly and new model'

For a discussion of this inscription, see page 68 supra, and *IA*, VI 78, XVI 109; *OII*, III 79 note

49 Stories of Bharavi's poverty and affluence are current in a variety of versions Pargankar gives a version

"Bharavi was ground by poverty and being ever immersed in poetic life, was often troubled by the furious remarks of his wife She once reproached him for his dullness in as much as he did not stir himself about money, and the poet, goaded by necessity and the constant reproaches of his wife, did set out to try his fortune to seek royal support When he had gone a few miles, he saw a beautiful tank Fatigued by the labours of the journey, he stopped there and wrote the following verse on a lotus-leaf

सहसा विदधीत न क्रियामविवेक परमापदा पदम् ।

वृणुते हि विमृश्यकारिण गुणलुब्धा स्वयमेव सपद ॥—*Kwata*, II 30

The king of the country who happened to be on the very spot as as he had left his palace for hunt, was so much delighted with it that he ordered the poet to see him in his palace at a particular time and then galloped off The poet, mean looking and dressed in rags, found no admittance to the royal presence, and had in despair to go back The king, however, had the verse painted in gold in his private chamber A year silently passed, when the king set out with his chosen few to hunt, declaring that he would return after a week On the second night, however, his camp not being far off, he rode alone to his private chamber and to his extreme wonder and rage, found the queen lying with another person on his bed! Suddenly he drew out his sword and was about to strike both dead, when the verse in golden letters attracted his attention His rage abated and he resolved to awaken both and tell them of their heinous offence and then to pass the sentence of capital punishment on them But what was his surprise when, on awakening them, he was told that the youth was no other than his son, who being stolen away by a nurse from cradle, was discovered that very evening! The king, immediately in tears thanked God that he had not rashly murdered his wife and his only son the sole heir to the throne It need hardly be added that the king afterwards sought out the author of the verse that had so curiously preserved the life of his son, and rewarded him suitably"¹

1 The verse was so popular that it is frequently quoted in Sastri's discussions Prabhākara in his *Bṛhatī* (I 1) ridicules his opponent's want of sense by the 2nd line,

2. For another version, see M Suryanarayana Sastri, *Life of Sanskrit Poets* (Telugu) Amalapuram, 92-6

50 Kiratarjuniyam¹ is his only poem known to us. In eighteen cantos, it describes the fight between Arjuna and Śiva in the garb of a mountaineer. On the advice of Vyāsa to seek celestial arms by penance, Arjuna engages himself in severe penance in the Himālayas. Śiva comes to meet him as a Kirāṭa, wild-hunter, and a mighty boar which came to attack Arjuna is slain. Both Arjuna and the disguised god claim the merit of having slain the animal and a quarrel is picked up and fight ensues. When fighting in the air Arjuna holds the god by the feet and on his appeal, Śiva reveals himself and blesses the warrior with the gift of arms with which he was to win back his lost kingdom. The poem bears Lakṣmī-pada-anka². The poem displays a vigour of thought and language and a lofty eloquence of expression rarely equalled in Sanskrit literature³. In a well-known verse in Saduktī Karmāṣṭa his words are said to possess a natural grace⁴. On account of the beauty of a particular verse, the poet became known as Chatra Bhāravi⁵.

1. Ed. Bombay, Calcutta and Madras and elsewhere and in Harvard University Series No 15, with a German translation by O. Cappeller, [reviewed in *JRAS* (1917) 869 by F. W. Thomas]. Translated into English (Cantos 1 to 4) by B. N. Nandi (Calcutta), (cantos 1 to 5) by Subrahmanya Sastri, Madras; (cantos 1 to 10) by L. B. Pangarkar, Bombay, (cantos 1 to 8) by M. R. Kale, Bombay. Cantos 1 to 8 by M. R. Kale with an elaborate introduction, Cantos 1 to 10 by Pangarkar (with an introduction). Abridged in verse in Dutt's *Lays of Ancient India*.

On Bhāravi generally, see Peterson, *Subh* 79. B. O. Dutt, *CI*, II 287-92, *Bharavi*, *JBRAS*, IX 815, Bhandarkar, *JBRAS*, XIV 24; Fleet *LA*, V 67; VIII, 337; *JBRAS*, XVIII 148, *JRAS*, (1917), 869, Jacobi, *VOI*, III. 144; Oshikake, *AB*, X. 339. Kiehl (Ok 51) places him before Bāṇa. A. Rangaswami Sarasvati, *The Age of Bharavi and Dandin*, *JMy*, XIII 670-88, *JOR*, (1927) 198, *Sah* XVI 80, Ehn's Bibliography appended to Edn. in Harvard University series.

2. B. V. Krishnamacharya collects such marks or *ankas* in several poets (*Sah*, XVIII 228).

3. It was Māgha's ambition to vie with Bhāravi and both chose their plots from the Mahābhārata. For parallel passages, see O. Cappeller, *loc*.

There is this traditional verse

तावद्वा मारवेर्माति यावन्माचख नोदय ।

उदिते च पुनर्माचि मारवे र्मा रेवेरिव ॥

4. प्रकृतिमधुरा मारविगिरि

See the verse quoted *supra*.

5. उत्फुल्लस्थलनलिनीकनादमुष्मादुद्धृत सरसिजसमव पराग ।

वात्स्यामिर्विजयति विवर्जित समन्तादाद्यचे कनकमयातपत्रलक्ष्मीम् ॥

Kurāla, V 89.

See *Sah*, XVIII 93 for similar titles.

His work is compact and meaning-leaden "He is a hard-thinking poet, in whom we feel at work a certain intension of will" ¹

His poem has been the standard text book for ages for students of literature. The first three cantos are particularly hard and came therefore to be known as *pā-ānaṭrayam* and in the 15th canto, there are verses in a variety of meanings and alliteration.

51 In the richness of a creative fancy, in true tenderness and pathos, says R. C. Dutt, and even in the sweetness and melody of verse, Kālidāsa is incomparably the greatest poet. But nevertheless Bhāravi boasts of a vigour of thought, and of language, and lofty eloquence in expression, which Kālidāsa seldom equals. Bhāravi's dramatic expression is the subject of approbation when Śārādātānaya says —

तादात्म्य भावरसयोर्मरवि स्पष्टमूचिवान् ।

Mallinātha describes Bhāravi's language as *nārikelapūka* and says that the sweetness of his poetry is enveloped in a garb of apparent ruggedness ². The saying of pandits ranks Kālidāsa's similes along with Bhāravi's pregnant expressions ³.

52 There is a prose abridgment by a Pandit Ayurveda Bhushana M. Duraiswami Iyengar ⁴. The same story of the fight between Arjuna and Śiva ⁵ is related in the Śankarānanda Campū of Gururāma ⁶ in *Pārthaliḷa* ⁴ a poem of unknown authorship and is dramatised in the *Kīratārjunīyavyāyoga* of Rāmavarma ⁶ and in *Ḍhananjayavyāyoga* of Kāncanācārya ⁷.

1 Bhāravi's अर्थगौरवम् is proverbial. Kṛṣṇakavi in his *Bharaṭa Caṇṭa* (Tr. Sans. Series) wrote

प्रदेशवृत्त्यापि महान्तमर्थं प्रदर्शयन्ती रसमादधाना ।

सा भारवे सत्पथदीपिकेव रम्या कृति कैरिव नोपजीव्या ॥

Colebrooke's *Mis. Essays*, 84, Manning's *Ancient and Mediaeval India*, II 184 f

2 नारिकेलफलसामितं वचो भारवे सपदि तद्विमज्जते ।

सादयन्तु रसगर्मनिर्भरं सारमस्य रसिका यथेप्सितम् ॥

उपमा कालिदासस्य भारवेरर्थगौरवम् ।

2 Ed Madras

3 In the cave temple of Mahabalipuram there is sculpture representing Kīratī and Arjuna. See *Kalī*, I

4 DC, XXI 8903

5 TC, III 8460

6 Ed *Sahridaya*, IV

7 Ed *Karyamala*, Bombay

53 There are commentaries on the poem by Mallinātha,¹ by Vidyāmādhava,² by Mangala,³ by Devarājabhatta,⁴ by Rāmacandra,⁵ by Kṣitipālamalla,⁶ by Prakāśavarsa,⁷ by Kṛṣṇakavi,⁸ by Cītrabhānu,⁹ by Fkanātha,¹⁰ by Jonarāja,¹¹ by Harikāntha,¹² by Bharaṭisena,¹³ by Bhagīrathamīśra,¹⁴ by Peddabhatta,¹⁵ by Allāda Narahari,¹⁶ by Haridāsa,¹⁷ by Kāśīnathā,¹⁸ by Dharmavijayagani,¹⁹ by Rajakunda,²⁰ by Gadāsimha,²¹ by Dāmodaramisra,²² by Manoharasurman,²³ by Mādhava,²⁴ by Lokānanda,²⁵ by Vankidāśa,²⁶ by Vijavarāma or Vijayasundara,²⁷ and Sabdārthdīpika,²⁸ and Prasanna Sahityacandikā of unknown authorship,²⁹ by Nṛsimha,³⁰ by Ravikīrti,³¹ by Śrīrangadeva,³² by Śrīkantha,³³ by Vallabhaḍeḇa,³⁴ by Jībananda Vidyāsāgara,³⁵ by Kanakalālaśarma and by Gangābharamisra.³⁶

1. Ed everywhere

2. *DC*, XX 7769, *TC*, III 3924. He was in the court of Bhulokamalla Somesvara III who ruled about 1195 A.D. See V Smith, *EH*, 497

3. *TC*, III, 8820

4. *DC*, XX 7882, *TC*, II 2594; III 3319, 3331. He was son of Kṛṣṇaḍvālpāyanabhatta

5. *MR*, X

6. *PR*, IV 22, *CASB*, 47, *IO*, 543

7. *DC*, XX 7708, *Taylor*, I 1174

8. *DC*, XX 7701

9. Ed. *Tr San Series* No 63 with a short introduction by T. Ganapathi Sastri. The commentary is very elaborate but embraces only 3 cantos and is therefore called *Trisargika*. He says that his object was only to show the standard of what a commentary should be and that he did not therefore proceed further. Nothing is known about Cītrabhānu, but he is also the author of two poems: *Bhāratodhṛta* and *Bhāgavatodhṛta*. There is one Cītrabhānu, father of Bāna but he is a different person.

10. *P*, 9

11. *BR*, (1887). It was composed in 1418 A.D. the reign of Zūnālīdīn of Kaspurī (1422-72 A.D.). Jonarāja is the author of a *Rājataranginī*. *BP*, 51, 233, 866 (A.D. 1449)

12. *CASB*, 47, *IO*, 543

14. *IO*, 884, 543 5

16. *P*, 9,

18. *Kh*, 65, *Huls*, III 4

20. *Rep*, VII, *L*, 2806

22. *L*, 2996

24. *Op*, 2798

26. *L*, 1614,

28. *Op*, 5988, *TC*, IV 5597

30. *DC*, XX 7895, *TC*, IV 5588

32. *TC*, IV, 5649, 4718

34. Ed. Bedares

13. *IO*, 343

15. *DC*, XX 7878

17. *DC*, XX 7883

19. *L*, 2806

21. *L*, 2140,

23. *L*, 2296

25. *Bhr*, 187

27. *BP*, 278, 488,

29. See *Saṅg* XIV 101

31. *TC*, IV. 4722

33. Ed. Calcutta.

54 Magha is one of the most popular among Sanskrit poets Mediaeval tradition¹ has recorded that he was patronised by King Bhoja of Dhar. Pressed by want the poet sent his wife to that king's court with a verse² describing the rising sun but indirectly deploring the sports of chance. Delighted with its merit the king gave her a present of money, but on her way back the generous woman distributed it among the wandering beggars whose needs she thought were worse than her own. So she came home just as she left it, with a further throng of beggars behind her. The poet saw the scene and became desperate. He cursed poverty in a few verses and drooped down dead on the spot. The king heard the story and with great grief himself performed the poet's funeral ceremonies. To preserve his memory he named the village Binnamala.³

Māgha was the son of Daṭṭa or Dattaka.⁴ His grand-father Suprabhādeva was the minister of king Śrī Varmalāta⁵ whose capital was the city of Śrīmāla in Guzarāt. Māgha was a great grammarian⁶ and his knowledge of grammar and lexicon is often apparent in his poem.⁷ He is mentioned by Somadeva,⁸ Rājasekhara,⁹ Ānandavardhana¹⁰ and by Bhoja.¹¹ Nṛpatunga who became king in 1814 A. D. refers to Māgha in his *Kavirājamārga*¹² as an author of

1 Bhallāla's Bhojacaritra, Motuṅga's Prabandha Cintāmaṇi and Prabhā caṇḍra's Prabhāvakā carita. For a full account, see Durgaprasad's Int. to Śisupālavadha (Bombay).

2 कुमुदवनमपत्रि श्रीमद्भोजवण्ड लजति मदसुलूक प्रीतेमाश्रकवाकः ।

उदयमहिमरन्मिर्यति शीतांशुरस्त हतविधिललितानां हा विचित्रो विपाकः ॥

Śiś XI 64.

3 Probably because Māgha was a poet of Malwa. There is a village named Binnā Malava now known as Binnamala on the boundary line between Guzarāt and Marwar.

4. Peterson gives the name as Vattaka or Sarvāśraya, (Int. to Subh. 88).

5 See the description of the poet's family given by himself at the end of Śisupālavadha.

6 Durgaprasad (op. cit. 3 note) gives the colophon of a manuscript which reads Śrī Binnamālava-vāsavya Daṭṭaka soonor mahāvanyākaraṇasya Māghasya kṛticau.

7. It is a saying नवसर्गगते साधे नव शब्दो न विद्यते

8. In the Kāvya-mīmāṃsā (composed about 900 A. D.) Gaek. Or. Series Int. xxi.

9 In his Yaśastilaka campu (composed in 960 A. D.) See PR, 1983-84, 45.

10 Contemporary of Avanīvarman, king of Kashmir (857 to 884 A. D.) See his Dhvanyāloka, 114, 115.

11 In the Sarasvatī Kanthābharana (Sis IX. 6). See CO, I 446.

12 Int. to K. B. Pathak's Edition. Māgha is also referred to in a Canarese inscription IA, V. 46) dated Saka 1102=1180 A.D.

acknowledged excellence and ranks him with the immortal author of Sakuntala. These references distinctly prove that the tradition of Māgha being a contemporary of Bhōja cannot possibly be true.

In a well-known verse of Śiśupālavadha,² Māgha refers to the two grammatical treatises the Kāśikāvṛṭṭi and its commentary the Nyāsa. The Kāśikāvṛṭṭi was the joint production of Jayāditya and Vāmana, and according to ITsing Jayāditya died about 661 A.D.³ The real difficulty in determining Māgha's date lies in the obscurity of the correct name of the king he refers to in his genealogy. It is possible that the correct reading is Varmalāṭa.⁴ This king Varmalāṭa is mentioned in an epigraphic record dated Sam 682 (625 A.D.)⁵ and in collation with the references to and by the poet aforesaid we may not be wrong in relying on this inscription as giving the real clue to Māgha's age. Māgha was the grandson of Suprabhādeva, the minister of this king. He may therefore be placed in the latter half of the 7th century A.D.⁶

1

अणुसूत्रपदन्यासा सद्वृत्ति सन्निवन्धना ।

शब्दविशेष नो भाति राजनीतिरपस्पृष्टा ॥

2 MaxMuller, *What can India teach us?*, 346, English Translation of ITsing's work, chap xxxiv, 176. ITsing does not however refer to the commentary Nyāsa and from this silence K. B. Pathak (*JRAS*, xx 808) concludes that Jinendrabuddhi did not flourish during the interval of 44 years that elapsed between Jayāditya's death and that of ITsing's departure from India in A.D. 696. He therefore places the composition of Nyāsa in the first half of the 8th century and consequently assigns Māgha to the latter part of it, but it must be remarked that the *argumentum ex silentio* cannot be of much merit and to the mind of ITsing the commentary might not have struck as important as the original work. But Kielhorn adds "An interpretation of this verse to denote the Nyāsa of Jinendrabuddhi is based solely on the outward form of the word and its proximity to the word *Vṛṣṭi* and would completely disregard the meaning and context of the poet's interesting and scholarly statement. Jinendrabuddhi had freely copied from Haradatta's Paṇamanjari and this would make Jinendra much later than Māgha because that poet is quoted by name more than once in the Paṇamanjari", *JRAS* (1906), 499.

3 The name appears in several forms Dharmanābha, Dharmanāḍa, Dharma lābha, Dharmaḍeva, Gharmanlāṭa, Carmalāṭa, Varmalākhya, Varmanāma and Nirmalāṇṭa, varying according to the scribe's ingenuity. Prabhācandra mentions the name as Varmalāṭa.

4 See Kielhorn's article in *Göttinger Nachrichten*, (1906), Part II, 148 f, *JRAS*, (1906), 728.

5 Prabhācandra mentions Siddharṣi (xiv, 10-16) as the first paternal cousin of Māgha. Siddharṣi was the author of *Upamitibhāva-prapañcāka* composed in Sam 962. Relying on this Dr. F. Klatz assigns Māgha to the beginning of the 10th century A.D. Lurgaprasad refers to Ānandavarṣana's quotation and disposes of Prabhāva-carita as based on pure hearsay and as of no authority. He agrees with

55 The only work of Māgha that has come down to us is the *Sisupalavādha*¹. A Mahākāvya of 20 cantos, it relates the episode in the Mahābhārata of Kṛṇa's slaying of Sisupāla. The Rājāsūya sacrifice of Yudhisṭhira is described and in it Sisupāla's misbehaviour, the immediate cause of the conflict, is well delineated. The last three cantos are devoted to the description of the actual warfare. As a classical poem it has always maintained its popularity and though the thoughts are sometimes voluptuous, a profound learning is everywhere apparent². His ideas reflect his life and the sufferings he had to undergo are often alluded to with a tinge of the consolation of fatalism³. The anthologies⁴ quote some verses under Māgha's name. These are not traceable in any known work and it is possible that *Sisupalavādha* was not the only poem of his composition.

Some of his fancies are quite original and it was one of them⁵ that brought him the name of Ghantā-Māgha. We cannot be certain of the line of his religious persuasion, though the invocation in the

Prof. Jacoby who cannot place Māgha later than about the middle of the 6th century, (*VOJ* IV 61, 286) R. O. Dutt assigns him to the 13th century (*Cw* II, 294) and M. Daff (*Orbology*) to about 800 A. D. Macdonell (*SL* 329) gives as the ninth century, undoubtedly before the 10th century A. D. Weber, (*IL* 196 note) places Māgha prior to Hālayudha of the 10th century A. D. (see *IStr*, I 198). Taranatha in his *Encyclopaedia* quotes a line of Udbhatta, *Tāva bhū Bhāravar bhūti yāvan-Māghasya nodayaḥ*. Udbhatta was a contemporary of Jyāpīla, king of Kashmir (779-813 A. D.). But Dr. Klatt cannot discover this line in Udbhatta's work and draws attention to the gloss by Taranatha himself on the word Udbhatta where Taranatha says that the line is of unknown authorship. See also Aufrecht, *EDMG*, xxvii 72, *CO*, I, 446, *JBRAS*, XVI 176, Bhāndarkar, *Rep* 1897, pp. xviii and xxxix, F. Thomas, *Int. to Kāv* 69 (where all verses quoted in the anthologies are collected).

1 Bhīmasena in his commentary *Sudhūśekhara* on *Kāvyaaprakāśa* says that Māgha was only the purchaser of the authorship of the book from some poet whose name has been suppressed. He says Māgha was a Vaisya and gave this work as an illustration of a poem composed for money (*arthakṛato*). See Vamśanadharya's *Int. to Kāvyaaprakāśa* (Bombay), 9. Prabhāvakasmiṇa also calls Māgha's uncle Subhankara as *Śreṣṭhi*, (xiv 15).

2 He illustrates Śābala citra in Canto IV, with musical parallels of a very complex character.

3 See for instance, *Sis* xvi, 64.

4 *Subhāṣṭavali* (*Int* 87, 89), *Śrīmatyāyānīya* of Kṛṇa, *तुमुक्षिने* &c. See Durgaprasad (*op. cit* 6).

5 उदयति विततोर्ध्वरश्मिरञ्जवह्निमरुचो हिमवाप्ति याति चात्तम् ।

वहति गिरिरय विलम्बिषण्डायपरिवारितवारणेन्द्रलीलाम् ॥ *Sis* IV, 20

Sisupālavadha indicates that he was a votary of Viṣṇu. He must have all the same been much in the company of Buddhists and had a great regard for the teaching of Buddha. He describes his grand-father Suprabhādeva as prime minister to a king "who listened to his advice with as great respect as the enlightened public received the words of the revered Buddha" and with a similar desire he compares Hari with Bodhisatva and the allies of Sisupāla with the host of Māra or the Satan of the Buddhist legend.¹ To a certain extent he adopted the style of Bhāravi, but in general merit Māgha takes a higher place.

There are commentaries on Sisupālavadha by Canitravardhana,² Pedda Bhatta,³ Devarāja,⁴ Haridāsa,⁵ Śrīrangadeva,⁶ Śrīkantha,⁷ Bharatasena,⁸ Candrasēkhara,⁹ Kavivallabha Cakravartī,¹⁰ Lakṣminātha,¹¹ Bhava(ga)datta,¹² Vallabhadeva,¹³ Mahēśvarapancānana,¹⁴ Bhagīratha,¹⁵ Jibānanda Vidyasāgara,¹⁶ Gauḍa,¹⁷ Ānandadevayāmi,¹⁸ Divākara,¹⁹ Prhaspti,²⁰ Rājakunda,²¹ Jayasimhācārya,²² Mallinathā,²³ [Śrīrangadeva and Padmanābhadaṭṭa, Vṛisākara, Rangarāja, Ekanātha, Bharatamalika, Gopala]²⁴ and one Anonymous.²⁵

1 See the concluding verses in cantos II and XV 58

There is a traditional anonymous verse to say so

तावद्वा भारवेर्माति यावन्माघस्य नोदय ।

उदिते च पुनर्माघे भारवेर्मा रवेरिव ॥

2 *Tanj. Cat.*, VI, 2506.

3 *DC*, XX, 7893

4 *DC*, XV, 7382

5 *DC*, 7883. He was son of Viṣṇuḍāsa and Muladevi. His grandfather Śaktimīśra and the son of Jyeṣṭha of Rudra family and of Kāśyapaḥṣṭra and resident of Lābhapura. Haridāsa quotes Kāvya-darpaṇa

6 *DC*, X, 7885, *IO*, IV, 5588

7 *TC*, III, 8904, *IV*, 4729. He was Varior by caste and lived in Jayasimhamangala on the banks of Dakṣiṇagangā in Malabar. All the members of his family were known by the name of Śrīkantha

8 *IO*, 8222 8, *L*, 8176

9 *IO*, 3282, 32 23, *L*, 3040

11 *IO*, 178

13 *Ed. Kasi Sanskrit Series*, Benares, *TC*, IV, 4714, 5649

14 *IO*, 3222 8

16 Printed, Calcutta

18 *B*, 294

20 *IO*, 3222

22 Cochin State Manuscripts

24 *Sah*, XIX, 208

25 *Tanj. Cat.*, VI, 2510 (7th canto only)

10 *IO*, 635

12 *K*, 62

15 *L*, 1632

17 *B*, 296

19 *NP*, 151

21 *Cu*, 2287.

23 Printed everywhere

56 Sivaswamin¹ was a poet of the court of King Avantivarman who ruled over Kashmir between 855 and 884 A.D.² He was a follower of Buddha and an ardent admirer of his religion. His only poem *KAPPHANABHYUDAYAM* opens with an invocation to Buddha. In twenty cantos it describes the expedition of Kapphana, the king of Dakṣiṇā-paṭha, against the country of king Prasenajit of Śrāvastī and in the course of the march through the Malaya mountains several seasons are passed and parties of lovers do not miss pleasant excursions in regions of sylvan beauty. Though successful in his expedition, Kapphana turns philosophical and renouncing his worldly attachments he becomes a pious follower of Buddha. The poem in general follows the plan of *Sisupālavadhā* and *Kirātārjunīyam* and verbal beauties of composition such as yamakas and bandhas are not rare.³

The following verse illustrates his prolific writings in Sanskrit though most of them have now become extinct

वाक्यं च द्विपदीद्यतान्यथ महाकाव्यानि सप्त क्रमात्
त्र्यक्षप्रत्यहनिर्मितस्तुतिकथालक्षाणि चैकादश ।
कृत्वा नाटकानाटिकाप्रकरणप्रायान् प्रबन्धान्वहन्
विश्राम्यत्यधुनापि नातिशयिता वाणी शिवस्वामिन ॥

1 He is also known as Bhattasivaswāmin or Bhattasāri Sivaswāmin

2 मुक्ताकण शिवस्वामी कविरानन्दवर्धन ।

प्रथां रत्नाकरश्चागात्साम्राज्येऽवन्तिवर्मण ॥ *Raj*, V 34

3 For analysis of the poem, see *SR*, II (1899) 40, see also *BR*, (1897), xviii, *Anurāgha*, *SDMG*, xxvii, 92, *CO* I 651, Peterson's (*Subh* 129) Thomas (*Kav* iii) collects all quotations in the anthologies *Rayamukuta* and *Sarvānanda* quote fragments, not traceable in this poem. For the beauty of his poetry see the following

दिव इव निस्सृतैर्गिरिनिदीभ्य इवोच्छ्रवसितैर्भुव इव सप्लुतै क्षितितलादिव चोच्छसितै ।
जलधिजलोद्भवैरिव ककुभ्य इवोत्फलितै स्तिमिरकुलैरनीषदुदमेषि मर्षामलिनै ॥

वेणीषु मूर्च्छाभिव सप्रयाता कपोलयोर्नानिभिवादधाना ।

स्मितेष्विवोच्छ्वासमिवोद्बहन्तो विलासिनी शिखिषुरिन्दुपादा ॥

धृतसन्धिरसौविचित्रवृत्तिर्विदधान स्फुटशृङ्गपात्रयोगम् ।

मधुवारविधि सनायकाङ्गो बधुधे नाटकवक्षितम्बिनीनाम् ॥

विनय विनयन् स्मितानि पुष्पलयनानि भ्रमयन् वचांसि ध्रुवन् ।

सुखराणि विभूषितानि कुर्वन्वरवेवो बधुधे मदो बधुनाम् ॥

सुहुरविशदा विशम्भाम्ना सुहु स्मृतमन्यवो सुहुरसरला प्रेमप्रह्ला सुहुसुहुरास्थिरा ।

वितथशयोपालम्भाह्ला सुहुर्मधुरा सुहु परिववृधिरे निष्पर्यन्ता मिथो मिथुनोक्तयः ॥

57 Jinasena was the pupil of Virācārya and was at the head of those who were proficient in the fragment of the sacred texts left after the time of Subhadrā and Lohārya, sages who were conversant with the ācārāṅga of the Śvetāmbara Jain religion.¹ Virācārya and Jinasena converted the Rāstrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa² into Jainism and the king abdicated his throne in favour of his son in 875 A.D. Virācārya was an illustrious mathematician and alludes to the king in the prasasti of Gaṇiṭasārasaṅgraha.³ Jinasena's pupil Gunabhadra was the preceptor of king Kṛṣṇa II, Akālavarṣa.⁴ Among his works Harivamśa⁵ was composed in the reign of Kṛṣṇarāja I,⁶ grandfather of Amoghavarṣa, in 793 A.D. and Pārsvābhyudaya,⁷ in 814 A.D. Of Ādipurāṇa,⁸ 42 chapters were written by Jinasena and the last five were completed by his pupil Gunabhadra according to his instructions as Uttarapuṇḍanam. This was consecrated by his pupil Lokasena in the reign of Rāstrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa II, Akālavarṣa, on 23rd June 897 (Saka 828).

PARSVABHYUDAYA is a poem in imitation of Kālidāsa's Meghasandheśam. The last lines of the verses of the latter are taken and the first three lines are added. The poem deals with the story of Pārśvanāṭha, the 23rd Tirthankara.⁹

Jinasena's poetry is of a high order and often equals if not surpasses the beauty of Kālidāsa's expressions.¹⁰

1 See Paṇḍitasundara's Rāyamullābhyudaya, *PR*, III and *IA*, XX 849, App. 256 (which contains a prasasti at the end of Harivamśa). See also *BR* (1888 84) 118, *PR*, IV 167 177, xl, K B Pathak, *JBRAS*, XVIII, 229 6, Bhandarkar, *EHD*, Sup 1.

2 For his inscriptions dated Saka 765, 765, 788, 789 A.D., see *IA*, XII, 215, XIII 128, 193, 215. See Fleet's *Dynasties of Kanarese Districts*, 407, K B Pathak's paper in *IA*, XIV 101 and XV, 141.

3 See his *Āṭmānuśāsana*, verse 102.

4 For his inscriptions dated Saka 822 and 881, see *IA* XII 220, 222, *IA*, XV 141.

5 Printed Bombay.

6 For his inscriptions, dated Saka 675, see *IA*, XII, 238.

7 Ed by K B Pathak, Poona.

8 Printed, Indore in 3 Vols. There is a doubt if *Ādipurāṇa* and *Harivamśa* are by two different Jinasenas.

9 For fuller account, see under Meghasandheśa in the Chapter on Laghukāvya post.

10 For instance, the following —

एलालवङ्गसवाससुरमिश्रसितैर्मुखैः । स्तनैरापाण्डुभिः सान्द्रचन्दनद्रवचर्चितैः ॥
 सलीलमृदुभिर्यनैर्नितम्बमरमत्सरैः । स्मितैरनङ्गपुष्पास्त्रस्तबकोद्भेदविभ्रमैः ॥
 कोकिलालापमधुरैर्जल्पितैरनतिस्पृष्टैः । मृदुबाहुलतान्दोलसुमगैश्च विचेष्टितैः ॥

58 *Ratnakara*.¹ was the son of *Amrtabhānu*² and descendant of *Rajānaka* *Durghata*, who lived at *Gangāhrada*. He began his poetic career in the reign of King *Cippata Jayāditya*³ and became famous during the reign of his successor, King *Avantivarman*, who ruled over *Kashmir* between 838 and 884 A.D.⁴ He bore the title of *Vidyāpaṭi Vāgīśvara*. He was praised by *Rājasekhara* as a poet of vast learning and imagery⁵ and is popular with rhetoricians.

His *HARAVIJAYA* is a long poem of 30 cantos describing the tales relating to *Śiva*.⁶ From the beauty of a particular verse he has been known as *Tāla-Ratnākara*.⁷

लास्यै स्खलत्पदन्यमैर्मुक्ताप्रायेर्विप्रवर्णै । मन्द्रगञ्जुमिरुद्धैर्जितालिकुलशिक्षनै ॥
 तमालवनवीधीपु मचरन्त्यो यदृच्छया । अनोऽस्य जहुराण्डार्थवना केरलस्त्रिय ॥
 कचिच्छुक्रमुखाकृतकणा कणिमञ्जरी । नालिवप्रपु सोऽप्यद्विटैर्मुक्ता इव स्त्रिय ॥
 सुगविकलमामोदसतादि धसितानिले । नापयन्तीर्दिश शान्तिरुणिशेखरवतसिता ॥
 पीनस्तनयोत्सङ्गगल्दमाम्बुबिद्भुमि । मुक्तालङ्कारजा लक्ष्मा घटयन्तीर्निजोरसि ॥
 सरसोऽञ्जराज र्गणिसीमन्तरुचिरै कचै । चूडामाव नती र्देरमन्थितोत्पलदामकै ॥
 दधतीरातपह्वान्तमुखपर्यन्तसङ्गिनी ॥

1 *Ratnasimha*, who wrote *Pradyumnacūṭa Mahākāvya* in *Samvat* 1671, when *Hemasoma* was chief *Śūni* of the *Tripragochi* is a different person—see *PR* IV. List of authors, and *PR*, v. 169.

2 This person is different from the poets *Amrtaditya* (a court poet of *Shahabuddin* of 1362 A.D.) and *Amṛtavaridhana*, and *Amṛtadeva* quoted in the *Subhāṣitāvali*. See *Peterson Int. to Śul.* 2, 4.

3 He bore the title of *Tāla Rhaspati* and *Ratnākara* calls himself *Bṛhaspaṭ yanujivin*, "a servant of young *Rhaspati*" (See *PR* IV. 675). He reigned 833-844 A.D. Between him and *Avantivarman* there were three minor kings of the *Karkota* dynasty. See *Buhler, KR*, 42 and *Peterson Int. to Subh.* 90.

4 मुक्ताकण विवस्वामी कविरानन्दवर्धन ।
 प्रया रत्नाकरश्चागात्साम्राज्येऽवन्तिवर्मण ॥ *Nilg* V. 34

5 मास्म सन्तु हि चत्वार प्रायो रत्नाकरा इमे ।
 इतीव सकृतो धात्वा कविरत्नाकरोऽपर ॥

as quoted in *Hārāvali* and *Sūktimuktāvali*.

6 Printed, Benares with *Alanka's* commentary. For a full account of the poem see *Buhler's KR*, 42, and *Aufrecht, ZDMG*, XXXVI. 373. *M. Dutt (Chronology)* gives date for *Ratnākara* as 840-860 A.D.

7 सन्ध्याप्रवृत्तहरवाह्यगृहीतकास-

तालद्वयेन समलक्ष्यत नाकलक्ष्मी ॥—*Harmvijaya*, XIX. 5.

There is a commentary on it by Vallabhadeva,¹ an incomplete commentary by Alaka,² son of Rājānaka Jayānaka, which stops in the middle of 46th canto. Alaka was a contemporary and pupil of Raṣṇākara. Haraviyaya was left unfinished by Raṣṇākara and completed by Ganapaṭi. It is possible therefore from the limit of Alaka's commentary to say that so far Raṣṇākara wrote too.³

Vakrokti-Pancāsikā is a small poem of fifty verses, being an imaginary dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī, of ingenious intricacy,⁴ and Dhvanigādhāpanīkī is a similar poem.⁵

59 Abhinanda was the son of Śaṭānanda.⁶ Soddhala, in the introductory verses to his Udayasundarī, praises Abhinanda and Rājasekhara.⁷ The sequence, it is very likely, shows that Rājasekhara came after Abhinanda.

Soddhala lived mostly in the first half of the 11th century A.D. Abhinanda mentions his patron King Hāravarṣa Yuvarāja by whom he was well honored and in appreciation of his talents the King accorded to him a seat on his throne.⁸ Abhinanda and Soddhala class King Hāravarṣa along with famous royal patrons of letters, Vikrama, Hāla and Sri Harsa. In the various verses in Rāmacarita, Abhinanda refers to king Hāravarṣa Yuvarājadeva as the son of Vikramaśīla, a scion of the house of King Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty.

1 Stein's *Kash. Cat.*, page 76

2 He is not to be confounded with Alaka, who completed the *Kavyaprakāśa* of Maṇmala. See Stein *Int. to Raj.* xxvi

3 *PR* I 13, *BKR*, 45

4 Printed Kavyamālā, Bombay. There is a commentary on it by Vallabhadeva, son of Anandadeva. See *MR*, X, *PR* I 14. The poem has रत्नाङ्क

5 See *PR*, IV civ, *CC* 491 *BKR*, 42, 66, See also Stein *Int. to Raj.* (foot notes to V 34)

6 So says Abhinanda himself

7 तथा तूर्णं कवे कस्य निर्गत जीवतो यः ।

हारवर्षप्रसादेन शातानन्देयधनुः ॥

Abhinanda, son of Jayanta, and author of *Ādyaśāstra* is a different poet. Bühler wrongly identified these two poets (*IL*, II 103). They were sons of different persons. Auftrecht distinguished them (*CC*, 210) see also, Krapav's *Int. to Karpura manjari*, 197. Is this Śaṭānanda identical with the rhetorician Rudrata Śaṭānanda, author of *Kāvyaśālikara*?

8. So says Soddhala

स्पष्ट यदत्र युवराजनरेश्वरेण युद्धकर किमपि येन गिर श्रियश्च ।

प्रत्नायन स्फुटमकारि निजे कवीन्द्रमेकासने सपुपवेशयतामिनन्दम् ॥

In the Pāla dynasty of Bengal King Dharmapāla was famous and he had two sons Tribhuvanapāla and Devapāla. In the Monghyr grant,¹ Tribhuvanapāla is mentioned as the Yuvarāja, but Devapāla succeeded his father and became famous in the second half of the 9th century A.D. K. S. Ramaswami Siromani compares verses in this grant with verses in the Rāmacarita, to show the purity of ideas and expressions relating to King Devapāla and concludes rightly, that king Devapāla was the King Hāravarṣa Yuvarājadeva.² He says "The question may be raised as to how a king of the Pāla Dynasty, instead of bearing a name ending in Pāla, should prefer to be called Hāravarṣa a name quite foreign to the Pāla tradition. The reason for this is not difficult to discover. It is well known that Dharmapāla married a Rastrakūṭa princess known by the name of Kamadevī. Rastrakūṭa princes were very fond of adopting names ending on "Varṣa" and it is very probable that king Devapāla during his stay in his maternal uncle's household was known by the name of Hāravarṣa, while his elder brother Tribhuvanapāla was Yuvarāja in the Court of his father Dharmapāla." Abhinanda must have therefore lived in the earlier half of the 9th century A.D.

His RAMACARITA³ is profusely quoted by Bhoja, Mammata and Mahima Bhatta and must have therefore very soon attained high celebrity. It is a long poem relating the story of Rāmāyana. In the Baroda edition recently published the editor says that "These four cantos have two definite recensions, one attributing the authorship to Abhinanda and the other to Bhimakavi a fairly unknown author. But this latter definitely says that Abhinanda left the work incomplete and it fell to his lot to complete the book by adding four more cantos. Most of the 36 cantos which are undoubtedly Abhinanda's own contain besides the subject-matter of the poem additional verses written obviously in praise of his patron king and describing the merits of his own composition." The ease of narration, the melody of versification and the grace of poetic fancy are apparent everywhere.⁴

1 *IA* XXI, 268

2 *JOR*, III, 57 *et seq* which contains a learned discussion on this identification.

3 Ed. by K. S. Ramaswami Sastri Siromani in Gack Or series. The manuscript in the Madras Oriental Manuscripts library breaks off in the 40th canto (IO, IV 5871). There is a manuscript with M. R. Kavi of Madras which stops with the 67th verse in the 50th canto.

4 There is a Rāmacarita by Kaśinatha (IO, 1184, OC, I 105), and another by Saṅghyākaranandin (Ed. by Haraprasad Sastri for Asiatic Society of Bengal).

60 Abhinanda also called Gaudābhinanda, was the son of Jayanta. His ancestors lived in the Gauda Country until one of them named Sakti went to Kashmir and married there in the town of Darvābhishāra. Sakti's grandson Saktiswāmin was a minister under King Lalitāditya Muktāpīda of the Karkota dynasty,¹ who ruled at Kashmir about the year 726 A.D. From Saktiswāmin, Abhinanda was the 5th in descent. Jalhana in his *Sūktimul tāvālī* mentions Abhinanda as a contemporary of Rajasekhara, and Abhinavagupta quotes him in his *Locanā*.² From these references it appears that this Abhinanda lived in 9th century A.D.³ But Jayanta, the father of Abhinanda, ridiculing in *Nyāyamanjarī*, the *śringāra* idea in *Kuṭṭinimāṭa* of Damodaragupta incidentally mentions Śankaravarman as the King of Kashmir in his time (*Nyā* p. 279). Śankaravarman ruled from 884 A.D. This allusion brings down Abhinanda to a generation later, to the first half of the 10th century. His *Kadambari-Kathāsāra*⁴ epitomises in 8 cantos the story of Bāna's *Kadambari* in verse. His poetry has been held in high estimation by later rhetoricians.⁵

61 Padmagupta, otherwise known as Parimala Kālidāsa,⁶ was the son of Mṛgāṅkagupta. He was a poet of the Court of King Munja of the Paramara dynasty, who, among several other titles, bore also the name of Navasāhasānka.⁷ His literary activity extended through the last and first quarters of the 10th and the 11th centuries. He was a devotee of Śiva. He was an admirer of Kālidāsa and in descriptive imagery, he

1 These facts are given by the poet himself in the introduction to his *Kādam barīkathāsāra*.

2 See *Kavyamala* Edition, p. 142. But he mentions further Jayanta as the author of the poem.

3 On Abhinanda, see Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XXVII, 6, 27, *OG*, I 24, *PR*, IV, 7, (1887-91) 21 and F. W. Thomas, *Int. to Kav*, 20 22, where all verses quoted in the anthologies are collected.

4 Trivikrama, nupul of Sakala Vidyādharaśaśravartan wrote a poem *Kādam barīsāra* in 17 cantos in about the 14th century (*TC*, IV 4292).

5 Rāyamukuta in his commentary on *Amarakośa* and Kṣemendra in his *Suvṛṭṭatilaka* quote him and Someśvara in his *Kīrtikaum udī* (I 26) eulogises him.

6 *DC*, XXI, 86 79, See Burnell's *Tan Cat* 163, Peterson's *Int. to Subh* 51.

7 King Munja bore the names, Vākpaṭirāja I, Sahasānka, Sindhurāja, Uppalārāja, Śrīvallabha, Prthivīvallabha, Amoghavarṣa. He ruled between 974-994 (977) and was finally defeated and beheaded by Talha II of the Chalukya dynasty of Kalyan. See Prabandhaśintamani (*Tawney's Tr*), V Smith, *ED*, 80 6, 895, 431, also Buhler, *MI*, I, 222 294, 302, Fleet, *Dynasties of Kanarese Districts*, 432, Bhandarkar, *EHD*, 214, Haas, *Dasarupa*, *OUS*, xxii, note 4, Elliot, *Carnatadesa Inscriptions*, I 370, 415, *IA*, XII 270, *XXI* 167, *XIX*, 28, *XIV* 160, He was himself a great poet and for his verses collected from anthologies, See F. W. Thomas *Int to Kav* 103.

was a successful second to him. It is possible that his influence extended through the reign of King Bhoja,¹ the successor of King Munja, and that the poet of the name of Kālidāsa, so often said to be a friend of that king is Padmagupta himself, as shown by his *diya-Parimāla Kālidāsa*. His only poem that has come down to us is *NAVASĀHASĀNKACARITA*. In 18 cantos it describes the marriage of his king Sindhuraja, with the Nāga princess Śaśiprabhā. In one of his hunting excursions he shoots a deer with a golden chain on its neck. The deer escapes. It is a pet of Śaśiprabhā and from the mark on the arrow, she recognises the name of the king. So in pursuit of the deer, the king in his turn sees a swan on a lily, with a pearl necklace hanging in its beak and when he takes hold of it, he sees the name of Śaśiprabhā engraved on the pearls. Thus the love dawns, Śaśiprabhā sends her maiden in search of the necklace and she interviews the king. To get at her the king is asked to invade Nāgaloka, capture and kill the demon Vajrāṅkuṣa at his capital at Bhogavṛtī and bring the golden lotus from his pleasure pond. This the king easily accomplishes and the lovers are married.²

Among later references to Padmagupta are some by Bhoja in his *Sarasvatī-Kaṇṭhābharana*, by Kṣemendra in his *Aucityavivāraṇā*, by Mammata in his *Kāvya-prakāśa* and by Vardhamāna in his *Ganaratna-mahodadhī*. Some of the verses quoted there as Padmagupta's are not found in the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*. From some of these verses,³ it is inferred that the theme of another poem must have been that expedition into Gujarat despatched by Tailapa under a general of the name of Basapa against Mūlarāja, the founder of the Chalukya dynasty at Anhilapattana.⁴

Padmagupta's language is highly embellished and though oftentimes he appears an imitator of Kālidāsa, whom he holds in high esteem, his expression is original and verse melodious.

62 Bilhana was born at Konamukha⁵ near Pravarapura, the capital of Kashmir. He was the son of Jyesthakalasa and Nagadevi. His

1 He ruled between 1018-1023 A.D. See for a fuller account under Bhoja.

2 Ed. BSS, No. 53. For an elaborate account of the poem, see Buller II, XXXVI, 149, based on Zachariæ's Essay in German, also Macdonell, *ST*, 381.

3 See Petersons' *Int. to Subh.* 51-53, Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XXXVI, 517.

4 On Mūlarāja who lived about 973 A.D., see *EL*, X, 76, *JRIS*, (1900) 269. He was killed by a Chouhan Raja Vigraharāja II. See *JRAS* (1913) 266, 267, 269, V. Smith *III*, 381.

5 This is the modern village of Khunmoh, 3 miles north-west of Pampar. See Cunningham, *AG*, 98, *BKR*, 40 and Stein's *Int. to Raj*.

grandfather was Rājakalasa and his great grand-father was Multikalasa. His family belonged to the sect of Madhyadeśī brahmins of Kauśika gotra. His father wrote a commentary on Mahābhāṣya. His brothers, Itārama and Ānanda were poets. Educated in Kashmir and particularly proficient in grammar and poetics, he commenced a tour. At Māṭhura he stayed for some time engaged in playful disputations with the learned of Brindāvan. He visited Kanauj, Prayag and Benares. He was received well in the Court of King Kṛṣṇa of Dāhala (Bundelkhand) and in that Court probably composed a poem in honour of Rāma.¹

He intended to see Bhoja of Dhar, but he could not. He went to Anhilwād in Gujarat, but he was not heartily welcomed there and he complains of this indifference.² He offered his devotions at Somnath and setting out southward, he visited Rameśwara. On his way back, he reached the Court of Kalyan, where Vikramāditya VI Tribhuvanamalla (1076-1127 A.D.)³ admired his learning and made him his Vidyāpati, or Director of Instruction, and his parosol when he travelled on elephants through Kārnāṭa land, was seen borne aloft before the king.⁴ Of the Kings of Kashmir Ananta had been dead and he probably knew Kalasa. He lived to see Harṣa (1084-1101 A.D.)⁵ From the last verses of Vikramānukadevacarita and some other verses attributed to him,⁶ which are really characteristic of his self-conscious spirit, it is conjectured that latterly he fell into disfavour with Vikramāditya and had to leave his territories probably on an order for confiscation of his estates. This may account for the incomplete narrative of Vikrama's history in Bilhana's poem, for it stops with his Chola war and does not refer to the expedition beyond the Narbada in 1088 A.D.⁷

1 So he says

त पौलस्त्यं विदलितवतः सृक्तिनिष्यन्दशीताम् ।

सीतामर्तुर्व्यरचयदसौ राजधानीमयोध्याम् ॥ *Vsk* xviii, 94.

2 *Vsk*, XVIII 97

3 See *IA* VIII. 10 (*Saka* 99 9), VIII 21 (*Saka* 1018), VI 187 (*Saka* 1018) X 249 (*Saka* 1080)

4. *Raj*, VII 987

5 *Raj*, VII 1781 *et seq* and *JBRAS*, III 203 11

6 सर्वस्व गृहवर्तिं कुन्तलपतिर्युक्तातु तन्मे पुन-

र्भाण्डागारमखण्डमेव हृदये जागर्ति सारस्वतम् ।

रे क्षुद्रास्त्यजत प्रमोदमचिरादेष्यन्ति मन्मन्दिरम्

हेलान्दोलितकर्णतालकरटिस्कन्धाधिरूढा श्रिय ॥

7 *JRAS*, IV. 15.

63 His *VIKRAMANKADĒVACARITAM* is a poem in 18 cantos, describing the glory of King Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla of Kalyān. "The main theme of this laudatory poem is royal wars and royal marriages. The poet begins with a short account of the Chalukya race and the kings of the restored dynasty which begins with Lalapa, he dwells at some length upon the exploits of Vikramaditya's father and describes with all customary amplifications, the conquests of Vikramaditya before his accession to the throne, his dethronement of his elder brother Somesvara II, his defeat and capture of his younger and his numerous wars with the faithless Cholas."¹

His *KARNASUNDARI*,² a play in four acts after the manner of *Raṭnāvali*, must have been composed in the Chalukya Court. It describes the secret intrigues of a Chalukya prince Karnadeva, son of Bhīmadeva, with Vidyādhara princess and their eventual marriage with the consent of the queen.

His *ŚIVASIṬI* is a small poem in praise of Śiva.³

64 His *CAURAPANCAŚIKĀ*,⁴ is a poem of fifty verses of amatory import, attributed to Bilhana. By itself it describes only the recollections of a lover of the company of his darling princess. But in some manuscripts, there is an introductory part, relating its romantic origin.⁵ Bilhana was the tutor of Candrālekha or Śasikālī, the daughter of King Varmasimha of Guzarat. The pupil fell in love with the teacher and the intrigue went on undiscovered. When at last when the secret was out and Bilhana was condemned to death by the incensed father and taken to the place of execution, he repeated these verses in remembrance of the graces of the princess and the joys of her company. The executioners were moved and when they conveyed to the king the last invocation of Bilhana,⁶ the King was moved and the result was a pardon and restoration to favour and a formal bestowal of the hand of the princess.

1 For a full account of Bilhana and this poem, see Buhler's *Int. to Edn.* and *IA*, V 317, *IA*, V 324, *IA*, X 317. Durgaprasad's *Int. to Karnasundari* (Bombay), Peterson *Int. to Subh.* 66, where verses quoted in the anthologies are collected.

2 Ed. Bombay (Kavyamala, No. 7).

3 *CM*, 285. There is a *Bilhanastāvam* (*TC* II. 136). Are these identical?

4 Ed. Madras, Bombay and Calcutta and elsewhere. See Colebrooke, *Mss. Ms.* II, 95, Böhlen, *Introduction to Edn.* Berlin, *BAR*, 48, *C. Bod.*, No. 245.

5 See *Bilhanacarita*, *TC*, II 1196-2622. Ed. by V. Venkatrayanasthi, Madras.

6 पञ्चत्वं तदुरेतु भूतनिवहे खांशं मिळन्तु ध्रुवं

धातस्त्वा प्रणिपत्य क्षादरमिदं याचे निबद्धाञ्जलि

तद्वापीयु पयस्तदीयमुकुरे ज्योतिस्तदीयाङ्गणे

व्योमस्स्याच्च तदीयवर्त्मनि धरा तत्ताळवृन्तेऽनिल ॥

A similar story is told of a poet Caurasundara and in the Bengali version Caurapanchāsikā is attributed to that poet Sundara¹

It is apprehended that Caura was not identical with Bilhana, though many scholars have fallen into that error² and this suspicion has almost become a certainty when we see that Bhoja quotes two verses from Pancāśikā in his Śṛṅgāraprakāśa and Jakkana, a Telugu poet, in his Vikramārka-carita praised Bilhana and Cora distinctly among several poets

This introductory part is certainly a later compilation, for it contains verses of different authors put together to suit the description, though indeed it is an admirable collection. King Vairṣimha of Anhilvid died in 920 A.D.,³ long before Bilhana was born. The name of the heroine and the king are given in many manuscripts as Yāminī-purnatīlakā and Madanābhīrāma, King of Lakṣmīmandira, capital of Pāncāladesa. Bilhana himself in his autobiographical passages never alluded to his long sojourn and relationship with any king of Guzarat or Pāncāla.

There are commentaries on Pancāśikā by Ganapatiśarma and Ramopādhyāya⁴ and by Basaveśwara⁵

65 Vasudeva⁶ was the son of Ravi and disciple of Bhārataguru called also Mahābhārata-Bhāttātri. He lived at Viprasatṭama (Papanathur) in Travancore. Tradition in Malabar gives the following story about his early life. "He used to be particularly interested in listening to the texts of *Puranams* and *Śāstras* repeated by the pupils of his master. As he could not for want of education pronounce words distinctly, his associates used to taunt him by calling him Vathu, a lisping form of Vasu his correct name. One day, as usual, while he was coming back from a temple at Iruvilakkāvu, where he had gone to worship, it rained heavily and the ferryboat, on which he was to cross an intervening stream which was in high floods, was on the other shore

1 *CASB*, 64 Ed Kavyasangraha, Calcutta. Bāṇa's mention in Harśacarita does not refer to any poet of that name, but only a general abuse of plagiarists.

2 See for instance, Peterson, *Subh.* 66, Durgaprasad's Introduction to Karpasundari where the whole story is given.

3 See Forbes, *Rasmala*, I 42

4 *IOC*, VII, 1528

5 *TC*, II 1622

6 For other Vasudevas, see Index and article on *Rāmakathā—A Study* by K. R. Pisharoti, *Bull. of Or. Studies*, V, iv.

Bhattatiri retraced his steps to the temple, where he spent the whole night. It was raining heavily and he had only one wet cloth on his waist. In despair he appealed to his favourite deity who gave him some fuel and fire to warm himself and a bunch of plantain fruits to appease his hunger with. After eating of the fruits he became by inspiration a poet of a high order. The sweeper woman who came early in the morning to the temple learnt from him where he threw away the rind of the fruits and ate it herself. She also became a poetess.¹ He eulogises his patrons King Kulasekhara and King Rāma and lived in the 9th century A.D.²

In YUDHISHTHIRAVIJAYA, a poem in 8 aśvaśas in ārya metre King Kulasekhara is mentioned as the reigning king. It describes the story of Mahābhārata from the hunting sports of Pāndu to the coronation of Yudhishtira after the war.³ There is a commentary on it by Sokkanātha, son of Accimāhā and Sudarśana of Sattanur near Srirangam.⁴

ŚAURIKATHODAYA, and TRIPURADHANA mention the name of the ruling King as Rāma. The former narrates the life of Kṛṣṇa from birth to the conquest of Dānīśura as related in Harivamsa.⁵ There is a commentary on it by Nilakantha, son of Iśāna of Muktiśthala.⁶ The latter describes the story of destruction of the Three Cities by Śiva.⁷ There is a commentary on it by one who calls himself son of Nityapriya.⁸

1 Travancore State Manual, II 427

2 This King Kulasekhara cannot be the author of the Mukundamālā which must have been the work of a later author, who was the famous Kulasekharālwār, the saint of the Vaiṣṇavas. The patron of Vāsudeva must have been the author of the dramas Subhadrādhyananjaya and Tapatisamvarana (*Tr. Sans. Soc.*). On several Kulasekharas, see article by A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar, *Tr. Arch. J.* 1905 V pt 2.

For detailed information, see under Kulasekhara in the chapter on Nāṭika post. Tradition gives to the saint 28th Kali, Parabhava. Koralotpatti mentions Vāsudeva as contemporary of Kulasekhara Perumal, whose death it gives as 393 A.D. For the identification of Kulasekhara and Rāma, see A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar, *Nalodaya and its author* (*JMy*, XI V 802-11).

3 Printed Kāvya-māla, Bombay. There the poet and his patron are wrongly said to have lived in Kashmir.

4 DC, XX 7808

5 TC, II 2589

6 DC, XX 7886. This was written during the reign of the Rāmavarma and Godāvarma.

7 TC, II 2589

8 TC, III 9873

All these three poems are illustrations of Yamaka composition ¹ It has recently been suspected whether Vāsudeva was also the author of the similar composition *Nalodaya* attributed to Kālidāsa ²

66 Dhananjaya was son of Vāsudeva and Śrīdevī He was a Jain By his time *Dvīsandhāna*, or poem of double entendre narrating different tales in the same expression became, as it were, a generic name Dandin inaugurated it and his poem of that name is mentioned by Bhoja in his *Śringāraprakāśa*, but it is not now available Subandhu adapted the device to prose and his *Vāsavadattā* indicated the heights to which a poet can work upon the innate excellence of Sanskrit vocabulary, to express his imagery in brief punning phrases Dhananjaya followed and he narrated the story of Rāmāyana and Mahābharaṭa at a time in his *Dvīsandhāna* ³ in measures at once fluent and heavy He is conscious of his merit and deems himself almost a combination of Vālmiki and Vyāsa, who, with Dandin, were in his mind the only three poets He classes his work as one of the three gems, as unblemished as Akalanka's *Nyāyāśāstra* and Pūjyapāda's *Vyākaraṇa* He praises Ānandavardhana and Raṭṇākara, is eulogised by Somadeva and Jalhana and is quoted by Vardhamāna He must therefore have lived in the 9-10th centuries A D ⁴ He also wrote a lexicon *Dhananjayanāmamālā* ⁵

1 See for instance

1 कीर्तिसदभा तेन स्मरता भारतसुधाभद्रान्तेन ।

जगदुपहासाय भिता पार्थक्या कल्मषापहा सा थमिता ॥

11 बन्धुरेव बन्धुरे स्वर्त्मनि स्थितिं जना ।

पिनाकिनापि नाकिमासमोदि मोदकारिणा ॥

2 This view has been elaborately propounded and may very likely be correct by A S Ramanatha Ayyar in *Nalodaya and its Author*, *JMy*, XIV 362. In a manuscript of Malabar (*DC*, XX 7886, R No 21852) all these three poems are found written together

3 Ed. by Śivadaṭṭa in *Kāvya-mālā*, Bombay with a preface

4 M. Duff (*Chronology*) identifies Dhananjaya with Śrūṭakīrti Trāividya and gives him the date 1180 A D Śrūṭakīrti is mentioned in an inscription (*IA*, XIV 14) dated Saka 1015. But this identification seems to be wrong as Pampa says that Śrūṭakīrti's work though embracing the subject of Rāmāyana and Mahābharaṭa was a *Gataprayāgaṭa* (read to and fro) poem In the Introduction to *Kavyāvaloka*, (*Bib. Oas.* 4) Śrūṭakīrti is mentioned as the author of a *Rāghavapāṇḍaviya*, thus Pampa and Meghacandra were contemporaries and Meghacandra's son wrote work in Saka 1076 (*IA* XIV 14).

5. E. V. Veeraraghavachariar (*JAES*, II 181) places Dhananjaya between 760 800 A D and Kavirāja as earlier than Dhananjaya in 650 725 A D Bhandarkar [*BR* (1894) 20] says Dhananjaya borrowed the idea from Kavirāja

6. Printed, Bombay

67 Atula's MUSIKAVAMSA is a poem of 15th cantos. About Atula nothing more is known. The poem relates the story of a long line of kings that ruled over the Musika kingdom, which according to Keralotpatti was South Travancore. When Parasurāma was slaughtering the Kṣatriyas a queen of a king, who was killed, hid herself in a mountain cave. One day, a rat as big as an elephant entered the cave and when it threatened to devour the queen, fire arose from her eyes and burnt the rat. The soul of the rat appeared in the form of the Parvatarāja with his attendants and the Parvatarāja astonished at his own change said that he had been cursed by sage Kusika to become a rat and his curse thus came to an end at her view. The queen continued to live in the cave and brought forth a male child. The Purohit who was all this time helping the queen educated the boy. When Paraśurāma was performing a sacrifice and was on the look out for a Kṣatriya to act at a particular ritual, this boy was taken to him and pleased him, he made him the king of Musika coming under the name of Musika Rāmaghata because he was consecrated with potful of water. He killed Mādhavavarman, the king of Magadha, in battle and married his daughter Bhadrāsena. He installed the son of Mādhavavarman on the throne of Magadha. Rāmaghata had two sons. The elder Vatu was made king of Mahaya and the younger Nandana of the Cola kingdom. He returned to forest and spent the rest of his days in retirement. Then follows a long line of kings and their story, ending with Śrīkantha, Valabha and his son. In the time of Śrīkantha the poet lived and composed his poem¹. In canto 14, it is stated that king Valabha joined the king of Kerala in opposing the advances of Cola King towards Kerala. It is thought likely that the Cola King referred to was Rajendra Chola-deva I, who ruled in 1014-1046 A.D. In cantos 12 and 14, the temple of Buddha at Śrīmulavasa is described as on the verge of ruin on account of the inroads of the sea. This temple was in a flourishing condition and had royal grants in 868 A.D.² It is conjectured that the poem must have been composed in the 11th century A.D.

68 Kṣemendra³ surnamed Vyāsaśāṣa, was the son of Prakāśendra and grandson of Sindhu. His father was a great patron of Brahmins

1 *Tr. Arch. Series* 87 et seq. In the Mahakula inscription (I.A. XIX. 7) it is stated that King Kṛtivarman I (489 to 567) ruled over the kings of Kerala, Muṣaka &c. See *JMy*, XXI. 62.

2 *Ibid* I. 198.5, II. 116.

3 On Kṣemendra, see Buhler (*DKR* 45), *JBRAS* (1877), XII Extra No. *JBRAS*, XVI. 167. *PR* I. 4, 75, *JA series*, VII. 400, VII. 216. M. Duff (*Ind. Chr.*)

and expended three crores in various benefactions. He was himself a devotee of Śiva but latterly, under the teachings of Somācārya, it is said he became a Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata. He studied under Abhinavagupta¹ and was in the court of King Ananṭa of Kashmir (1029-1064 A.D.²). He wrote many works, and among them are some independent didactic poems and narrative abstracts of older poems.³

His Rājāvalī is a history of Kashmir like Kalhana's Rājataranginī. Bṛhatkathāmanjarī,⁴ Rāmāyaṇamanjarī⁵ and Bhāraṭamanjarī⁶ are epitomes of Bṛhatkathā, Rāmāyaṇa and Māhābhārata.

Among his works known only by name are Śaśivāmsa-mahākāvya, Amṛtarangakāvya, Avasarasāra, Mukṭāvalī, Lāvāṇyavaṭī, Deśopadesa, Pavanapancāśikā, and Paṭvakādambarī, and among his known and printed works are,⁷ Avadāna-Kalpalatā, Nīṭikalpaṭaru, Lokaprakāśakosa, Sevyasevakopadeśa, Nīṭilatā, Vinayavallī, Darpadalana,

gives the date Loka 1241 and A.D. 1037 and notes the dates of some works. Bṛhatkathāmanjari (Loka 12), Samayamāṭikā (Loka 25), Dasāvātāra Gaṇṭhi (Loka 41). Laṅkā era commenced in year 25 Kali or 3075--6 B.C. A Laṅkā century commenced in 1025 A.D. See Stein's *Int. to Raj*, Macdonnell (*SL*, 290, 376) calls Kṣemendra contemporary of Somadeva.

1 Kṣemarāja, the author of Sāmbhapanāśikā vivaraṇa says he was a pupil of Abhinavagupta. He may probably be identical with Kṣemendra (*PR* I 11). But Buhler (*BKR* 46) says otherwise. He identifies him with Kṣemendra, author of Spandanirṇaya. Kṣemendra son of Yaśusārman of Guzerat and author of Haṭṭijana prakāśa is a different person.

2 The king is referred to in the concluding verses of *Suvṛttatilaka* and other poems. He was a contemporary of King Bhoja of Dhar. —

स च भोजनरेन्द्रश्च दानोत्कर्षेण विभ्रुतौ ।

सूरी तस्मिन् क्षणे तुल्य द्वावास्तां कविवान्धवौ ॥ *Raj* VII 265

3 For a list of his works, see S. Levi, *JA*, (1855), 309. Peterson's *Int. to Subh* 27.

4 Printed, Bombay *DO*, XXI 8165. See the paper on it by Levi, *JA* (1886), Feb-April. Buhler (*JA*, I 302) fixes Somadeva 1068-82 A.D. and makes Kṣemendra his contemporary. Levi does not agree and says that Kṣemendra's work was anterior to Somadeva's *Kaṭhāsariṣṭāgāra* and that the latter was written as a direct criticism upon or it is a kind of reply addressed by Somadeva to Kṣemendra. This being assumed, Levi refers to a quotation from *Bṛhatkathā* in the *Dakṣarapa* and differing from Hall concludes that the latter work is posterior to the *Bṛhatkathā* and anterior to *Kaṭhāsariṣṭāgāra*.

5 Printed, Bombay.

6 Printed, Calcutta.

7 Printed, Kāvya-mālā, Parts I, IV, and VI, Bombay *C. Bod* 38b and *Beri Cat* No 804.

Munimatamimāṃsā and Kavikanthābharana¹ Daśavatāracarita gives the story of the incarnations and the story of Buddha is related according to the Buddhist works Kalāvīlāsa² in 10 parts describes several arts with illustrations from traditional tales

69 CARUCARYA³ is a century of moral aphorisms, easily expressed, each with a sanction of the orthodox kind appended, which gives a quaint and pleasing picture of virtue's ways of pleasantness in the Kashmir of his time Chaṭurvarga Sangraha,⁴ is a concise exposition of the four great motives of human activity, duty, wealth, love and salvation

SUVRITATILAKA⁵ is a treatise on metrics and is valuable in literary history, for its quotations from several works with the names of their authors⁶ In three chapters, it describes the collection of metres, their faults and merits and their proper application⁷ The particular merit of this composition is that the illustrations seem at once to the eye and the ear as a versus memorials both of the character and of the name of the particular metre

In SAMAYAMATKA, "one of his most original poems which is intended to describe the snares of courtesans, he gives us among other stories an amusing account of the wanderings of his chief heroine, Kankali, through the length and breadth of Kashmir The numerous places which form the scene of her exploits can all easily enough be traced on the map More than once curious touches of true local colour impart additional interest to these references To Ksemendra's

1. On this work, see S K D., *SP* II 361, and T Schonberg Wion

2 It contains the story of Mulaḍeva alias Karnisuta referred to by Bāna and Subandhu On Mulaḍeva, see page.

3 Ed Bombay, *Kāvyamāla*, Part II *PR*, I, 4, *JBRAS*, XVI Extra No For instance there is the version of the proverb, "The early bird catches the worm"

ब्राह्मे मुहूर्ते पुरुषस्त्यजेभिद्रामतन्द्रित ।

प्रातः प्रबुद्धं कमलं श्रेयत श्रीयुगाश्रया ॥

4 Ed Bombay, *Kāvyamāla*, Part V *PR*, I 5

5 Ed *Kāvyamāla*, Part I Bombay, *PR* I 5 11.

6 Among the authors mentioned are Abhinanda, Bhatta Iḍḍurāja, Uṣpalajña, Kalasaka, Kālidāsa, Gandinaka, Oakra, Tunjina (King, *Raj* II 16), Dipaka, Bhatta Nārāyaṇa, Parimāla, Bāna, Bhartri Menta, Bhartrihari, Bhavabhūti, Bhāravi, Mukṭākaṇa, Yaśovarmaṇ, Ratnākara, Rājasekhara, Rissu, Lata Dindina, Bhatta Vallata, Viradeva, Sāhila, Bhatta Śyāmala, Śrī Harsadeva, Bhatti, Bhaumaka

7 Kṣhemendra says that Abhinanda excelled in Anustubh, Pāṇini in Upajāti, Bhāravi in Vamśastha, Ratnākara in Vasanṭatilaka, Bhavabhūti in Śikharinī, Kālidāsa in Mandakārāntā and Rājasekhara in Śārdulavikrīḍita

poem we owe, for instance the earliest mention of the Pir Panisal Pass (*Pançaladhara*) and its hospice (*matha*). Here, too, we get a glimpse of the ancient salt trade which still follows that route with preference. Elsewhere we are taken into an ancient Buddhist convent, the Kṛtyasrama Vihara, where Kankali's conduct as a nun is the cause of no small scandal."

LOKAPRAKASA "supplies us with the earliest list of Kasmir Parganas. Besides this we find there the names of numerous localities inserted in the forms for bonds, Hundis, contracts, official reports, and the like which form the bulk of Prakasas II and IV. The Pargana list as well as these forms contain local names of undoubtedly ancient date, side by side with comparatively modern ones. Some of the latter in fact belong to places which were only founded during the Muhammadan rule."

By far the most valuable work of Ksemendra is the *AUCITYAVI-CARACARCA*¹. It is a book on literary criticisms and treats of rhetorical style. His enunciations of literary canon are accompanied by discussions. He has no regard for individual fame or dignity and he deals out praise and censure as a true critic. His illustrations are sometimes his own and often taken from eminent poets, whose names he gives.² These illustrations form as it were an anthology. When he gives the date of composition for instance, Samayamāṭṛkā as the 25th year of the Kashmir Cycle, or 1050 A.D. he furnishes a regular land-mark in the history of Sanskrit literature.

70 Hemacandra was born at Dhanduka in Samvat 1145 (1088 A.D.) and was the son of Chachiga Sresthi and Pāhini. When his father was away, a monk Devendrasūri of the Vajra Śākhā asked his mother to give away the child then 5 years old, to be brought up in the monastic order. The mother parted with him very willingly and he was initiated under the name of Changdevu. His father was put out at the news.

1 *Ed Kavyamala, Part I, Bombay*. See also Peterson's paper, *JBRAS*, XVI, 167-180, S. K. De, *SP*, II 856-61.

2 Among the poets mentioned there, are Paṇḍmaguṇḍa *alias* Parṇamala, Dharmakīrti, Rājāśekhara, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, Chandraśaka, Medhāvīruḍra, Mālava Kuvalaya, Śyāmala, Mātriguṇḍa, Pravaraśena, Mukṭāpida, Yaśovarman, Uṇṇalārāja, Amaruka, Kumāradāśa Cakrā, brother of Mukṭākaṇa and contemporary of Ratnakara, Bhallata, Vamana, Varāhamihira, Yaśovarmadeva, Māgha, Bhaṭṭa Ṭaṇṭa, Gangaka, Dipaka, Paṇḍrājaka, Śm Vakra, Harṣa.

The lost work *Kuṇṭesvaraḍaṇṭya* by Kālidāśa referred to. He also refers to three plays by himself, and *Chūṭrabhārata*, and *Lalitaraṇamālā*.

and discovered the son, when it was too late, all-engrossed in his ascetic serenity. To demonstrate his powers he set his arm in a blazing fire and his father found to his surprise the flashing arm turned into gold. Hence came the appellation Hemacandra. He studied under Devacandrasūri of Pūrnatallyagaccha¹. He was consecrated in Sam 1154 and made a suri in thirteen years later. At the court of Anhilvid in Guzerat he spent many years under the patronage of kings Jayasimha Siddharāja (1094-1143 A.D.) and his successor Kumārapāla². He was in fact a minister at the royal durbār and by his influence Jainism became the state religion. Viharas 1400 in number, were built and laws against consumption of meat and cruelty to animals were enacted. Though a Jain by adoption, his reverence for the brahmin was not anything less. He was a genius of great versatility and his works embrace every field of literature in Prakrit and Sanskrit³. He was the originator of a new school of grammar⁴. His works contain 35,000,000 lines in all and he was called the Omniscient of the Kaliyuga. Great Soul that he was, he passed away by self-starvation in 1173-4 A.D.⁵

His KUMĀRAPĀLĀCARITA, a poem of twenty-eight cantos, describes the history of the Anhilvid dynasty, particularly of Kumārapāla. The first twenty cantos are in Sanskrit and the last eight are in Prakrit, and

1 He was the author of Śāntināṭharvūṭa in Prakrit, (See *Jess Cat* 46, *PR*, I, 65)

2 On Kumārapāla, see Mangol inscription dated Sam. 1202 in *List of Antiquarian Remains* (Bombay) 180. Kielhorn, *KR*, (1880) 110 gives the date of a Ms of Kalpacurni as Samvat 1218 as in the time of Kumārapāla. See also Mañjuśa's Prabandhadināmanī (Tawny's Translation, Calcutta, V Smith, *BII* 181) and E. Dosabhai, *History of Guzerat* (Ahmedabad) 33-36. An account of Kumārapāla is contained in the Prakrit Kāvya Kumārapāla i ratibodha, (Pāṇi Gak Or series, Baroda) of Somaprabhācārya, about whom see *post*.

3 On Hemacandra generally, see Peterson, 5th Rep.; A. K. Forbes, *Ras Mala*, I 189-204 (which says that he died in samvat, 1229-1174 A.D. in 84th year), Lassen, *Alt* III, 567, 1195 IV 803 ff., S. K. De, *SP*, I 208. Colobrooke, *Mss Ms* II 206 ff., Pattavall of Upadesa Gaccha (mentioned as the contemporary of Sri Kakka Suri, Sam 1154) Bühler, *Über das Leben des Jaina Monches Hemacandra*, M. Duff, *Chronology*, Aufrecht *CC* 768, *Bod Cat* 170, 179, 180, 185a, *ZDMG* xliii 348, *IA*, IV 71, VI 181 *BKR* 76. Stevenson's *Heart of Jainism*, 184, 287. Jacob (*Enc of Rel. and Ethics*, VI 591) gives Hemacandra's dates as 1086, 1089-1173. R. Shamashastri, *JMy*, XIII 568-72 and Chandraprabhasuri's *Prabhavakacharita* (Chapter 22) give an account.

4 See Peterson, *PR* IV 6, I, 63 *Subh*, 189. All works of Hemacandra are preserved in Patan Library. For a list of his works, see Int. to *Kavyānuśāsane*, (*Kavyamala*)

5 See Belvalkar, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*.

this continuation has given it the name of *Dvyāśrayakāvya*³ The portion that is in Prakrit was intended to illustrate his aphorisms of Prakrit grammar and comprises the six different dialects of the Prakrit language⁴ Some say that the poem was begun by Hemacandra in 1160 A.D., and left unfinished by his death, and was later completed by Abhayatilakagani in 1255 A.D., but the latter says expressly that he is the author of the gloss only

In *Tri-astisālākāpurusa-canta*, a long poem, he describes the lives of Jaina Saints⁵ So is his *Sthavirāvalīcarita*⁶ *Chandonuśāsana* is a work on metrics⁷

Kāvyañuśāsana with a commentary on it called *Alankāra-cudāmani*, in eight chapters, is a valuable work in literary history⁸ It discusses the poetical theories of Bharata, Lollata, Dandin, Śāṅkuka, Mammata, Bhattanāyaka and refers to several works of which some are not extant⁹

Among his works on Lexicography¹⁰ are *Deśināmamālā*,¹¹ *Abhidhāna Cintāmani*,¹² and *Anekārthasangraha*,¹³ and *Nighantuseṣa*¹⁴

1 Edited, Bombay, BSS, No 60, with an Introduction by S P Pandit See I A, XVIII 341 There is a commentary on some chapters by Abhayatilakagani (composed in Sam 1812) and on one chapter by Purnakalasaṅgani (composed in Sam 1907) There is another *Kumārāpālācarita* by (Jinasimhasuri?) Jyāsimhasuri (see Kirtane's Int and Cat of Bikaner State Library), JR, (1888 4)

2 On the treatment of Prakrit by Hemacandra, see O D Dalal, Int to *Bhavi-sattalatha* (Gaek Or Series), 63 65 Jinamandana, pupil of Somasurđura, wrote *Kumārāpālāprabandha* in prose and verse in Samvat 1492, [PR IV 82]

3 Ed by Jacobl, *Bib Ind PR*, V 4 For a summary and extracts, see CSG, (1909), 108 *et seq*,

4, Printed, Bombay

5 PR, V 184

6 Printed, Kāvya-mālā, Bombay DC XXII, 8636 See JBRAS, XII.

7 These are *Rāvaṇaviṇaya* and *Hariviṇaya* (Sanskrit poems) *Aldhamaṭhana* (apabramsa poem), *Bhīma kavya* (Gramya apabramsa poem), *Lilāvāṭī* (as a *Padyamayī kāvya*) *Śāḍṛaka* (Sudraka-kāvya?) a *parikatha*, *Damayanṭīkāvya* of *Trivikrama*, and *Hayagrīva-vadha* of *Mentha*

At p 97, Hemacandra quotes a conversation between *Oṣṭramāya* and *Rāma* as from a drama *Unmattarāghava* This is not traceable in Bhaskara's *Unmattarāghava*, and the work quoted must therefore be a different one

8 See Int to *Kalpadrūkośa* (Gaek Or Series)

9 Called also *Rajāvaṇī* Ed by Fischel, Bombay

10 PR III App 58, 103 with a commentary by the author (l c 109, 154), Ed. by Bodhringk and Rieu, St Petersburg

11 With a commentary by the author's pupil Mahendrasuri, PR, III 51, App. 89 Ed by Zachariae Vienna

12 PR, V 28 It is a botanical glossary

Syādvādamanjari¹ and Jinendrasūtra,² are hymns in praise of Vardhamāna Śabdānuśāsana³ is a treatise in Sanskrit grammar, of which the Prakṛita grammar is in the eighth book Yogasāstra⁴ is a companion of Jain doctrines Iṅgānuśāsana is a treatise on gender⁵

71. The history of Kumārapāla is narrated by Somaprabhācārya in his Prakṛit poem Kumārapāla-pratibodha-Mahākāvya⁶ Somaprabha was a pupil of Vijayasimha and was fifth in descent from Municandra and Munadeva in the pontifical line His father Śrīpāla,⁷ was a poet and friend of Siddhipāla, a colleague of Hemacandra at the Anhilvid Court The poem gives an account of Kumārapāla's conversion into the faith of Jina⁸ at the teaching of Hemacandra and was composed at Patan in Sam 1241 (1195 A D) It ends with a prasasti in Sanskrit His other works are Hemakumāracarita,⁹ and Sumatināthacarita,¹⁰ and Śalāṅkāka

72 **Mankha** known also as Mankhaka or Mankhuka was born in Ka-mur¹¹ His father was Viśvāvartha His brother Alankāra,¹² also a

1 PR, IV 127, III app 206 Weber, 1st II 940

2 Bhau Daji's *Int* (op. cit) xviii A commentary on it is dated 1202 A D PR, V, 110

3 Called also Siddha Hemacandra Ed by Pischel, Halle For an account of the work and literature that grew around it, see Peterson, PR, I 14, Weber, *Int* II 208 254 Pischel *De Grammaticis Practicis*, Lassen's *Institutum Linguae Practicae* (Bombay) Bhau Daji, JBRAS, IX 224

4 With a commentary by the author PR, II 65 Ed partly by K Windisch, ZDMG, XXVIII. (1874) 185 ff, Weber *IL*, 297 note So is his *Pravāṇamīmāṃsā*, (PR, V 147)

5 Ed by Franke, Göttingen

Of the Culukya dynasty, the prasasti gives the following kings, Mularāja (Sam 993—1053), Cāmundarāja (Sam 1053—1066), Durlabharāja (Sam 1066—1075), Bhīmaśāh (Sam 1075—1120), Karnadeva (Sam 1120—1150), Siddharāja alias Jayasimha (Sam 1150—1199), and Kumārapāla (Sam 1199 1230).

6 Ed by Muniraja Jinavijaya (*Gack Or, Series*) PR, IV, V, Index of authors The author gave it the name *Jana-dharma-pratibodha*

7 The poet was honoured by Jayasimha with the title of Kavindra He is quoted in Śārngadhara-Paddhati as Śrīpāla Kavirāja See PR, V 38

8 The same story is given in the Śāntināthacaritam of Devasuri, in Sanskrit verses, PR, I 69

9 PR, V 24

10 It describes the life of Sumatinātha, the 5th Tīrthankara and is written mainly in Prakṛit It is preserved in the Bhandar of Patan

11 On Mankha generally, see Durgaprasad's note in *Lāvanyamālā*, BKR, 50 (where an account of the poem is given) and Peterson *Subh* 88 and 106 The poem has कर्णिकारिक, says Jonarāja

12. Known also as Lankana and referred to in *Rāj.* VIII 2058

poet, was a minister of kings Susala and Jayasimha of Ka-mir King Jayasimha¹ ruled from 1127 to 1159 A.D. Mankha went to Konkan as ambassador. His other brother Śrngāra held the office of Bṛhaṭṭan-trādhīpaṭi. Ruyyaka was his guru². Mankha wrote his poem SRIKANTHACARITA about 1140 A.D.³ In 25 cantos it describes the destruction of the Three Cities by Śiva. The last canto is particularly interesting and it gives the names of some poets, predecessors or contemporaries⁴. The whole of the 1st canto is devoted to benediction and every deity has a salutation. Many of the verses have a double meaning and in spite of his wonderful mastery of language he lacks lucidity of expression and is a hard author for the scholiast. A commentary on the poem by Jonaraja⁵ helps however towards an appreciation. There is a dictionary called Mankha Kośa current in Kashmir.

Alankārasarvasva is a gloss on Ruyyaka's Alankāra aphorisms and is his work⁶. Besides commenting on the Kārikās of Ruyyaka, Mankha appears to have himself written some Alankāra Sūtras. In Mankhu-kasuṭrodāharana these Sūtras have been illustrated by a pupil of his, probably Samudrabandha, who also commented on Alankārasarvasva. In these illustrations King Ravivarmabhūpa is praised⁷.

73 Sriharsa⁸ was the son of Śrīhīra and Māmalladevi. His father was a poet of the court of King Vijayacandra of Kanauj. Disappointed in a poetic competition there with Udayana, Hīra retired from public

1 See *Rūi*

2 *Śrīkanthacarita*, XXV—30

3 Ed. *Kāvya-mālā*, Bombay. In the colophon he is called Rājānaka Śrī Mankhaka.

4. Murāri, Rājasekhara, Jalhana, Kalhaṇa, Bilhaṇa, Alakadaṭṭa, Ānanda (son of Śambhu), Padmarāja. Jalhana referred to here is the author of the poem *Somapālāvilāsa* and is different from the author of *Sukṭimukṭāvalī* of the same name (*JBRAS*, XVII, 57). The latter is called Ācārya Bhagadaṭṭa Jalhaṇa. See Durgaprasad's note in *Śrīkanthacarita*, page 347. Śambhu, the father of Ānanda, is the author of *Anyokṭimukṭālaṭā* and *Rājendrakarṇapūra* [*Kāvya-mālā*, Bombay]. See *Ibid.*, note at page 351.

5 He was a contemporary of king Jaiṇulabdin (1417 to 1467 A.D.). During this reign he composed the second *Rājataranginī*, the continuation of Kalhaṇa's work. He has also written commentaries on *Kirātārjunīya* and other poems.

6 See *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series* with Introduction by T. Ganapathi Sastri. In this book the name of the poet is given as Mankhuka.

7 He also refers in this work to Viḍyāśakravarṇī's commentary on *Kāvya-prakāśa*, *TC*, IV, 4807.

8 The correct name is Śrīharsa and not Harṣa, see the last line of the poem श्रीहर्षके. कृति.

gaze and with a request to his son to avenge the disgrace he soon passed away Śrīhara at once set out to study and with the aid of the *Chñānam-mantram*¹ kindly communicated to him by a venerable sage he attained the summit of his learning in a few years. He came again to the royal court and was received with distinction. There at the request of that king² he wrote his *Naradhya-carita*. The work met with wide approval in the various assemblies of Kasmir³ and was honoured by the personal appreciation of Sarasvatī. He was dignified with the title of *Narabhāratī*. The jealous queen, who called herself *Kalābharaṭī*, would not tolerate this presumption. Unable to bear her persecutions, Śrīhara spent the rest of his life in ascetic serenity on the banks of the Ganges.

This is the account that Rājasekhara gives in his *Prabandha-kosa*⁴ Jayantacandra, son of Vijayacandra ruled over Kanauj in the latter half of the 12th century A D⁵. It is elsewhere said by Rājasekhara himself casually that the first manuscript of the *Naradhya* was brought into Gujerat by Harihara during the reign of Viradhavala and his minister Vastupāla made copies of it and gave it a deserved publicity⁶. Candu Pandita in his commentary *Dīpikā* composed in Samvat 1353 (1296 A D) calls the poem new and refers to the existence of the only commentary of Viḍyādhara before him⁷. Śrīhara must therefore have flourished in the latter half of the 12th century A D⁸.

1 *Naiṣadha*, Canto I, concluding verse

2 Rājasekhara gives the date of composition as about 1174 A D

3 Canto XVI, concluding verse

4 Composed in 1848 A D,

5 *IA* XV, 11-12. Grant dated Samvat 1225 (A D 1160). Various details given as his surname Panjula, contemporary of Kumārapāla, his dynasty destroyed by the Mughals etc show that Jayantacandra was the same as Jayacandra, who reigned at Kānyakubja and Benares between 1168-1194 A D

6 See the lives of Somesvara and Vastupāla, *post* Int. to *Naradhya-carita* (Gaek Or Series), vii

7 काव्य नवम्. See Sivadatta's Int. to *Naiṣadha* (Bombay) 15

8 Buhler (*JBRAS* X 38, XI 279-87, *IA* I 30), Ram Das Sen (*IA*, III 31), P. N. Pananiya (*IL*, III 29) and Sivadatta (*op. cit.* 1-15) adopt this view. F. F. Hall and K. T. Telang (*IA*, 297, 353 and *IL*, 71) and Bhandarkar (*IA*, *ALII*, 83 note) assign him to the 9th or the 10th century on the ground that verses from *Naradhya* are quoted by Bhoja in the *Sarasvatikanthābhārata* and that Vācaspatiṁśra of the 11th century has written a criticism of Śrīhara's *Khandanakhandakhādyā*. Śivadatta assures us that there are no such quotations from *Naiṣadha* in the *Sarasvatikanthābhārata* (see Index of authors quoted *Ant. CC.*) and that the Vācaspatiṁśra referred to must be some late author. Aufrecht gives four persons of that name and eight of the name of

74 NAISADHIYACARITA, OR NAISADHA shortly is a Mahākāvya of great repute in India. It describes the story of Nala, king of Nisadha, his love to Damayanti, princess of Vidarbha, his message through the swan, the intrusion of the Dikpālas, the marriage after Swayamvara and the sojourn of the lovers at the royal abode. The extant work contains twenty-two cantos but tradition carries it further to the length of sixty or one hundred and twenty¹

The poem as it is now available and has been commented upon stops with the marriage of Nala and Damayanti. The rest of Nala's history, as the name should indicate, is not in it. Nilkamal Bhattacharya shows how the last four verses are spurious and says that Śrīharṣa finished his poem but the rest of it is lost to us. "If a continuation of the Naisadha is admitted, we must either say that the sequel is lost, or that the poet could not finish the book. But when we look into two facts it is well nigh clear that the book was finished, one, the mention of the Naisadha in the Khandanakhandakhādyā² and the other, the appreciation of the Naisadha by scholars in Kashmir (*Vide* the concluding verse of Canto 16). For, by the first, though the priority of the Naisadha up only to the end of the 21st Canto (which forms the subject of the poem referred to there) is conclusively proved, yet it would be too much to suppose that the author could think of leaving

Vācāspati (See Śivadatta *op cit* 11 12). F S Growse relies on the order of poets enumerated in Candā's Prthivirajamasan composed in the 12th century, in which Śrīharṣa is mentioned before Kālidāsa (IA, II 218) and argues that Rājasekhara's story is incorrect. He places Śrīharṣa in the 10th century A D. But Telang remarks (IA, III 81) that Śrīharṣa alludes to Kālidāsa's works in his Khandanakhandakhādyā. All the particulars necessary to show that Rājasekhara's account must be true are collected by Śivadatta. Ram Prasad Chanda (IA, XLII, 83, 186) says that Rājasekhara mentions the name as Jayanṣacandra and not Jayacandra and calls him the son and not the grandson of Govindacandra, King of Vārāṇasī. M. Duff (*Chronology*) gives the date 1150 A D and makes him contemporary of King Jayacandra of Kanouj whose initial date falls between 1163 and 1177 A D and of the Chalukya King Kumārāpāla of Guzerat (1148 1174 A D). Macdonel (SL, 380) and R C Dutt (*Op*, II, 294) adopt this date.

1 In canto 17, Kālī vows that he would separate Nala and Damayanti but the extant poem stops with the marriage and the pleasures of their conjugal life. Śrīharṣa says as usual that the 22nd canto was finished and there are four more verses added, in praise of his own work. The last verse appears to be an unnecessary repetition. The four verses must have been later interpolations, the real poem ceasing with the canto enumerating verse. It is therefore not improbable that the rest of the poem is lost to us, unless we imagine that Śrīharṣa left the work incomplete. In fact many manuscripts do not contain these four verses at all. See DC, XX 7758.

2. तथाहमकथय नैषधचरितस्य परमपुरुषस्तुतौ सर्गे ॥

book unfinished at an advanced stage reaching up to the close of Canto 22 (up to which it is available) and beginning another so different in character and so stiff and bulky as the Khandanakhandā. As for the second, the appreciation of a Mahākāvya is not possible when there is only a portion of it (viz. 22 Cantos) there. For besides poesy, it requires character-sketch, correlation of the parts, and many others for consideration. This, therefore, is our final conclusion that the sequel also was written, but is now lost, and this is probable too, for, a good many of our poet's works whose names we find are lost to day. In connection with the above conclusion of mine, I may casually remark, that in my solicitude to learn whether tradition lent any support to my view I referred the matter to many of my friends and acquaintances, and, among them, to Pandit Ramagopal Smṛitibhūṣana of Benares, whereupon the last gentlemen emphatically supported my view and said that many years back he had witnessed with his own eyes a manuscript of the sequel in Uriya character with an Uriya pupil of his named either Damodar or Rudranārayan (he did not recollect which). He also quoted two verses (one in full and the other in part) belonging, he said, to the same

- 1 वदन्ति चेच्चन्द्रमस सुधारस न पीयते तै किमु नायिकाधरम् ।
सुरापगाम्भ पिबता जनेन किं रसोत्तर नीरधिनीरमुच्यते ॥

11. उत्तुङ्गस्तनपर्वतादवतद्गङ्गेव हारावली रोमालिं प्रतिपद्यते

The late revered Mahāmahopadhyāya Rākhāladāsa Nyāyaraṭṇa too is reported to have used to quote a half verse which, he said, belonged to the Naisadha, but is not found in the twenty-two cantos current of the poem

सस्मार न स्मरमना त्रियदूतभूत तत्रामरालयमरालमरालकेक्षी ।¹

It is hoped that it is still lurking in some corner of Bengal and may one day be restored to us

The ideas though at times far-fetched, are yet fine and true. In fancy and imagery, his descriptions see no limit.² His vocabulary is

1 Essays in Sarasvatī Bhavana series, Benares, III 150. There he argues that Śrīharṣa was a Bengali

2 नैषध विद्वदौषधम् is a proverbial expression. Śrīharṣa seems to have wantonly made his composition hard ग्रन्थमथिरीह... This however is one of the four concluding verses which might be an interpolation.

extensive but the language lacks lucidity and the reader can rarely approach the poem with confidence Śrīharṣa inaugurated a new model of poetic composition¹ He was a logician, and philosopher and the ideas of those sciences are often imported into his descriptions² He has no particular regard for the artificial precepts of poetics and in many instances rhetoricians discover faults of composition³

75 Śrīharṣa mentions several works of his authorship, but his poems have not come down to us His Vijayaprasaṣṭi was a panegyric of king Vijayacandra, father of Jayantacandra⁴ and Chindaprasaṣṭi, of King Chandas, the Chinda Chief of Gaya⁵ Gaudorvīśakulaprasaṣṭi and Sāhasāṅkacarīṭa were probably of similar import⁶ Arnavaavarṇana is obviously a description of the beauties and traditions of the ocean⁷ His Khandanakhandaḥḍya is a destructive critique of the views of Udayana, Śivabhaktisiddhi, a religious work devoted to the worship of Śiva and Sthāyavicārnaprakaraṇa, a disquisition on philosophy⁸ Amarakhandana, a critique on Nāmaṅgānusāsaṇa, is also attributed to Śrīharṣa A number of lexicographers are mentioned in it

1 See Cantos VIII, IX, XIX and concluding verses

2 See canto X, concluding verses, XI, 129, III, 64

3 These are noticed in proper places in Nārāyaṇa's commentary There is a tradition that when Śrīharṣa was at Kasmir, the poem was shown to Mammata and he humorously remarked that he was then writing his Kāvyaṇṇakāśi and this poem saved him the trouble of finding illustrations for his chapter of Kāvyaḍoṣa (or faults of poetry) See also article entitled Naiṣḍhacarīṭa aucityacercā by Sivakamesvara Rao, in *Mīmāṃsā*, I 5 (Tenali, 1922) and *Jl of Sam Sah Bar*, Vol XIII

4 Vijayacandra ruled 1155-9 AD Ram Prasad Chanda says that this refers to King Vijayapāla of the Prāṇhāra dynasty of Kanauj (Inscription dated 960 AD) Bhandarkar (*BR*, 1907) mentions that in an old catalogue of Jayasalmir Bhandara a poem named Vijayaprasaṣṭi is referred to But it is not found in the published catalogue in Gaek Or Series

5 In some editions, the name of the work is given as *Chandas prasasti* Rama Prasad Chanda says that this refers to Lalla of the Chinda family, whose Dewal Prasasti is dated 992 AD

6 Rama Prasad Chanda says that the latter refers to the paramount king Siṇḍhu rāja of Malwa and that the former to King Mahipāla I of Gauda

7 Bhandarkar says that this was not a description of the ocean, but of King Arnorāja of the Chahamanya dynasty of Sambhar, contemporary of king Kumārapāla (A D 1139) There is a stuti describing the vanquishment of Arnarāja by Kumārapāla (see *Jes Cat* 64)

8 See concluding verses, Cantos V, VI, XVIII Dvirupakoṣa also goes under the name of Śrīharṣa (Ed Arsha Press, Vizagapatam)

76 There are many commentaries on the poem by Ānanda Rājānaka,¹ Īśānadeva, Udayanācārya,² Gopinātha,³ Jinārāja,⁴ Narahari,⁵ Candupandita,⁶ Cālitravardhana, Nārāyaṇa,⁷ Bhagīratha,⁸ Bharatamallika or Bharatasena,⁹ Bhavadattā,¹⁰ Muṭhurānātha,¹¹ Mallinātha,¹² Mahādeva,¹³ Vidyāvāgīśa, Śeṣa Rāmacandra,¹⁴ Śrīnātha,¹⁵ Vamsivādāna, Vidyādhara,¹⁶ Vidyāranya Yogi, Viśveśwara,¹⁷ Śrīdaṭṭa, Sadānanda,

1 Author of Kāvya-prahāṣa-nidarsana see *PR*, I 21, II 15 IV Index of authors, *BKR*, 10, Dc, 181

2 Distinct from Udayana, the author of Kīrānāvali, etc

3 Commentator on Kāvya-prahāṣa, Daśakumāracarita and Raghuvamśa

4 Also called Jinārāja Hari (*CBRI*, Kathawate's collection, No 452)

5 *Ibid*, No 488 Narahari says he was born in Śaka 1298 (1376 A D) and was son of Mallinātha different from the well known commentator He became an ascetic and assumed the name of Sarasvatītirītha His father was a native of Tribhuvanagiri in the Ouddapah district, in Madras Presidency See Nandargikar, *Int to Ragh*, 8

6 A E Gough's *Records of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 130 Candupandita was the son of Aliga, a Nagarī Brahmin of Dholka near Ahmedabad He wrote a commentary on Rīgveda He composed his commentary in Sam 1513 or 1486 A D, during the time of Sanga, Chief of Dholka

7 Ed Nirnayasagara Press, Bombay He was the son of Nirasimhabhatta, who bore a title Vedākara

8 Commentator on other poems and Kāvya-darsa

9 *OSC*, VII 39

10 *OSC*, X 396 Commentator on Śisupālavadha

11 Commentator on Ivalayānanda, Sāhityadarpana, Hārāvali, Prītibhā-candrodaya and author of Subhāṣitamukṭāvali

12 Printed everywhere "Vaiśyavamśa sudharnava is one of the most interesting works written by Mallināthasuri under the orders of Rājādhirāja Rāja Pañamśvara Viraprajāpa Prudhadevaraya of Vijayanagar to determine whether or not the words such as Vaiśya, Nagaravani, Vanija, Vanī, Vyapari, Uruja, Tritiyajati, Svajatyabheda, Uttarapatha, Nagaresvara, Devatopasaka, found in an inscription in Kauchi (Conjeevaram) mean a Vaiśya, as distinguished from one who is called Komati From this it follows that Mallināthasuri lived at the court of Prādha Pratapa Devaraya 1410—1446 A D and that he was one of the judicial officers in the empire of Vijayanagar" [*Mys Arch Rep* (1927), 26]

13 Commentator on Ānandalahari

14 *PR*, II 16, 81, IV 27 *Tanj Cat* 2550 *Cat Bod*, 206 He belonged to the Śeṣa family of Benares and was probably the same as the son of Lakṣmīdhara See under Seshakṛṣṇa *pos*

15 *Tanj Cat* VI 2556 Probably the same as the Telugu poet Śrīnātha who translated Naisadha into Telugu in the 15th century A D

16 *CBRI*, Kathawate's Colln No 454, *Jess Cat* (GOs), 18, 16

17 *TC*, III 390, *Tanj Cat*, 2556

Gadādhara,¹ Lakshmanabhata,² Govindamisra,³ Premacandra,⁴ Śrīdhara,⁵ Paramānanda Cakravartī,⁶ Sarvagna Mādhava,⁷ Vidyā Śrī-
 ḍharadevasūri,⁸ Peḍḍubhatta,⁹ Venkata Rangānātha¹⁰ Some of these
 have been mentioned by Aufrecht in his catalogue

77. Story of Nala—The name of Nala, king of Nisadha, goes
 back to Vedic antiquity¹¹ The Nalopākhyāna, or the episode of Nala,
 is related by Bṛhaḍasva to Yudhisthira in the Mahābhārata¹² King
 Bhīma or Kundina announced the svayamvara of his daughter Dama-
 yanṭī Several princes assembled and the Gods themselves were not
 indifferent It was however a foregone fact that Damayanṭī was
 enamoured of Nala, king of Nisadha Indra and other guardians of
 the quarters were anxious to press their suit and they prevailed upon
 Nala to carry their message of love to Damayanṭī, but the errand was
 in vain The bridal of Nala and Damayanṭī was a joyous affair They
 spent some years of pleasant company and the disappointed Gods
 would not forget the slight They induced Kālī to get hold of Nala
 and bring him to ruin Possessed by the evil genius, Nala played at
 dice and lost his all He wandered out in the woods with his bride,
 ill-clad and ill-fed and at last unable to suffer the sight of her suffering,
 he abandoned her while asleep and went his own way She lamented
 in vain and after much distress reached the court of her father at
 Kundina In trying to rescue a serpent from a wild conflagration, the
 serpent, no other than Kālī himself in that form, bit Nala and he became
 deformed He entered the service of the king of Oudh as a charioteer,

1 This commentary is noticed by Bhandarkar Gaḍādhara gives an account of
 Śrīharṣa and says that he wrote his Nalopākhyāna in the Court of Govindacandra at
 Benares and not as Rājasekhara says, in the Court of Jayantacandra Gaḍādhara's
 account would therefore place Śrīharṣa half a century earlier

2 *PR*, IV 27 *Kash. Cat* 69 He also wrote a poem Paḍyāracaṇā

3 *Kash. Cat* 70

4 *TC*, IV 4588 He was called Nyāyavāgīśa

5 *TC*, V 4720

6 *DC*, 175.

7 He was the son of Nārāyaṇācārya of Vasisthagoṭra He seems to be the
 daughter's son of Keśava, the author of Kāmaprābhṛta, *TC*, III 2897, 5900

8. He was the son of Śaṅkṛī and Keśava of Vasisthagoṭra of Varkobhatta
 family. He and his brother Govinda were poets of the Court of Śālvamalla *TC*,
 III. 3948.

9. He was the son of Kapardīn and grandson of Mallinātha of Kolschala family.
 See *DC*, XXI 8212

10. The manuscript is with the Proprietor, Arsha Press, Vizagapatam.

11. It is mentioned in the Vājasaneyi Samhitā. See Weber's *IL*, 132

12. Vana Parvan, chapters 49-70.

and from the story of his skill in his art, Damayanṭī recognised in him her lost lover. Soon they were united. His deformity disappeared. He played at dice again and regained his kingdom. For the rest all was well.¹ The story is very popular in India and there is not a household where its narration does not serve as a real solace in many a grievous calamity. Tradition has likewise accorded to it a religious sanctity and a recapitulation of Nala's tale destroys sin and ill luck.²

78 Nalodaya of Kāldāsa, Nalābhyudaya³ of Vāmanabhṭa Bāna, Dāmayanṭī-kāṭhā of Tṛivikrama, Damayanti-parinaya of Cakrakavi, Raghavanar-aḥīya of Haradaṭṭa, Ābodbhākara of Ghanaśyāma, Kalividambana of Nārāyanasāstrin, Nalacaritanātaka of Nilakantha and Nala-Hariścandriya of unknown authorship are noticed elsewhere.

79 SAHRDAYANANDA is a poem of 15 cantos and covers the whole story of Nala.⁴ The author Kṛṣṇānanda was a Kayastha of Puri of Kapinjala family and was a Mahapatra or minister probably to the local king. His poetry is very charming and in this respect contrasts very favourably with the work of Śrīharṣa, on which tradition says he wrote also a commentary. He calls himself the master of Vaidarbharīṭi and is not far wrong in his own estimate. He is mentioned in the Sāhityadarpaṇa⁵ and must therefore have flourished about the 13th century A.D.

80 UTTARA-NAISADHA,⁶ a poem of 16 cantos by Vandārubbhatta (or Arur Bhattatīr), describes the later life of Nala, it replaces in a measure the lost portion of Śrīharṣa's poem and must be regarded as a sequel to it. Vandārubbhatta or Vandārudvija Mādhava lived about in the Kollam year 1010 (1825 A.D.) He was the son of Nilakantha and Śrīdevī and a brahmin of the aduthiruppadū sect, of the family of Arur in the village of Peravana. He was educated by the queen Subhadra and was tutor to the then prince of Kotilinga or Cranganore. He was

1 See Macdonel's *SL*, 296. Nalopākhyāna, ed. with translation by M. Williams.

2. कर्कोटकस्य नागस्य दमयन्त्या नलस्य च ।

ऋतुपर्णस्य राजर्षेर् कर्तन कलिनाशनम् ॥

3 There is a drama of this name, (*DC*, XX 7848; XXI, 8879) referred to as the work of King Raghunātha of Tanjore, in the prologues to the drama of Rājā-cudāmaṇi Dikṣiṭa. There is a manuscript *TC*, VI 4787 of a drama of this name complete in 8 acts but the name of the author is not given. It remains to connect it with either Raghunātha or some other author.

4 Printed, *Kṛvyaṃālā*, Bombay, and Vanī Vilas Press, Srirangam (6 cantos only).

5 *Nirnaya Sāgara* Press Edn. page 429.

6 *DC*, XX, 7692. See *JRAS*, (1901), 163.

patronised by queen Manoramā. He had an initiation into the Bālā-mantra, a charm, probably as effective in promoting the power of poesy as the Chintāmanī-mantra of Śrīharṣa. He came to Cochin and at the court of the king composed his work. As a mark of appreciation, the king bestowed on him a munificent pension. For this composition Śrīharṣa's poem was the model. The closing verses of each canto take a similar form and indicate the number of the canto that ends there. There are many instances, where he has adopted the style of Śrīharṣa, but it must be said to his credit that his poem is more lucid than the original he sought to follow.

Kalyāṇa-Naiṣadha celebrates the marriage of Nala and Damayantī in 7 cantos for the delectation of King Ravivarman. The author's name is not known.¹

81 An excellent poetic summary of the Naiṣadha² is contained in the Sārasātaka of Kṛṣṇa Rāma. There is another summary called Āryānāṣadha by Pandit A. V. Narasimha Chari, Triplicane, Madras. Praṭināṣadha is a poem by Viḍyādhara and Lakṣmana, composed in Samvat 1708, during the reign of the Moghul emperor Shah Jahan.³

82 The story of Nala has also been dramatised. MANJULĀ NAIṢADHA⁴ is a drama in seven Acts by Venkata Ranganāṭha. The author was an eminent Sanskrit scholar of Vizagapatam and bore the title of Mahāmahopādhyāya. He lived between 1822 and 1900 A.D. He was an exponent of the rational basis of the tales in Indian mythology. Among his several works,⁵ must be mentioned a gigantic Encyclopaedia of the Sanskrit Language and Literature which has not yet found an editor. In a particular scene of this drama, a charmer is introduced and by the merit of his magic was he presented before Nala the condition of Damayantī's pining love in the company of her friends.

83. BHAIMIPARINAYA is a drama in ten Acts by Rāmasāstrī of Mandikal. He is the chief Pandit of the court of Mysore. His father

1. TC, IV 4810

2. Naiṣadha-carita. Sara is prefixed to Sivadatta's Edition. Kṛṣṇārāma was a Pandit of the court of Jaipur, of great merit. He was the writer of other poems, Āryāṅkāśātaka, Chandascharitamandana, Kacchavamsa, Jayapuravllāsam.

3. BR II (1907)

4. Eld Arsha Press, Vizagapatam, 1896.

5. Among his other works is a small poem, Angalādhirāja Svāgata, Kumbha-karpavijaya, two grammatical treatises, a philosophical work, and two incomplete commentaries on the Naiṣadha and Anargharāghava.

Srī Rāma occupied a similar position during the days of Kṛṣṇarāja II. The plot of the drama covers the whole story of Nala and in depicting the succession of events, the arrangement of the scenes displays an original talent. To describe the wanderings of Nala after the desertion of Damayanṭī the author introduces an *Antar-Nāṭikā*, and its effect is very impressive.¹

84. *Nalānanda Natakā*² of Jivabuddha in seven acts relates the story of Nala. Jiva was the son of Koneri, who, though a brahmin, became a ruler. He belonged to the Upadrastṛ Vamsa, the family to which Panditarāya Jagannāṭha belonged and lived about the end of the 17th century A.D. *Nalavilāsa*³ is a similar drama in seven acts by Rāmacandra a pupil of Hemacandra. *Nalacarīṭanātaka* of Nīlakantha,⁴ *Nala Ḍamayantīya*, of Kalpada. *Lakṣmīcārya* of Calcutta,⁵ *Anarghanala carīṭramahānātaka* of Sūḍarsanācārya of Pancanada,⁶ and *Nalabhūmi-pālarūpaka* of unknown authorship embrace the same theme.⁷

85. *Damayantīkalyāṇa* is a drama probably in five acts by Ranganāṭha of which only a fragmentary manuscript is available. It was enacted during the festival of Srī Parameśvara in the town of Sucindram in Travancore on the bank of the Iṃraparnī.⁸ Another drama of this name in 5 acts by Nallan Cakravartī Sāthagopācārya was to be staged at the festival of Padmāsahāya, probably of Srīrangam.⁹ Sāthagopācārya traces his descent from Uruputhuri Achan, one of the seven disciples of Nāḍamuni, the great Vaiṣṇava Ācārya. He was of Vaṅgaotrā and flourished about the end of the 18th century A.D. and among his descendants are men of repute and scholarship. Among his other works now extant are *Kalyāṇagīṃhātmya*, *Srīnivāsa-stava*, and a musical poem in praise of God Srīnivāsa of Kalyāṇagiri.¹⁰

1 Ed. Government Press, Mysore. His other works are *Meghapratīsaṇḍa* (a sequel to Kālidāsa's *Meghasaṇḍa*) and *Kumbhābhūṣakacampū* (*Saṁ* XXI)

2 *BTC*, 168, nos. 10685, 5284.

3 Ed. *Gaek Or Series*, Baroda. On this author, see chapter on Sanskrit Drama *Post*.

4 Printed, Balamanorama Press, Madras.

5 Printed, by Samskr̥ta Sāhitya Paṇṣaṭ, Calcutta.

6 Printed, Choukamba Office, Benares.

7 *CC*, III 60.

8 *TC*, IV 4302.

9 Ed. Srīrangam with the commentary and preface of Vadhulam Tattai Srīnivāsachariar and an English introduction by A. V. Gopalachariar. It is not known whether the drama referred to in *CC*, I 416 is the same.

10 These works are now with the author's descendants N. O. Narasimhachariar, High Court Vakīl, Karur and K. T. Parthasarathi Ayyangar, Mitasadar, Velur.

86 Kaviraja was the son of Kīrtinārāyaṇa and Candramukhī and a brahmin of Gauṭama Gotra. Kīrtinārāyaṇa was the generalissimo of the forces of Kādamba kings of Vānavasī,¹ and Kavirāja himself was a poet of the court of king Kāmadeva of the Kādamba dynasty.² This king was a Mahāmandaleśvara and ruled over the provinces of Hangal, Banavāsī and Puligere or Lakshmesvara. He was a feudatory of the Western Calukya king Someśvara IV,³ and began to rule about the year 1104 Saka.⁴ The city of Hangal was besieged by the Hoysala king Vira Ballala II and after some vicissitudes the Kadambas were completely subjugated and their territory annexed. The later history is not traceable. Tradition says⁵ that the founder of the Kādamba dynasty, king Ṛinetrā,⁶ was a worshipper of the god Śiva installed at Jayantīpura and brought with him 12000 brahmins of 32 gotras from Ahicchatra⁷ whom he settled in the Agrahāra of Sthānugūdhapura. From the fact that Banavāsī in the North Canara District is still known as the Jayantīkṣetra, and Kavirāja refers to this immigration of the

1 These details are given in his *Parījāta-haraṇa* (R. No. 2960) where he gives his name as Kavirāja only. This is also confirmed by the colophons of the *Rāghava-Pāṇḍaviya*, where it is said कविराजकविराजकृतौ. It is therefore seen that Kavirāja was not a cognomen. Rājasekhara in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* uses the name Kavirāja to denote a class of poets, who are good in various languages or in several species of composition. But the term is also used as a proper name. There was a Kavirāja among the ancestors of Rājasekhara himself (See *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, I, 18). There was another Kavirāja, friend of Jayaḍeya (author of *Gitagovinda*) who was probably Dhoyi, the author of *Pavanaduta*. There was a Kavirāja, probably of the Ganjam District, who wrote *Kavirājasūtī* in praise of Kṛṣṇa and Mṛgayācampu describing the hunting expedition of a king named Viśitavikrama who ruled at Kalati in Ganjam, Madras Presidency. (*TC*, IV 4815, 4784)

2 This dynasty must be distinguished from the Kādamba dynasty, whose capital was Palasika. Among those kings were Santivarman, Kakusṭhavarman etc. The date of their first king is given by Rice as 538 A.D. They were Jains in religion. See *Mys Arch Rep* (1928), 267, *Ibid*, (1925), 16.

3. He was also called Tribhuvanamalla etc. See V. Smith, *EH*, 487.

4. J. F. Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency* p. 84 ff. Inscription No. 90 in *The Pall, Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, compiled by J. F. Fleet (London) gives the same information. Inscriptions No. 106 and 107 are also useful. One of them is dated in the 16th year of king Kāmadeva, Nala samvatsara, Saka 1118 (1196-97 A.D.). This gives 1108 Śaka (1181-82 A.D.) as his initial date. See *Gaz. of Bom Presy*, I, ii 568.

5 *PS and OO Inscriptions (op. cit.)* No. 221.

6 Mayuravarman I was probably another name.

7, Cunningham identifies it with modern Ramnagar, and Lassen with Farokhabad, in the United Provinces.

Brahmanas from the Madhyadesa¹ we may safely conclude that the Kāmadeva of his eulogy must be of the line of Bānavāsī. Lastly in his introduction to the Canarese Pancatantra,² Durgasimha praises several Sanskrit poets, of whom all were brahmins, except Dhananjaya, the Jain author of another Rāghavapāṇḍaviya. This naturally makes us presume that if Durgasimha had known Kavirāja and his work he would have substituted there his name for Dhananjaya. Durgasimha was the minister of war and peace at the court of the Calukya king Jagadekamalla II, who reigned between Śaka 1061 and 1072. It is therefore probable that Kavirāja flourished after Śaka 1072. All these considerations combine to assign Kavirāja around the year 1104 Śaka, that is, the latter part of the 12th century A.D.³

1 See Rāghavapāṇḍaviya

अनेता मध्यदेशात्प्रवचनविदुषा सोमपा ब्राह्मणानां—I 25

though the reference there is to Kāmadeva himself, which may rather mean that the poet wantonly attributed the pious act to his protegee or that Kāmadeva also imported a further set of brahmins from Madhyadesa.

2 Published in the *Karnataka Kavyamangara*, 6-7. Durgasimha says that he proposes to give to the world a Canarese translation of Vasubhāga Dharmas's Sanskrit Pancatantra, who extracted five stories from Guṇādhyā's Bhaṭṭakāṭhā in Paśaśū and translated them into Sanskrit. He mentions Guṇādhyā, Varāhu, Kālidāsa, Bṛha, Mayura, Vāmana Udbhatabhīma, Bhavibhūti, Bhāravi, Dhātṭi, Miṭha, Rājasekhara, Kāmandaki and Dandin. Durgasimha also mentions the Canarese poet Kannamayya of whom Abhinava Pampa was a contemporary (*adyatana*). See *Karnāṭa Sabbānuśāsana*, Int. 38. To Pampa's contemporaries, there was only one Rāghavapāṇḍaviya and that the Jain work was known. It is seen to be so from the way in which the work is referred to in the Pamparāmāyaṇa and the inscription at Sravina Belgola.

3 Macdonnel (*SL*, 331) gives the date 800 A.D. Bhandarkar (*BR*, 1894 20) mentions that Kavirāja and Dhananjaya must have flourished between 996 and 1141 A.D. and Dhananjaya imitated Kavirāja. Weber (*IL*, 196) places him in any case later than Kālidāsa (*ISr* I 371). K. B. Pathak in his discussion of Kavirāja's date (*JBRAS*, XXII) says that the real name of Kavirāja was Mādhavabhatta. In a Kadamba copper plate inscription (*EO* VII 214) there is a grant by King Soma, a grandson of Kāmadeva. This Kāmadeva must be identical with the one of that name mentioned above, and the names of the son, father and grand father are the same (See also *EO*, III 27 and *IA*, X 252). The grantee is one Kavirāja Mādhavabhatta. This grant gives only the cyclic year, Vilambi Aśadha Amāvāsya, on which an eclipse of the sun occurred. Rice assigns this grant to 1118 A.D. Pathak thinks that the date must be incorrect, because Fleet, basing his opinion on a stone inscription, opines that between 1099 and 1120 A.D., the Banavasi province was governed by the Kadamba King Talapa II and not Soma. If Rice has placed his reliance on the solar eclipse, I find from a calculation from South Indian Chronological Tables (Madras) that Monday, Aśadha Amāvāsya of Vilambi answers the year 1118 A.D. as well as 1178 A.D. but not the next cycle 1238 A.D. Either Rice or Fleet must be wrong in their enumerations of the dates of Kāmadeva and Somesvara. Sowell and Dikshit (*Indian Calendar*, 122) give the dates of eclipses as 22-5-1118, 13-9-1178 and 21-3-1178.

87. *PARIJĀTAHARANA*,¹ a fine poem in 10 cantos, describes the story as told in Bhāgavata of the forcible removal of the Pārijāta tree by Kṛṣṇa from Indira's garden. Free from the restrictions of double entendre, Kāvīrāja here shows himself in his best. He wrote it to please his father Kīrtinārāyaṇa and was probably his earliest work.

88 By far the work with which his name is gloriously connected is the poem *RAGHAVAPANDAVIYA*. It describes at once the stories of Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata by a resort to separable compounds and punning expressions. It bears Kāmādevāṅka.² In spite of the limitations of the double entendre the language is lucid and melodious.³ He ranks himself with Subandhu and Bāṇa in the style of vakrokti.⁴

There are commentaries⁵ on it by Lakṣmaṇa,⁶ Rāmabhadra,⁷ Śaśadhara,⁸ Premacaṇḍra Tarkavāgiśa,⁹ Cāṇṭravardhana,¹⁰ Padmananḍi,¹¹ Puṣpadanta,¹² Viśvanātha.¹³

This device of handling different tales in the same poem has been very fruitful in later imitations.

1 *TO*, IV 4295. Bhoja in his *Sragāraprakāśa* refers to *Pārijātaharana*.

2 This colophon for instance is informing

इति श्रीहरधरणीप्रसूतकादम्बकुलतिलकचक्रवर्तिवीरकामदेवप्रोत्साहितकविराजपाण्डित
विरचिते राघवपाण्डवीये महाकाव्ये कामदेवाङ्गे रावणदुर्योधनवधोद्धासितरामधर्माभिषेको
नाम त्रयोदश सर्गः

Some understand धर under the word धरणी making it धरणीधर or Kailasa, but it seems to be a mistake for the origin given in inscriptions of the first Kaṇḍamba king refers to हर धरणी and not धर.

3 For instance, a *Sarvaśobhava*

रम्याकल्पविलासिनी क्षितिपतिर्लावण्यतेजसिनी

नित्याविष्कृतमण्डना स्थितिमती यामीष्टलोकान्तरा ।

लक्ष्मीराश्रयते स्म सा मतिमतामाद्य सुसेव्य मुदा-

दातार रमताजुजेन च शतानीकेनराम तदा ॥

4 सुबन्धुर्वाणमद्वय कविराज इति त्रय । वक्रोक्तिमार्गेनिपुणाश्चतुर्थो विधये न वा ॥

5. See *CO*, I 504.

6 Printed Bombay *Tanj. Cat* VI 2654, K 66. Lakṣmaṇa was also the author of *Sukṭāvalī* or *Sukṭumukṭāvalī* (*PR*, III, 4p 54, IV cvii) and commentary on Vādirāja's *Yogaśharacarita* (*TO*, III 8824).

7 *Mitra*, X.

8 Printed, Bombay. It was written at the instance of King Amarasūmha son of Rudrasūmha. The poem is also called there *Dvīsanḍhāna*.

9 *CASB*, 161. Printed Calcutta. The author was professor of Sanskrit, Sanskrit College, Calcutta.

10 *Ka* 85.

11 *Res* 809.

12 *Res*, 804.

13 *B*, 108.

89 Vidyamadhava in his *Pārvaṭī-Rukminīya*,¹ describes the marriages of Śiva and Pārvaṭī and Kṛṣṇa and Rukminī. He was a poet of the court of the Cūlukya King Somadeva, very probably Someśvara IV of Kalyān who reigned about 1126-1138 A.D.² He was a native of Nīlālaya near Gunavaṭī. He was proficient in all the sciences and the Vedas. He wrote commentaries on *Kirātārjunīya*³ and other poems. Like Kavirāja who says that besides himself Bāna and Subandhu were the only poets skilled in Vakrokti, he says that he is the fourth of them besides Bāna, Subandhu and Kavirāja. He was probably a younger contemporary of Kavirāja.

90. VENKATADHVARI treated the stories of the Rāmāyana and Bhāgavata together in *Yādava-Rāghaviya*.⁴ He was the famous author of *Viśvagunādarśa* of the first half of 17th century. The language is rendered extremely hard⁵ by the introduction of alliterations of an

1 DC, XX 7777

For a typical verse,

गन्नाकृतोमेशसमानधाम्ना सा रुक्मिणी रत्नकृतीर्द्विजेभ्यः ।

प्रयच्छता नाम गुणस्य वेत्ता पित्रा खमित्रामिवृतेन तेन ॥

2 He also bore titles Bhulokamalla and Sarvagna. (See V. Smith, *EH*, 481, 487). He wrote *Mānasollāsa*, a work on all arts in 100 cantos (Tanjore Library). See L. Rice Mysore, I 880.

There were four Someśvaras of the Cūlukya dynasty of Kalyān, whose epigraphical dates known are (I) Āhavamalla and Trailokyamalla 1040-1069 A.D. (*IA*, IX 96); (II) Bhuvanaikamalla, 1074 (*IA*, IV 208), (III) Bhulokamalla, 1127, 1136, 1141 A.D. (*IA*, X 131), (IV) Tribhuvanamalla, 1162 A.D. (*IA*, I, 80). In *Mys Arch Rep.* (1925) pages 58-1 there is a grant by a feudatory of Tribhuvanamalla whose date is given as 1097 A.D. who is Vikramāditya VI. See V. Smith, *EH*, 481, 487, *Mys Arch Rep.* (1928) pp 112-3, (1927), app E. The grants in *Mys. Arch. Rep.* are dated in the Cūlukya Vikrama era, which is said to have commenced in 1076 A.D. Vikramāditya, patron of Bilhana (para 62 *supra*) was the brother of Someśvara II and ruled 1076-1127 A.D. The following is the genealogy of the Western Cūlukyas of Kalyan: Taila or Tailapa I (973-997 A.D.)—son Satyāśraya (997-1008 A.D.)—nephew Vikramāditya—brother Jayasimha—Someśvara I (1040-1069 A.D.)—son Someśvara II (1070-1095 A.D.)—brother Vikramāditya (1076-1126 A.D.)—Someśvara III (1126-1138 A.D.)—Jayasimha Jagadekamalla (1138-1150 A.D.)—son Tailapa II—son Someśvara IV. He lost his throne by revolution in 1189 and with him Western Cūlukya dynasty came to an end. Descendants of Someśvara ruled as petty chiefs in Konkan till 18th century A.D.

3 DC, XX 7709

4 DC, XX 7956, *HR*, II. as the author see *post TC*, IV 0049.

5 For instance

साकेतारुया ज्यायामासीद्याविप्रादीसार्याधारा ।

पूराजीतादेवाद्याविश्वासाश्चा सावाधारावा ॥

advanced type for which he is an adept and in this respect lacks the beauty of the work of Kavirāja which it seeks to imitate. There is a commentary on it, probably by the author himself.¹

91 **Somesvara** was the son of Kṛṣṇasūri of Viṇṇumūri family of Gauṭama goṭra. In Rāghavayādaviya, he narrates in 15 cantos the stories of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. He proposes to use words adopted by Kālidāsa and Bhāravi and only those monosyllabic words used by Amara. The poem is at the same time a work on prosody. There is an anonymous commentary.² There are works of this name by Raghunāṭhācārya and Śrīnivasācārya and by Vāsudeva.³ Rasikaranjana of Rāmācandra is a collection of verses with Sṛṅgāra and Vairāgya meanings. Rāmācandra was the son of Lakṣmanabhaita and wrote his work in 1524 A D.⁴

92 A further development of the device was the use of a TREBLE ENTENDRE, relating three stories at a time. Rāghava-yādava-pāṇḍaviya in three cantos describes the tales of Ramāyaṇa, Mahābhārata and Bhāgavata at a time.⁵ The author CIDAMBARA was the son of Ananta-nārāyaṇa and Venkatā, grandson of Sūryanārāyaṇa of Kausika goṭra. Śrīnivāsa was his brother. Śivasūrya was his maternal uncle. His Bhāgavata Campū relates the story of Kṛṣṇa.⁶ He appears to have been a resident of Mullandram, the place of Dīṇḍimas and to have been patronised by King Venkata I (1586-1614 A D) of Vijayanagar.⁷ There is a commentary on it by his father Ananta-nārāyaṇa, which interprets every verse thrice to carry the meaning threefold.⁸ In his Panca-kalyāṇa Campū he shows further advance in the art and relates at once the story of the marriages of Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Subrahmaṇya with a commentary by himself.⁹

1 DC, XX 7957 See also TC, IV 6049

2 TC, IV 5489.

3 TC, IV 5524, Opp, II 723, 1143, 4113.

4. Ed Bombay (Kavyamālā, Part 4) For similar interpretations on Amaruka, Hamsasandeha, Gītagovinda, see notes under those works.

5 DC, XX 7829 For a typical verse

अस्त्वच्चितायामधुरासमानैरनेकशोभारतवासभूमि ।

परैर्वैरालङ्कारणैः प्रवीरैः पूर्हस्तिनामास्पदभूरयोध्या ॥

There is another work of the same pattern by Rājācandāmaṇi Dikṣita, see *Int. to Maṇḍīkārpaṇa* (TSS, No 84)

6 Tanj Cat VI 2706, 12707, DC, XXI 8259.

7 He composed an inscription of King Venkata I in Saka 1524 See IA, XLVII

94. See Vivekapaṭramālā under Dīṇḍimas, post

8 There is also an anonymous commentary, see DC, XX 7908

9 TC, IV 4257 8

Anantācārya of Udayendrapuram of Mysore wrote a poem Yādava-Rāghava-Pāndaviya. He was the father of Inveni, the prolific poetess of whom the reader will hear in the coming pages. A similar work Ābodbhākara by Ghanaśyāma relates the stories of Kṛṣṇa, Nala and Hariscandra,¹ with a commentary on it.

93 Meghavijayagani was a Jain monk.² He was a pupil of Kṛpāvijaya and 5th in heirarchical descent from Hiravijaya. He was well-versed in grammar, astronomy and logic, and his writings on these branches of learning are now appreciated. As a poet, his greatness is sufficiently proved by his Saptasandhāna, a poem in which seven stories are at a time narrated, in very felicitous language all the same. In Devanandābhyudaya, of seven cantos, he relates the life of Vijayadevasūri. This was composed in Samvat 1727 (1671 A.D.)³ In Śāntinātha-carita he narrates the life of Śāntinātha. In these two poems, he has taken the lines of Śisupālavadha and Naisadha, as for *Samasyā*, and constructed his verses to complement them.⁴

In Saptasandhānamahākāvya, Meghavijayagani applies each verse to Vṛṣabhanātha, Śāntinātha, Pārśvanātha, Neminātha, Mahāvīraswāmī, Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva, (known as Rāmacandra). Of these the first five are some of the 24 Jain Īrthankaras. In nine cantos, the poet narrates these several stories in easy and flowing language and has thus illustrated the potency of expression in Sanskrit literature.⁵ Hemacandra

1. *HR*, III x and 66

2. Printed Bombay, with an Introduction by Hargovind Das. See also *IA*, VIII, 55.

3. Ed. in part in *Śrī Yāsoṃśaya Jāmagraṇṭhamūlā*.

4. For instance —

श्रियाममिव्यक्तमनोऽसुरकृता विशालसालव्रितया श्रिया स्फुटा ।
 तयाबमासे सजगत्तयीविभुर्ज्वलत्प्रतापावलिर्कीर्तिमण्डल ॥
 निर्णीय यस्य क्षितिरक्षिण कथा सुरा सुराज्यादिसुख बहिर्मुखम् ।
 प्रपेदिरेऽन्त स्थिरतन्मयाद्यथा सदा सदानन्दभृत प्रशसया ॥
 यथा ध्रुतस्येह निर्णीततत्कथास्तथाद्रियन्ते न बुधा सुधामपि ।
 सुधाभुजा जन्म न तन्मन प्रिय भवेद्भवे यत्नततरुधा प्रथा ॥

5. For a typical verse

अबानिपातिरहासीद्विश्वसेनाश्वसेनाभिधदशरथनाम्ना य. सनाभि सुरेश ।
 बलिबिजयिसमुद्र प्रौढसिद्धार्थसङ्ग प्रसूतमरणतेजस्तस्य भूकच्छपस्य ॥ I, 54.

was known to have composed a poem *Saptasandhāna*, but as it was lost, Meghavijaya proposed to fill up the gap ¹

Based on Meghasandesa is his similar work Meghadūṭa-Samasyā-lekha, being a communication from the poet to the lord of his Gaccha, Vijayaprabhasūri ² In his *Digvijayamahākāvya* the life of Vijayaprabhasūri is described in 13 cantos ³ His *Yukti-prabodha* is an allegorical drama intended to refute some rival philosophical theories ⁴

94 Somaprabhācarya ⁵ reached the highest degree of variable interpretation In his *Śaṭtārthakāvya* he interpreted a single verse, ⁶ in a hundred ways On account of this composition he got the name *Śaṭtārthika* It was written about 1177 A D At the beginning of its commentary, he has written five verses, in which he has given an index to the hundred explanations intended by him "In the beginning he has given the meanings of the 24 Tirthankaras of the Jain religion, then in the middle he has given the explanations of the Vedic deities, like Brahma, Narada, Vishnu and others and at the end he has brought out references to his contemporaries, like Vāḍidevasūri and Hemacandrācārya, the great religious preceptors of Jainism, Jayasimhaḍeva, Kumārāpāla, Ajayadeva, Mūlarāja, the four successive Calūkyas kings of Guzerat, poet Siddhapāla, the best citizen of the time and Anantaḍeva and Vijayasimha, his two preceptors After this, at the extreme end, he has elucidated references to himself and in the final conclusion he has quoted a short *praśasti* in five verses written on himself by some disciple of his " His *Śṅgāravairāgyaṭarangiṇī* is a didactic poem ⁷

95 These poems so far adopted the principle of differentiation in reading to denote the different stories, though the verse was kept in its

1. So he says

श्रीहेमचन्द्रसूरीयै सप्तसन्धानमादिमम् ।
रचितं तदलम्बे तु स्यादिदं तुष्टये सताम् ॥

2. Ed. Bhavnagar The last verse says .

माधकाव्यं देवगुरोर्मैथदूतं प्रमप्रमौ ।
समस्यार्थं समस्यार्थं निर्मेमे मेघपण्डित ॥

3. It was composed in Sam. 1747 (1691 A D)

4. On Somaprabhācarya, see para 71 *supra*

5. कल्याणसारसवितानहरेक्षमोहकान्तारवारणसमानजयाधदेव ।

धर्मार्थकामदमहोदयवीरधीरसोमप्रमानवरमागमसिद्धसूरे ॥

6. Muniraja Jinavijaya's Int. to Kumārāpālaprabhōdha (G10% Or Series vol.)

7. OR, III 405 Printed with commentary *Kāvya-māla*, Bombay

natural order. A further complication was resorted to, which was not only a simultaneous narrative of two different stories, but a feat of verbal ingenuity.

96 NALA-HARISCANDRIYA was a work in this direction but with a slight modification. In its natural order, the verse relates the story of Nala and in the reverse order the story of Hariscandra. The author's name is not known and a commentary is added.¹

HARADATTA'S RAGHAVA-NAISADHIYA describes the story of Rama and Nala. Haradatta was the son of Jayaśankara of Giryga gotra. In his commentary on the work, he quotes Bhattoji Dīkṣita and a list of lexicographers, Bhattamalla, Keśava, Rāmakṛṣṇa, Rabhaṣa and Yādava.² It appears to have been composed about the beginning of the 18th century A.D.

ANANTASURI'S HARISCANDRODAYA is a poem of 20 cantos on the story of Hariscandra and refers in double entendre to Hariscandra the mythical ruler and a poet's patron of the same name.³

RAMAKRISHNA-VILOMA-KAVYA is a short poem of 38 verses.⁴ If the first half of each verse is read in the reverse order in the second, the former narrates the story of Rāma, the latter that of Kṛṣṇa.⁵ The author Sūryakavi or Sūryadāsa also called Daivagnapandita⁶ was the

1 *TC*, II 1716.

For instance

निजमोऽतिप्रजानरीनलोऽच्छसदमोऽजनि ।

य श्रियश्चन्द्र इन्द्रश्च गोसागोस्सर्वपूरिह ॥

refers to Nala and in the reverse order to Hariscandra.

The last verse is all the more interesting in that each pīḍa remains the same though read in the reverse order.

लीलाकलोमध्यमलोकलाली लागी सुखी मुग्धमुखी सुगीला ।

सभाप्रथानङ्गनयाप्रभास सहासया तत्र तथा सहास ॥

2 *KC*, xxx 290. The Ms is incomplete containing only 2 cantos.

3 *CM*, 261.

4 Printed, Calcutta (*Kāvya-saṅgraha*) and Bombay (*Kāvya-mālā*, VI) *DC*, XX, 7960 61, *Tanj Oat*, VI 2938. There is a commentary by the author himself printed there and another by Kṛṣṇadāsa (*B*, II 100, *CC*, I 508).

5 For instance,

त भूस्तामुक्तिमुदारहास वन्दे यतो भव्यमव दया श्री ।

श्रीयादव भव्यमतोयदेव सहारदामुक्तिमुतासु भूतम् ॥

6 Probably Suryapandita, the author of *Āryā Rāmāyaṇa* (*DC*, XX 7900) and Arya Surya, author of *Vijayavikrama Vyāyoga* (*TC*, II 1751) are different persons.

son of Jnānādhira of Bhāradvājagotra and lived at Pārthapura His seventh ancestor Rāma was in the Court of king Rama of Devagiri¹ As an astronomer he wrote Sūryaprakāśa in 1539 and commented on Līlāvaṭī in 1542 A D His Nṛsimhacampū in 5 chapters and Bāla-bodhikā commentary on Devesvara's Kavikalpalatā, are available²

97. Another feat of poetic genius is KANKANABANDHA-RAMAYANA There is only one verse³ of 32 letters arranged in a circular form (in the form of a bangle) and by reading them from left to right and right to left, starting from any letter we have 62 verses forming, if rewritten, a regular poem A commentary interprets these verses so as to describe the whole story of Rāmāyaṇa The author **Kṛṣṇamurti** was the son of Gauri and Sarvagna of Vasisthagotra, probably of the Circars and lived in the 19th century A D⁴

This idea of Kankanabandha was improved by Charla Bhāshyakāra Sastri in a similar composition He lives in the Agraharam of Kakaraparti in the Krishna District In his Kankanabandha Rāmāyaṇam he interprets each verse so formed in two ways, by splitting the compounds, so that, in effect, there results from one single verse a poem of 128 verses in all⁵

98 Sripala, son of Lakṣmaṇa of Pragvata family, lived at Anhilvid between Sam 1151 and 1210 (1095-1154 A D) He was a poet of great renown and received the title Kavirāja and Kavicakravartī from King Siddharāja Jayasinha of Gujarat He was blind In Sam 1181, there was a dispute between the Svetāmbara and Digambara Jain sects on some questions of liturgy and in an assembly presided over by the King Kumudacandra of Karnāta represented Digambara view and Devācārya of Gujarat the Svetāmbara, and Śrīpāla took a prominent part in the discussion This dispute is described by Yaśaścandra in his

1. Devagiri (Doulatabad) was the capital of the Yādava kings. Ramacandra was defeated by Alauddin in 1294 A D.

2. IOC, VII 1478, 1549, OC, I 87a, III. 19a

3. नेतादेवालीनामाद्याधानाधीनानेकालोकी ।
मास्यानमारव्यायोगीश पायदेत रामेराजा ॥

4. TC, III 2874

5. The verse is this

रामानाथामेरासाराचारावारागोपाधारा ।
बाराधाराभीमाकारा पारावारा सीतारामा ॥

play *Muditakunudicandra*¹ He wrote a poem *VAIROCANAPARAJAYA* and several *prāsaṅgis* printed in Jain *Pārcinālokkhamālā*

Śrīpāla's son Siddhapāla, also a poet, lived till about Sam 1250 (1199 A D) Siddhapāla's son Vijayapāla has been much praised as a poet by Somaprabhasūri King Kumārāpāla was his friend His patron, King Siddharāja Bhimadeva of Calukya dynasty, flourished in 1109-1241 A D At his instance he wrote the play *Draupadisvayamvara*¹ in two acts on the wedding of Draupadī Vijayapāla seems to have lived till about 1244 A D

99 Muniratnasuri was the pupil of Samudraghosa of the Candra Gaccha² Jivasimha, his pupil, wrote a *prāsaṅgi* in praise of his master³ He wrote his *Amāmasvāmīcarit*, at the request of Jagaddeva son of Yasodhavalā, treasurer of a Cālukya king of the Śrīmālakula at the city of Vārāhi⁴ He had already distinguished himself as an eminent poet at the court of King Naravarman at Dhāra⁵ The poem in 30 cantos describes the life of Amāmasvāmī, in melodious verse⁶ It was composed at Patan in Sam 1252 and read in the temple of Śāṅṭanātha in praise of Pūrnapāla Yaśahpāla, (1194 A D) Mana and Mahānanda His other poem *Munisavrat* in 23 cantos, describes the lives of some of the suris of his clan⁷

100 Vidyacakravartin⁸ In the Court of the Hoysala Kings, flourished the lines of poets, three of whom bore the name of Vidyācakravartin The poet known as Cakravartin was called as the royal priest to the Court of Viraballala II (1172-1219 A D) He was the author of the many poetic inscriptions engraved on stone during the days of his patron His son Vaidyanātha was in the Court of Viranarasimha II (1220-1235 A D) Then came Vaidyanātha's son Vidyācakravartin II,

1 Printed, Bhavnagar Śrīpāla is quoted in *Śāntangadharaṇḍit*, 94.

2 See *PR*, IV, xov

3 See *PR*, III app 95 He was a pupil of Dharmaghosāsūri and contemporary of Siddhārāja, king of Gujarat

4 Ibid

5 *Rāsmāla*, 185 In the copperplate grants (*Tr* of *RAS*, I 230 29, Colebrooke's *Mss* *Es*, 297 314, *JAOS*, VII, I, 1, 185, 315) of the ruler of Malwa, genealogy is given as Bhoja—Udayāditya—Naravarman—Yaśovarman Yaśovarman's grant (*IA*, XIX 857) is dated Sam 1191 (1186 A D)

6 *PR*, III app 95.

7 *PR*, III app 144

8 Trivikrama or Vikramadeva, son of Rājānāyadeva, who wrote the poem *Kadambasārasangrahaṃ*, in 10 cantos, calls himself the pupil of Śakalavidya dharaçakravartin, probably one of these three (*TC*, IV, 4222)

the author of the exquisite romance Gadyakarnāmr̥ta of which we shall know more in the chapter of Sanskrit prose. He calls himself by the titles, Sakala Vidyācakravartī, Kavirājārājā Abhinava-Bhatta-Bāna, Kalī-Kāla-Kālidāsa, Kāhala-Kavi-Sārvabhauma and Kālakavikalabha. His son Vāsudeva was called Śrī Vallabha. His son was Vidyācakravartīn III. He wrote commentaries on Kāvya-prakāśa and Alankārasarvasva with illustrations here and there in praise of the Hoysala kings. King Ballala III (1291-1342 A D) was his patron. His RUKMINIKALYĀNA¹ is a poem in 16 cantos describing the marriage of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and Rukminī. In the 1st canto the poem gives the geneology of the Hoysala Kings² and a short account of his own family. His melodious poetry justifies his claim to rank with the foremost of poets.

101 Abhayadeva³ was a Jain monk. He was pupil of Vijayacandra and son of Devabhadra, and was fourth in succession from Jināśekharaśuri who flourished in Sam 1204. For his eminence in learning, he was given the title of Vādīśimha by the King of Kāśī. Under him the Rudrapatījagaccha rose to greatness. His Jayantavijaya, a poem in 19 cantos, relates the birth and life of Jayanta,⁴ and was composed in Sam 1278 (1222 A D). It contains elaborate descriptions of the seasons, sunrise, sunset, sports, and expeditions.

102 Viranandi's Candraprabhacarita⁵ in 18 cantos, begins with a description of King Kanakaprabha and describes the life of

1 TC, IV 5425. The following poems embrace the same theme, (i) Rukmiṇī parinaya of Mahāpātra Paramānanda of Orissa (TC, IV 5632) in 11 cantos, (ii) Rukmiṇīparanayam of Govindaratha contemporary of King Mukurda of Orissa, of more than 5 cantos (TC, IV 5687), (iii) Rukminīkalyāna of Rajachudāmani Dikṣiṭa.

2 Hoysāla-Eriyānāga-Viṣṇuvardhana [1104-1141 A D]. He had two brothers Ballala I and Uḍayādītya]—Narasimha I (1136-1171)—Vīra Ballāla II (1172-1212)—Narasimha II (1220-1235)—Somadevara (1238-1254)—Narasimha III (1254-1291)—Vīra Ballāla III (1291-1342)—Ballala IV (1342-1346). The dynasty ends here. For inscriptions relating to Hoysala Kings, See Mys Arch Rep 1923-1928. See also S K Iyengar's South India and her Muhammadan invasions, 176 et seq and M R Kavi's Kālakalabhakavi, in Bharati, Feby 1928.

3 Abhayadeva's pupil Devabhadra is mentioned in an inscription dated Sam 1296 I.A. (1894), 173 4, EI, I 112. For other Abhayadevasuris, see D S Tank's Dictionary of Jaina Biography.

4 Ed Bombay. It bears Śrīśabdānka, PR, I 98, I V 187-90 vii, Weber, ISI II 1089, Klatt, I.A., XI 248.

5 Printed Bombay. There is a commentary on it of unknown authorship, TC, III, 8848. Yaśodova wrote another poem of the same name in Anhilwid in Sam 1178 (1122 A D). See J's Cat 89. There is Candraprabhīyākāvya by Dhananjaya (Opp. II 484) and Candraprabhāvijayākāvya by Ravigūṭa (CC, J. 181).

Candraprabha, a Jain Tīrthankara. In the last canto, tenets of Jainism are summarised and the poem ends with Indra's incarnation as Jina Virananḍi must have lived not later than the 13th century A D

103 Manikyacandra or Mānikyasūri of Rajagaccha was the pupil of Sāgarendu¹. He describes his geneology in his commentary Sanketa on Kāvyaaprakāśa, which he completed in Sam 1216 (1160 A D). He wrote his poems Pārśvanāthacarita and Śāntināthacarita in Sam 1276 (1220 A D)².

104 Purnabbadra was the pupil of Jinapati. He lived at Prahlāḍanapura. He wrote Daśaśrāvākacarita in Sam 1275 and Dhanya Śālibhadracarita and Kṛtapunyacarita in Sam 1285 and Atimuktacarita in Sam 1282.

105 Padmaprabha was the pupil of Vibudhaprabha. He wrote Kunṭhunāthacaritacarita and Munisuvratacarita in Sam 1294³. These poets lived at the first half of the 13th century A D⁴.

106 Jinaratna was the pupil of Jineśvara, who was the pupil of Jinapaṭisūri. He lived in the first half of the 13th century A D. His NIRVANALILAVATI is a beautiful poem in 21 Uśahas bearing Jināṅka, being a sanskrit version of the prakṛt poem of the same name (not extant) written by Jineśvara in Sam 1095. Jinaratna's pupil Pūrṇakalaśa wrote a commentary on Hemacandra's Dvyāśrnyakāvya⁵.

1. Mānikyasūri of Vatagaccha who wrote the poem Nalāyana or Kubera-purāṇa in 100 cantos of 10 Skandhas, a play Setunātaka and a rhetorical work, Sūhṛtyasāra is a different author [*Jes Cat* 49, *PR*, II 857]. One manuscript of Nalāyana was put in the Jessalmere Bhandar in Sam. 1659.

2. Yagnēśvarapandita (in his *Aryaviddhāśudhākara*, 226) says that Māṇikya, pupil of Devasuri, is mentioned by Meruṅga in his *Prabandhaśhīntāmaṇi* as having lived at Śrīpattam, under King Jayasimha about Sam. 1150 and as having composed Sanketa. This conflicts with the author's own statement in the work.

रसवक्त्रग्रहाधीशवत्सरे (१२१६) मासि माघवे ।

काव्ये काव्यप्रकाशस्य सङ्केतोऽयं समर्थितः ॥

See Vāmanācārya's Int. to Kāvyaaprakāśa 27, *Jes Cat* 5, 49.

3. *Jes Cat* 49.

4. *Ibid.*, Padmaprabha, author of Pārśvaśṭava and Bhuvanaḍipikā is a different author.

5. *Jes Cat* 50-51. Līlāvāṇikāṭhā by Bhuṣanabhaṭṭatanaya in prakṛt poetry relates the story of the loves of King Śātavāhana and Līlāvāṇī, daughter of King of Limbala (*Ibid.*, 55). For this work see under Śālivāhanacarita post.

107 Laksmītilaka studied under Jinaraṭṇa In Pratyakabuddha-carita, a poem of 17 cantos, he relates the lives of four saints Karakandu, Dvimukha, Nami, Naggatī It was composed in Sam 1311 (1255 A D) ¹

108 Munidevasuri² and **Satyaraja** wrote the poems Śānti-nāthacarita³ and Pṛthvīcandracarita⁴ in Sam 1439 (1383 A D) and Sam 1534 (1478 A D), being Sanskrit versions of the Prakṛt poems of these names by Devacandra and Śāntisūri⁵ written about Sam 1200 and in Sam 1161

109 Devaprabhasuri surnamed Maladhārīn was the pupil of Muncandra,⁶ and master of Devānanda of the Har-apuriya Gaccha In his Pāṇḍavacarita,⁷ a long poem of 18 cantos, he describes the story of the Pāṇḍavas with the main object of conveying lessons of virtue⁸ He was a contemporary of Udayaprabha, and Naracandra,⁹ and lived about the middle of the 13th century A D

110 Amaracandra, also called Amara,¹⁰ was a resident of the town of Vagata near Anhilvid He belonged to a hierarchy of Jain priests He was the disciple of Jinadatṭa Sūri¹¹ Having been initiated with the Mantra of Siddha-Saraswatī he attained eminence by penance and the Goddess Saraswatī conferred on him the boon of poetry Once Viśaladeva, the king of Gujarat, heard of his greatness and sent for him to his Court Dhavalakkaka He was there examined by a number of Court

1 *Jes Cat* 51

2 Vāḍidevasuri, who wrote Nemināthacarita in Sam. 1283 (*Jes Cat* No 1) is a different person.

3 *Jes Cat* 46, PR, I 50, Ap 6, III. 168, Ap 165, IA, XI 254

4 *Jes Cat* 52 Seeing this excellent poem Munibhadrasuri wrote another poem Śāntīcarita in Sam. 1410 PR, III Ap. 167

5 *Ibid*, 52, 54.

6 He gave dīkṣa to Calukya king Anala

7 There is Pāṇḍavacarita-kāvya by Lakṣmīdatta, L 2004

8 He was the author, PR, I 98, III, app 181

9 See PR III app. 19, IV, lxvii He wrote a commentary on Anargharāghava and Prākṛitadīpikā See Kielhorn's Collections (1930 I Ms 288, 284) PR III, App 184

10 Amaraśaṅkara, author of Kāvyaśāstrīya and Amaracandra author of Vanamālī Nāṭikā (*Jama Granthāvala*) are different authors On other Amaracandras, see U S Tank's *Dictionary of Jaina Biography*.

11 Author of Vīvekavilāsa and Srijinendracarita See PR, I Ap 2, IV xxxvi, 115, BR (1883-9), 6, 156 (where date 1265-85 Samvat is given) See the Kaviprasasti at the end of Bālabhārata He died at Ajmer in 1145 A D. See Klatt's paper on *Historical Records of the Jannas*, I A (1883, supra)

poets, Someśvara and Nānāka¹ among them, and pleased with his greatness, the king honoured him well.² King Visaladeva, son of Viradhavalā, ruled between 1243-1262 A D.³ and Amaracandra must therefore have flourished about the middle of the 13th century. His description of sunrise brought him the title Venīkṛpāṇa.⁴

Among his works BALABHARATA⁵ is the most known. It narrates the story of the Mahābhārata in the order of the Parvans and is therefore a poetic epitome of it.⁶ His poetry is of a high order and placed by the side of the Raghuvamśa, it may not be possible to discern disparity in literary merit.

He wrote treatises on poetics, Kāvyaikalpalatī and Kavisikāśa,⁷ on metrics, Chandoraṭnāvalī and Muktāvalī and in technical subjects, Kalākalapa and the poem Padmānandakāvya, otherwise known is Śrī Jinendracarita which describes the life of Jinā.⁸

Amaracandra completed the Kāvyaikalpalatī of his friend Arisimha and wrote a gloss on it Kavisikṣāvr̥tti.⁹

111 Vastupala¹⁰ was the son of Acarāja (Acaraja) and Kumāradevī of an illustrious family of Pattana. His great grand-father Candapa

1 *IA*, XI 206-207 (dated Sam 1328), *Ibid* 102-3. This praśasti was composed by Kṛṣṇa, son of Rājna, said to be the author of Kuvalyaśaśvatī.

2 This account is taken from Rājasekhara's *Prabandhakośī* and Merutunga's *Prabandhaśaṅkṣā* (Tawneys Tr p 167).

3 Sam 1800-1818. See E. Desabhai's *History of Gujarat* (Ahmedabad), 45-47; Mahipatram's *Short History of Gujarat* 19 *IA*, VI 210-212, *IA*, XI 98-108, *BR*, (1888-84), 318, 457. Also Someśvara's *Samudhātava*, Canto V.

4 दधिमथनविलोल्लोलहृद्वेणिदम्भादयमदयमनङ्गो विश्वविश्वेकजेता ।

मवपरिमवकोपलक्षितबाण कृपाणश्रममिव दिवसादौ व्यक्तशक्तिर्यनक्ति ॥ —

Bālābhārata, 1 i 6

5 Printed Kāvya-māla, Bombay. The poem is called Virāṅka.

6 It may be useful to compare critically this abridgement with the original text of the Bhārata, and that will give us an idea of the actual recension then used by Amaracandra.

7 *PR*, II 17.

8 Composed in Sam 1297 (1241 A D), *PR*, I 2, 58, IV vii.

9 *PR*, IV. vii. Rājasekhara in his *Prabandhakośī* says that Arisimha and Amaracandra were fellow students and lived in the time of Visaladeva, before he came to the throne of Pattana, about the middle of the 13th century. See *BR*, II 6.

10 "Once upon a time, in the august city of Pattana, on the occasion of an exposition, a certain very beautiful widow named Kumāradeva, was looked at again and again by the Reverend Doctor Haribhadra and so attracted the attention of the minister Acarāja, who was present at the ceremony. After the congregation had been dismissed,

was the "sun of assembly of councillors" He had four sons Candaprasāda, Sūra, Soma and Aśvarāja The eldest always had the ministerial seal The other sons also held high positions in the state His wife was the daughter of Ābhu, a Dandapaṭi or commander-in-chief He was the prime minister of Viradhavala, Ruler of Dholka As a warrior his prowess was great and he defended with his army the kingdom against the attacks of the allied forces of the Kings of the Deccan, the Lata and the Godraha. In Samvat 1277 (1221 A.D.) he made his memorable pilgrimage to Mount Abu and the temples of that place with the inscriptions in his praise are monuments of his glory and philanthropy¹ He died in 1242 A.D.² In his Kīrtikaumudī, Someśvara, describes the life of Vastupāla in all detail He says "Śrī Someśvaradeva delineates the character of Vastupāla seeing that that master's devotion to himself is extreme, that his family is illustrious, his personal appearance splendid, his conduct excellent, his charity accompanied by courtesy, his elevated position such as humbles his foes, his talents such as defy those of the Brihaspati, his mercy such as crushes all germ of fear, his fame an ornament of the earth, his administration regulated by justice"

Himself a poet, he appreciated poetic merit in others³ He received Harihara at the Court of Dholka in spite of the jealousy of Someśvara He established three great libraries, where he collected valuable manuscripts He encouraged good writing and the Kaṭhā-raṭnasāgara (15 tarangas) of Naracaṇḍra Sūri and Alankāramahodadhī (8 chapters) of Narendraprabha were the result of his incentive His learning is of a high order He is called "the God-son of Sarasvatī,"⁴ besides the titles Kavikunjara and Kavicakravartī By his

the teacher being questioned by the minister said by a revelation of my favourite deity I foresee that the sun and moon will descend and be conceived in her and therefore I looked at the marks on her body again and again" The minister, having thus ascertained the truth from the holy man, carried her off and made her his wife In course of time, those two heavenly bodies descended and were conceived in her, as the two ministers of Vastupāla and Tujāpāla.—Meruṅga's Prabandhaṇṭamāṇi (Tawney's Translation, 155-6)

He was named Vasanṭapāla by some scribes and others See Niranarāyaṇānanda, XVI 98 This name is adopted in Bālaṇḍra's Vasanṭavilasa

1 See Kathavate's Int. to Kīrtikaumudī, viii, app. A & B

2 BR, (1887—91), lxiii

3 Kīrtikaumudī, I 48 47.

4 Kīrtikaumudī, I 29, Niranarāyaṇānanda, XVI 40, Dharmābhyudaya, XV. 64.

patronage he earned the name of Laghu Bhojarāja. Several biographies describe his patronage.¹ Among the poets he patronised were, Someśvara, Arisimha, Harihara and Nanaka.

In his NARANARAYANANANDA,² a poem of 16 cantos, he describes the friendship of Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa who are incarnations of Nara and Nārāyana and their rambles in Mt Girnar and the abduction of Subhadrā by Arjuna.³ The poem is full of descriptive imagery. It is on the model of Śiṣupālavaḍha, but the language is more easy and melodious. Vastupāla was fond of stray poetry (*Śūktis*) and many of these are collected in his biographies and in Jalhana's Sūktimukṭāvalī. His Īśvaramanoraṭhamaya Stoṭra is devotional.⁴

112 Udayaprabhasuri was the religious preceptor of Vastupāla and Tejāhpāla. He was great as a poet, theologian and astronomer. His Ārambhasiddhi is an astronomical work and Upadesamāla Karmika, a commentary on Upadesamāla composed in Sam. 1299.⁵ His Dharmābhūḍaya or Sanghādhīpaṭīcaritra is a Mahākāvya composed on the occasion of Vastupālā's pilgrimage to Jain shrines of Western India. Narendraprabha was a collaborator in the poem.⁶ His Sukṭakīrtī-kalloṇī is a panegyric in praise of Vastupāla and Tejāhpāla composed on the occasion of their pilgrimage to Śaṭrunjaya.⁷ The latter is of great historical value in that it gives the geneology of Vastupāla and describes the Capotkala and Cālukya kings.

113 Jayasimhasuri⁸ was the pupil of Virasūri and the Ācārya of the shrine Munisuvraṭa at Broach. He was a Jain Śvētāmbara. Once when Tejāhpāla, the brother of Vastupāla, came to visit the shrine, he recited a poem containing a request for a donation for twenty-five

1 Other works that treat of Vastupāla's career are — Arisimha's Sukṛtasankīrtana, (See *JBRAS*, X 35), Merutunga's Prabandhacintāmanī, Rājasekhara's Prabandhakosā, Jinavarṣa's Vastupālacarita, Jinaprabha's Tīrthakalpa or Vastupālāsankīrtana is composed in Sam. 1385. Also App to *GOS*, No II.

2 Ed. by C B Dalal, in *Gaek. Or Series* with an introduction.

3 Somesvara's Ullāgharāghava, Act VIII.

4 Printed as app to Narauārāyanānanda (*op cit*).

5 *PR*, I 38, III 81.

6 He was the author of Alankāramahodādhī and Kakusthakeli (*PR*, III 28) and immediate successor of Devaprabha, author of Īṇḍavāyana caritra.

7 Printed as app to Hammīcamādamardana (*Gaek Or Series*).

8 Jayasimhasuri of Kṛṣṇarsi Gachcha, pupil of Mahendra who wrote the commentary on Kumārapālacarita in 1865 A D is a different person. He was the spiritual grand father of Nayacauāra, the author of Hammīcamahākāvya and who composed his Kumārapālacarita in Samv. 1422.

golden staffs in Sakur ka Vihara of Ambada¹ and as that request was granted, he composed a panegyric Vastupālāpraśastī in praise of the brothers,² and with the same object of commemorating the gift he wrote the drama Hammīramadamardana at the instance of Jayantasimha or Jaitrasimha,³ son of Vastupāla, which was enacted at the festival of Bhīmeśa in Cambay. In five acts, it describes the alliances of Vīradhavalā, the greatness of Vastupāla as a politician and the repulsion of Mohammedan invasion of Gujarat. His poetry is charming and abounds in choice similes⁴. The earliest manuscript of the work is dated Sam 1286. Vastupāla became minister of Vīradhavalā in Sam 1276 and this drama must therefore have been composed between 1220 and 1230 A.D.⁵ Jayasimha's Vastupālāpraśastī gives an account of Calukya genealogy from Mūlarāja I and is of historical value.

114 Naracandrasuri wrote several prasastis in Sam 1288 (1232 A.D.) preserved in the Girnar inscription in praise of Vastupāla. Naracandra was the pupil of Maladhārī Devaprabhasūri of Harahapurī-yagaccha. He commented on Anargharāghava. At Vastupāla's request, he wrote Kathārātanasāgara and his pupil Narendraprabha wrote Alankāramahodadhī. He revised the poems, Devaprabha's Pāndavacanta⁷ and Udayaprabha's Dharmābhayudaya.

1 This was turned into a mosque after the Muhammadan conquest.

2 This is printed as an appendix in Gaek Or Series No X and summarised in the introduction.

3 He was patron of Bīlacandra, author of Vasantavilāsa. He was Governor of Cambay for Samvat 1279 (See Girnar inscriptions) and later Governor of Petlad (Petaladrapura).

4 For instance

हसती वाप्रतस्सौधश्चिसचयलीलाया ।
नृत्यतीव ध्वजमुजै पुरीय त्वयि वीक्षिते ॥
देव त्वयेवसूयेण मूर्ध्नि प्रतपतामितः ।
व्यालीव भूयताञ्जयादूरभूषितमूरिव ॥

5 Printed Gaek Or Series, with a valuable introduction by O D Dalal.

Singhana or Simhana, the Yādava king of Devagiri (1162—1247 A.D.) and Śaṅkha or Saṅgramasimha, king of Lāṭa, are referred to in the drama. This Singhana was the patron of Varḍhamāna who wrote the Gaṇarātnamahodadhī at Devagiri in Śaka 1151 (1229 A.D.). Similar accounts of wars are referred to by contemporary poets in Kīrṭikamuḍī and Vasantavilāsa.

6. *Jes, Cat* 82

7. *PR*, I 98, III. 193. See further para 108 *supra*, note II.

115 Balacandrasuri was the pupil of Haribhadrasuri of Candragaccha. He was an admirer of Vastupāla, the great minister of King Viradhavala of Dholka and after his death, at the instance of Vastupalas for Jaitresimha he wrote Vasantavilāsa a poem of 14 cantos, describing the like history of the Vastupāla's ministry.¹ Vastupāla died in Samvat 1296, and this poem must have been composed sam 1300. In the 18 cantos, he gives a short account of his life. In the first canto, the poet has given the account of his early life. "In the town of Modheraka (in Kadi District in H. H. the Gaekwad's territories), there was a famous Brahmana, named Dharadeva. He gave protection to the distressed from all sides and was acquainted with the doctrines of Jainism. The mendicants, coming to his house always returned with hands full of money given by him. He had a wife named Vidyut. They had a son named Munjala, who, though living in his father's house, looked on the world as an illusion. Having got from Haribhadra Suri religious enlightenment, he took the vow of the Jain mendicant with the permission of his parents. Thinking that he will be gradually full-orbed with all phases of knowledge, Haribhadra Suri made him his pupil with the name of Bālachandra, and at the time of his approaching death, put him in his place. Padmāditya, whose feet were emblazoned by the light of the rubies of the crown of the Chaulukya king, and who was the real hereditary abode of learning was his tutor, while Udaya Suri of the Gaccha of Vadi Devasuri gave him the Sārasvata Charm. The Goddess of Learning once appeared to him in his Yoganidra (contemplation-sleep) and told him that she was pleased with his meditation and devotion to her from infancy, and that he was her legitimate child like Kālidāsa and other mighty poets of yore." The Prabandha Cintāmani says that Vastupāla, pleased with the poem composed in his praise by Bālacandra, spent one thousand *drammas* for getting installed as an Ācārya.

116 Somesvara Deva, or Somaśarman, as the poet at times called himself, was the son of Kumāra and Lakṣmī. His eighth ancestor Sola was enrolled as the State Purohit by King Mularāja the founder of the Calukya dynasty of Anbhilvid. This office of Purohit was held by the descendants of Sola² under the successors of Mularāja, Kumāra was in the Court of Kings Kumārapāla, Ajayapāla and Mularāja, Kumāra had three brothers Sarvadeva, Munja, and Āhada. Kumāra was made a

1. Ed. by O. D. Dalal, Gaek. Or. Series with an introduction.

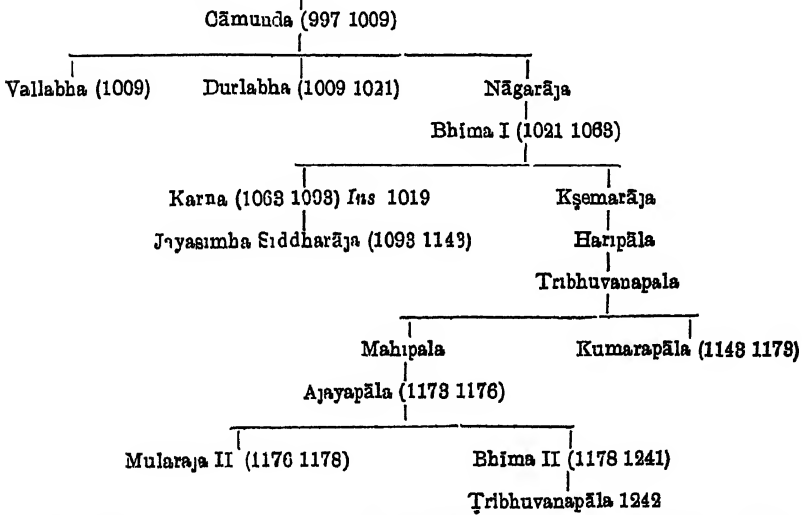
2. Sola, Lalla, Munja, Soma, Anna, Kumāra, Sarvadeva, Āmiga, Kumāra and

generalissimo of the forces by Mularāja II and he vanquished King Vindhya-varman of Dhār

Someśvara was a friend of Vastupāla. An account of Someśvara's sojourn in the courts of King Viradhavala (1219-1239 A.D.) and Viśaladeva (1243-1271 A.D.) is given in Rājasekhara's *Prabandha-kosa*. Someśvara seems therefore to have flourished about 1179 A.D. and 1262 A.D. The poets Harihara,¹ and Subhata² were Someśvara's friends and they praised his poetry.³ In his *Kīrtkaumuṣi*⁴ and *Suratḥoṣa*-

Someśvara were in order the Purohita of the King Mularāja. Mularāja's genealogy is there given in C.V. Vaidya's *History of Mediaeval Hindu India* (III 209)

Mularāja, son of Rājā (961-996 A.D.)



For Mularāja, see I 4, VI 197, XI 219, For Jayasimha, see *JBRAS*, (1848), 319, I 4, X 158, IY 258, For Kumārāpāla, see *BI*, VIII, For Ajayapāla, see I 4, XVIII 80, 344, For Bhīma II, see I 4, XI 71, 320, VI 250, For Tribhuvanapāla, see I 4, VI 209, For an account of their dynasty, see *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I Part II Hemachandra's *Dvyāśraya Kāvya* and Meruṅga's *Vicārasaṁ*

1 Harihara's works are not available. His father Mokṣādītya is mentioned in prasasti of Mahakalkēvara, Forbunder State dated *Sam* 1320. Vyāsa Mokṣādītya, author of *Bhīmaparākarma vyayoga* composed in *Sam* 1335 [*Bend Cat* 273 and in Baroda Library] was pupil of Harihara and son of Bhīma. This Harihara is different from the author of *Bharṭṭharimurveda* who was a Myṭhila.

2 Subhata was the author of the play *Daṭāṅgaḍa* (Printed, Bombay)

3 वाग्देवतावसन्तस्य कवेः श्रीसोमशर्मण ।

धिनोति विबुधान्मूर्ति साहित्याम्भोनिधे सुधा ॥

Suratḥoṣa, I. 46

sava,¹ a campū and poem, he sang the glories of his patrons. In the latter in 15 cantos he narrates the life of Suratha of Caitra race and description of the Himalayas is superb. In Ullāgharāghava² he dramatised the story of Rāma. In Surathostava he eulogised Yuvarāja Prahlādāna author of the play Pārthaparākrama. His Rāmasaṭaka is devoted to Rāma.³ He wrote Kavyādarśa,⁴ and gloss of Kāvya-prakāśa.⁵

117 Arisimha was son of Lavanasimha. He was a protege of Minister Vastupāla. He had the appellation Thakkura. Amarasimha was his friend and coworker in literature. It is said Amarasimha got Siddhasarasvaṭī charm from Arisimha. They jointly composed Kavikalpalatā sutras. Arisimha wrote Kaviṭārahasya. In his SUKRTASANKIRTANA, a poem in 11 cantos, he describes the glorious life of Vastupāla.⁶ In the first canto, he gives the geneology of Chapotkata Kings beginning from Vanarāja who founded the City of Anahilla Pattana, in the same manner as is given in Uḍayaprabha's Sukṛtakalolīnī. In the second canto, the reigns of Calukya Kings from Mūlarāja to Bhīmadeva II are described, leading to the advent of Vastupāla and Tejapāla. The remaining poem narrates the pilgrimages and charitable works of Vastupāla. At the end of every canto, Amarasimha added four verses of his own. The poem mentions the niche of Mallināṭha built in Sam 1278 and as the inscriptions of Mt Abu are dated Sam 1287, the poem must have been written in the interval.

118 Nayacandra⁷ was the spiritual grandson of Jayasimhasūri who lived at the time of Vastupāla. He was a poet in six languages. He wrote a poem on Kumāranṛpaṭi, that is, Kumārapāla. His poem

1. Printed Bombay

2. The manuscript is in Baroda Library.

3. *Kh* 85, *BP*, 263.

4. *Kh* 85

5. *Berl Akad* (1874), 282

6. Jalhana in his Suktīmuktāvalī quotes four verses under Arasi Thakkura, who is probably identical with Arisimha. Two of these are very fine

7. अतिविपुल कुचयुगल रहसि करैरामृशन्मृदुलक्ष्म्या ।
तदपहृत निजहृदयं जयति हरिर्भुगयमाण इव ॥
मयेन तस्या विजित कृशाङ्गथा पञ्चानन काननबद्धवास ।
तस्या स्तनस्तम्भतटीधियैव कुम्भौ गजानां कुपितो भिनत्ति ॥

HAMMIRAMAHAKĀVYA¹ in 14 cantos is the result of a revelation imparted to him in a dream by King Hammīra himself, of the Chohan race of Rapastambhapura. Born in the noble house, Hammīra tried to uphold the independance of his race and was for a time well successful. In the 3rd year of his reign Allauddin demanded the extradition of a Mughal nobleman who had taken refuge with Hammīra, but it was refused. The capital was besieged and in defending the capital the king fell and his women perished on the funeral pile². The poem describes the heroic deeds of Hammīra and the advice of King Jayasimha to his son Hammīra on politics is very informing. Hammīra was the last of the Chohans. He ascended the throne in Sam 1330 (1283 A.D.) and died in July 1301 A.D.³ Nayacandra says he was incited to composition at the behest of King Toramā Virama's courtiers that no new poem could be as good as the old. King Torama Virama lived 70 years before Emperor Akbar.

119 Merutanga's Prabandhacintāmaṇi⁴ is a work of great historical importance. It was finished at a Wadwan on the Vaisakha full moon of Sam. 1362 (1306 A.D.). It is divided into five prakāśas, and each prakāśa into prabandhas. Each prabandha relates a story. It begins with the story of Vikramāditya, the traditional founder of the samvat-era. Then follows a short story of a previous birth of Sātavāhana. Then comes a long history of the Calukya kings of Anilvid and in their connection King Bhoja and Munja are noticed. Then comes a detailed account of the Vaghela king Lavanaprasāda and Virāḍhavalā with their minister Vastupāla and Tejapāla. The last chapter is miscellaneous of which the tales of Lakṣmanasena and Umāpati and Bhartṛhari may be of interest. His Mahāpurusa-carita gives an account of some Jain saints⁵.

1 Printed Bombay. For an abstract, see *IA* VIII 55.

2 For an account of death of Hammīra, see *IA*, VIII 284.

Another work called Hammīramarḍana is referred to by Bühler in his introduction to Bilhana's Vikramānka-devacarita. Tod in his Rajasthan mentions Hammīra-kavya and Hammīra Risa by Śārngadhara, who himself admits that his grandfather Raghunātha was that prince's guru. In his Paḍḍhati he quotes some verses relating to Hammīra not found in this book. So does Appayya Dikṣita in his Kuvalayānanda (e.g. Atisayokti Alankara) not found in this work. These works may be different.

The colophon in a manuscript reads "The present copy was made for the purpose of reading by Nayahansa, a pupil of Jaysunhāsuri, at Firuzpur in Sam 1542" (1496 A.D.).

3 Ed. Bombay. See for an account, *PE*, II 87. Translated into English by Tawney. See *JBRAS* (1887), Extra No.

4 *PE*, III, Ap 266

120 Venkatanatha was the son of Anantaśūrī and Tōṭaramma. He was born at Tūppal near Kancī in Kālī 4371 (1268 A.D.). He is said to be an incarnation of the great bell (Ghaṇṭā) of God Venkatesa at Tirupati. He studied under his maternal uncle Atreya Rāmānuja. His ability in composition and disputation brought him the name of Kavīṭārkkasimha. His exposition of Vedānta, made him known as Vedāntaśeṣika. The versatility of his learning gave him the title Sarvaśāstra-svatantra. Many are the tales related about him and his supernatural powers. He was born poor and he was pleased to be poor and when he was offered riches, he refused them quite poeticaly.² He lived for some time at Tiruvahindrapuram near Cuddalur and at Srirangam. He visited the Court of Srivajña Singa. During the invasions of Malikaufer he escaped to Mysore and on the eve of his flight composed his Abhīṣṭava. He passed away on Kartika-Pūrṇima in November 1369 A.D. Vedāntaśeṣika is the founder of the Śrīvaiṣṇava sect of Vadagalais, by whom he is now worshipped as a Saint and his image is installed in almost every Viṣṇu temple in South India. His life was one of unceasing literary activity. His collected works numbered 121, on various subjects, of which many are on Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy. To him goes the credit of preserving the commentary Śrūṭiprakāśikā.

121 To vie with Meghasandesā, Raghuvamśa, Kumārasambhava, Bhāravi and Māgha, he is said to have composed Hamsasandesā, Yaduvamśa (or Yādavābhyudaya), Mārasambhava, Bhāravi and Phālguna, but only the first two are now available. Yādavābhyudaya is a long poem in 21 cantos on the life of Śrīkṛṣṇa and the history of Yadu race.³

Pādukāsahasra is a thousand verses in praise of Rāma's sandals composed in a single night in a competitive literary duel.⁴

Sankalpasūryodaya is an allegorical drama in the manner of Prabodhacandrodaya.⁴

1. He said:

नास्ति पित्रार्जितं किञ्चित् न मया किञ्चिदार्जितम् ।

अस्ति मे हस्तिशैलाग्रे वस्तु पैतामहं धनम् ॥

2 DC, XXI 7807. Id., partly in Nagari and partly in Grantha (Madras and Srirangam). There is a commentary on it by Appayadikṣita DC, XX 7808.

3 Ed Mysore and Bombay.

4 Ed Madras, Srirangam, Bombay and Bobbili. Translated into English by Nārāyaṇācārya and Raghunāthaswāmī (Srirangam). There is a commentary on it by Nārāyaṇa, son of Haṣṭigiriśaṭha of Śrīvaiṣṇava family (OML, No. 14609) and others.

Acyuṭśaṭaka is a Prakrit poem in praise of Viṣṇu ¹

Among his minor poems are Hayagrīvastotra, Devarājapancāṣaṭ, Gopālaviṃśaṭi, Dehalīstuti, Yaṭhokṭakānistotra, Astabhujāstaka, Paramārthastuti, Bhagavaddhyānasopāna, Daśāvatāraṣṭotra, Abhīṣṭava, Nyāsadasaka, Nyāsaviṃśaṭi, Nyāsaṭilaka, Śrīstuti, Bhūstuti, Nīlāstuti, Godāstuti, Śudarśanaśaṭaka, Śodasāyudhaṣṭuti, Garudapancaka, Yatīrājasaptati, Dhāṭipancaka, Vairagyapancaka ² His Raghuvīragadya and Garudadandaka are prose pieces in praise of Rāma and Garuda ³

Subhāṣiṭānīvi is a didactic poem of wise sayings like Bhārtrihari's Nīṭisaṭika ⁴

122 In Acāryaviṃśayacampū, Kavītārkkīṣimha Vedāntācārya, son of Venkatācārya of Kausika Gotra describes in exquisite prose and verse the advent and life of Venkatanāṭha ⁵ There are other poems and works dealing with the life and work of Venkatanāṭha Nigamāntācāryacarita, ⁶ Vedāntadeśikagadya ⁷ Vedāntadeśikacanti ⁸ and Vedanta-desika Mangalāśāsana ⁹

His son Varada or NAYANACĀRYA was born in kalī 4418 (1316 A D) He was a great scholar and wrote two poems Kokilasandēśa and Śukasandēśa ¹⁰

anonymous (DC, XXI 8546 49), one by a disciple of Śrīnivāsa of Konṭikagoṭra (DC, XX 7977) For a learned comparison between this and Maghasandēśa by A V Gopālācārya see articles headed *Sanḍosadvayasūrasvādinī* in *Uḍḡnapaṭīrikā*, Tiruvadi and K. Krishnamācārya, *Haṃsasandēśa*, a study, *JMyS*, XVIII 246

1 Ed Madras

2 On Vedāntadesika, generally see Guruparamparāprabhāva, [Mysore, 114 *et seqs* where all works are named T. Rajagopalācārya, *Vaiṣṇavate Reformers of India* (Madras) discusses on the date of his death See *Uḍḡnapaṭīrikā*, (Tiruvadi) II 8, 37

3 These Śtōtras are all collected in the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras and have been edited by R. V. Krishnamācārya at Kumbakonam and elsewhere There are commentaries on Śrīstuti, Gopālaviṃśaṭi, Daśāvatāraṣṭotra by A V Gopālācārya and on Yatīrājasapti and Dayaśaṭaka by Rāmānuja, *TC*, I 814, 864

4 Printed Kāvya-mālā, Part VIII Bombay There is an unfinished commentary by Śrīnivāsa Ṭāṭācārya of Conjeevaram who lived in 1860-1904

5 Printed, Madras (in Telugu) This work shows exquisite composition in prose and poetry *DC*, XXI, 8290.

6 *DC*, XXI. 8139

7 *DC*, XXI 8409, *TC*, I. 922.

8 *TC*, III 8059

9 *TC*, I. 899. This is by his son Varadārya

10 For his other works, see Guruparamparāprabhāva (Mysore) 199.

CHAPTER IV

Mahakavya (contd)

124 With the advent of the Empire of Vijayanagar came a revival of Sanskrit literature in South India. About the year 1330 A.D., the brothers Bukka and Harihara founded the City of Vijayanagar,¹ Madhava Viḍyāranya was their minister. At the instance of Bukka, a commission of learned men was constituted under Mādhava and Śāyana to collect comment and preserve all works bearing on the Vedic religion. Harihara died in 1343 and Bukka continued the work of consolidation and within a decade his sovereigns extended to the eastern and western oceans and he became the acknowledged Emperor of Karnāṭa. Bukka I ruled till 1374 A.D. and was succeeded by Harihara II (1379-1404 A.D.). Harihara extended his sovereignty to Mysore and to the banks of the Kaveri to Trichinopoly. After Harihara II came his two sons Bukka II (1404-1406 A.D.) and Devarāya I² (1406-1419 A.D.) one after another. Then came his son Vijaya (1419-1421 A.D.) and Vijaya's son Devarāya II (1422-1448 A.D.). Devarāya had two sons Mallikārjuna and Virūpākṣa and their sons were Virupakṣa and Praudhadevarāya. These ruled from 1448 to 1486 A.D. Here ended SANGAMA dynasty.

It was in the year 1486 A.D. that Saluva Narasimha, a feudatory ruler of Candragiri, deposed the last lingering ruler of Vijayanagar and proclaimed himself the Emperor. He died in 1392 A.D. His son and successor Immadi Narasimha was killed by his general Narasa Nayaka in 1505 A.D. This ended the short-lived SALUVA dynasty.

Narāsa Nayaka assumed sovereignty and lived for a year. He had three wives and sons by them Vīranarasimha, Kṛṣṇadevarāya and Acyuṭa. These ruled in order 1506-9, 1509-1529, and 1539-1542 A.D. Acyuta had a brother Ranga. Ranga's son Sadāśiva succeeded him and was the last of the TULUVA Dynasty.

1. Gangādevi writes तस्यासीद्विजया नाम विजयजितसपद ॥

Here the name of City is given as Vijayā. It is also called by poets Viḍyānagara.

2. His brother Virupākṣa was the author of the play Nārāyaṇavilāsa (SVH, 53).

Aliya Rāma Rāya, who married Tirumālūmbā, daughter of Kṛṣṇadevarāya, was practically the ruler of the State during the days of Emperor Sadāśiva. During his time there was the war with the Muhamadan Sultans headed by the Sultan of Bijapur and at the battle of Talikota in 1565 A.D., Aliya Rama Raya was killed, Vijayanagar was pillaged and Sadāśiva fled away with Rāmarāya's brother Tirumala to Penugonda. Some time later Tirumala proclaimed himself the Emperor and started the ARAVINDA dynasty.

Tirumala ruled from 1570-1593 A.D. He was succeeded by his sons Srīranga I (1573-1585 A.D.) and then by Venkata I, whose name is remembered in religious and literary history. His successors lost that position and continued to be Rajas of Chandragiri, from one of whom the East India Company received the grant of Madras in 1639 A.D.

These emperors were themselves poets or patrons of poets. Saluva Narasimha and Kṛṣṇadevaraya have composed poems and plays of merit and they will be noticed in the coming pages. In the courts of these emperors, flourished many men of lore and it is their works that adorn the field of Sanskrit literature for a period of four centuries.

For convenience of reference the dates of these emperors are given below ¹

EMPIRE OF VIJAYANAGAR

I. SANGAMA DYNASTY

	A. D.
1. Harihara and his brothers	1336
2. Bukka I	1343-79
3. Harihara II	1379-1404
4. Bukka II	1404-6
5. Deva Raya I	1406-19
6. Vira Vijaya	1419-21
7. Deva Raya II	1422-48
8-10. Mallikarjuna Virupaksha Praudhadeva Raya	1448-86

II. SALUVA DYNASTY

11. Narsinga Saluva	1486-92
12. Immadi Narsinga	1492-1505

1 See History of India, Part 2 by Garrett and Sivaram, Chapter IX

III TULUVA DYNASTY

13	Narsa Nayaka	1505-6
14	Vira Narsinga	1506-9
15	Krishnadeva Raya	1509-29
16	Achyuta Raya	1529-42
17	Sadasiva	1542-70

IV ARAVIDU DYNASTY

18	Tirumala	1570-73
19	Ranga	1573-85
20	Venkata	1585

125 Vidyaranya was the name assumed by Mādhava, when he became the head of Śringeri Mutt. He was almost the founder of the kingdom of Vidyānagar (Vijayanagar). Kings Bukka and Harihara were his favourite disciples whom he was helping with his counsel in the administration. So he was called Karnātaka-simbhāsana-sthāpanā-cārya. He was the son of Sāyana and Śrīmatī of Bhāradvāja-goṭra. His works on law and philosophy are too well-known for enumeration. His commentaries on the Vedas are a unique production.¹ His Devyaparāhasoṭra, a lyric in praise of Pārvaṭī, testifies to his poetic genius.² His Sankaraviṇaya relates the history of Sankara.³ He lived 85 years and died about 1387 A.D.⁴

His brother, Sāyana, was minister of Kings Bukka I and Harihara II of Vijayanagar. He had three sons, Kampana, a musician, Māyana, a poet and Singana, a Vedic scholar. He died in 1378 A.D. He commented on the Vedas. His Subhāritasudhāndhī is an anthology and Alankārasudhāndhī in 10 Unmesas is a work on poetics.⁵

His other brother Bhoganāṭha was a companion of King Sangama II. He was an excellent poet and among his works are Ramollāsa, Tripuraviṇaya, Śrīngaramanjari, Udāharanamālā, Mahāganapatiṣṭotra and Gaurināṭhaṣṭotra.⁶

1 For an account of Vidyārāya by S. Venkatachari, see *Andhrapatrika*, Annual Number (1921-22) 158-9. See Taylor's *Oriental Historical Manuscripts* (Madras), 92 1A, XLV 1 and *Sources of Vijayanagar History* 47-51.

2 *SVH*, 50.

3 Printed Madras.

4 *CC* 771.

5 *SR*, II, 75-80.

6 *1A*, XLV, 24. See for instance

शिशिरेषु शिलातलेषु राम तरुमूलेषु तलोदरीं दरीषु ।

सरसीषु च विश्रमस्य मुग्धां पथि पाषाणिनि तां शनैरनैर्वात् ॥

126 Agastya was a poet of the court of King Praṭāparudra Deva of Warangal (1294-1325 A D) and was probably patronised by King Sangama and Bukka I of Vijayanagar. His *BALABHAKATA*, a poem in 20 cantos¹ relates the whole story of the Mahābhārata, beginning with the origin of the Kuru line of kings from the Moon. His poetry is highly musical and the felicity of expression is remarkable. His name was admired by Rajacūdāmani Dikṣiṭa.²

As the master of literary art Gangādevi mentions him as the author of 74 Kavyas,³ and as a poet of great erudition. His learning brought him the name Vidyānātha and under that name he wrote his Praṭāparudrayaśobhasaṇa.⁴

There is a commentary on this poem called Manoharā by Sāluva Timma Dandanātha, the famous minister of Kr̥ṣṇadeva Rāya,⁵ king of Vijayanagar (1509-1530 A D).⁶

His *Kṛpācarita* is a prose work on the life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa.⁷ His *Nalakīrtikaumudī* is a poem on Nala's story available only in 2 cantos.⁸

1 *TC*, II 2228, *DC*, XX 7784 *Tanj Cat*, VI 2589. It is not a *Campani* as said by Burnell (*Tanj Cat*) or by S. Kishnasami Iyengar (*SVH*, 149).

2 जडाश्याना हृदय जगत्या यस्योदयाधातितमा प्रसादम् ।

स एष सारखतभर्मवेदी विभाति मौलौ विदुषामगस्त्य ॥

Rukmīṣakalyāṇa, I, 18

3 चतुस्सप्ततिकाव्योक्तिव्यक्तवैदुष्यसपदे ।

अगस्त्याय जगत्स्मिन् स्पृहयेत्को न कोविद ॥

Madhu āvṛjaya, I 14

4 This identity is seen from the following verse

औक्षत्य यदि वर्ण्यते शिखरिण क्लृप्स्यन्ति नीचै कृता

गाम्भीर्यं यदि कीर्यते जलधय क्लृप्स्यन्ति गार्वाकृता ।

तत्त्वां वर्णयितु बिभेमि यदि वा जातोऽस्म्यगस्त्यस्थितः

तत्पार्श्वे गुणरत्नरोहणगिरे श्रीवीररुद्रप्रभो ॥ II 57

For this work, see chapter on *Alankāra* poet Pratāparudraṇḍavā wrote *Yayātiśaṅka*, a play in seven Acts on the secret loves of Yayāti and Śarmistha and their ultimate union with the consent of Queen Devayāni. See chapter on Drama poet.

5 *DC*, XX 7784 5, *Tanj Cat* VI 2606

6 *SVH*, 149. His sister's son Nāṇḍila Gopa Mantrin was the author of the commentary on *Prabodhaśāndrodaya* (see *Ibid*, 144). See S. V. Narasimha Rao *Krishnaśāndrodaya and his times* (*Ind Rev* VII 888) and *Andhra Palnaka*, Annua, numbers (1917), 205, (1914), 181, 195

7 *BTC*, No 10208

8 The manuscript is with Pandya Subramania Eastri.

Among his other works are Lakṣmīśoṭra, Sivasūtra,¹ Lalitāsahasranāma, Maniparīkṣā, Sivasamhitā and Sakalādhikāra

127 Gangadevi was consort of Kampana or Kamparāya the second son of Bukka I² (1343-1379 A D) who predeceased his father by two years. In Madhurāvijaya or Virakamparāyacarita,³ a poem, now extant only as a fragment, she narrates in melodious verses the exploits of her husband and narrates the history of his expedition to the south. The city of Vijayanagar with its temple and suburbs are described with all magnificence. Then comes the moving army and its relays on its way to Kāncī, where it is quartered for the winter. Inspired by the exhortation of a Goddess in his dream to exterminate the Musalmans and to restore the country to its ancient glory, he advances to the South, kills the Sultan of Madura and commemorates his victory by munificent grants to the temples of the country.⁴

128. Vamanabhatta Bana was the son of Komatiyajvan and grandson of Varadāgnicī of Vaṭsa Goṭra. He was the pupil of Vidyāranya. In his early days he was at Vijayanagar and saw the glory of Harihara's reign. There he wrote Śingārabhūṣana Bhāṣa enacted at the festival of Virūpākṣa. In narrating the amours of Vilāsaṅkha, he describes the advanced state of civic life there in melodious verses and fanciful imagery.⁵ When about thirty years old, he migrated to the court of Peda Komati Vemabhūpāla, ruler of Kondavidu (1403-1420 A D).⁶

Among his poems are Nalābhyaudaya,⁷ in 8 cantos, Raghunāthacarita, in 30 cantos,⁸ dealing with the lives of Nala and Rāma, and Hamsasandesa an imitation of Meghasandesa.

Pārvaṭīpariṇaya,⁹ a drama in 5 acts, describing the marriage of Pārvaṭī and Śiva is now *believed* by many to be his composition. In

1 *CC*, I 1, *DC*, XIX 7416

2 *EC*, Mysore, Dt No 46 and see also *EI* XII 162. But Sewell (*Forgotten Empire*, 29) gives to Bukka reign, 1343-1379 A D. See also *TC* III, 2985

3 Ed By Hariharasastri, Trivandrum, with a historical introduction by T. A. Gopinatha Row. *TC*, III 2985

4 For an account of this poem see *Sources of Vijayanagar History*.

5 Ed Kāvya-mālā, Bombay and Madras *CC*, III 187

6 The name of Vāmana is mentioned in a copper plate grant dated Śaka 1338 (1441 A D). On Vāmanabhatta, see Prabhakara Sastri's *Śingāra Śrīmāthā*, 78, R V Krishnamacharya, *Introduction to Pārvaṭīpariṇaya* (Srirangam)

7 Ed by T. Ganapati Sastri, *T. S. Series*. The manuscript breaks off with the 3rd verse of canto 9

8 *Tanj. Cat* VI, 2634, *CAL*, II. 27

9 Ed Arsha press, Vizagapatam by K. T. Telang, Bombay; by Ratnam Iyer, Kumbakonam, by R. V. Krishnamacharya, Srirangam. For critical studies, see

his Kanakalekhā,³ in 4 acts, he describes the marriage of Kanakalekhā, the daughter of Viravarman with Vyāsavarman, both of whom were Vidyādharas, born in human world, on the curse of a sage

Of his Brhakatāmanjarī,⁴ only the portion of it, dealing with the story of Kādambarī, is now available.⁵

He also composed two lexicons Śaladacandrikā,⁶ and Śabdaraṭnākara.⁷

His learning was versatile and his poetry was admired. These brought him the titles śadbhāṣāvallabha and Kaviśārvalabhauma. His ambition was to emulate Bāṇa of Kādambarī fame in the field of romance and as he says, his resolve was to remove the deep-rooted ill fame that after Bāṇa there was no poet capable of a fine writing in prose. Bāṇa was of the Vatsa gotra and in that same gotra, Vāmana was born. He thought he had a quasi hereditary claim to gain a name in the same field. He thought he was Bāṇa incarnate and called himself Abhinava Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa. Bāṇa glorified his patron Harsha in his Harṣacarita, and this suggested to Vāmana the theme, that is the life of his patron, Vemabhūpāla, known also as Viranarayana. Thus came Viranārādaṇḍacarita or Vemabhūpālacarita. Of this the reader will hear more in a later chapter.

129 Lolambaraja To Harihara's court belonged Lolambarāja, son of Divākara, a descendant of Sūryapandita. In Harivilāsa,⁸ in 5 cantos, and in Sundara Dāmodara⁷ he describes the history of Kṛṣṇa, ending with the death of Kamsa. He was a great physician and his works on medicine,⁹ written in excellent poetry, are much admired.

K. T. Telang, *IA*, III 219. See R. V. Krishnamacharya's *The Authorship of Parvata Parivṛtaya* (Kumbakonam), where views to the contrary are answered. In the English introduction a play Uṣaharaṇa is also given as Vāmana's. But it is not known where the manuscript is available. See also Schuyler, *Bibl* 26.

1. See Kuppaswami Sastri's *Rep* (1919), 41-2.

2. The manuscript is in the Adyar Library, Madras. *CAL*, II 4. At the end it is said that it was this story that was expanded by Bāṇa in his romance of Kādambarī. इत्येव कथावागेन बहुलिकृता कादम्बरीकथात्वेन. In the colophon it is stated that the work was written by Bāṇa. It is therefore inferred that this poetic version (Brhakatāmanjarī) must have been written by a Bāṇa, not the author of Kādambarī, and likely our Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa. This story does not find a parallel in Kṣemendra's Brhakatāmanjarī.

3. *CMY*, 609.

4. *TC*, III 3380, *CMY*, 609.

5. *CAL*, II, 16.

6. Printed *Kavyamala*, Bombay, *Tanj Cat* VI 2814, *CC*, I 760.

7. *CAL*, II 16.

8. *CC*, I 546.

130 Virupakṣa known as Udayagiri Virupanna Udayar I was the grandson of Bukka and son of Hariharā II¹ of the Sangama dynasty of Vidyanagar². His mother was Mutladevi and mother's father Soma-bhūpa. He appears to have been Viceroy at Marakatapura about 1384 A.D. In his *Nārāyaṇavilāsa*,³ a play in 5 acts, he calls himself the Governor of Karnata, Cola and Pandya mandalas and claimed to have planted a pillar of Victory in Sindhala. In his play *Unmaṭṭa Raghava*,⁴ in one act, he describes the lamentations of Rāma on the loss of Sita.

Mādhava⁵ was poet of the Court of King Virūpākṣa of Viṣṇanagar⁶ and was patronised by his minister, also called Virūpākṣa. His *Narakāsuravijaya*, the poem of which 9 cantos are now extant, describes the story of conquest of Narakāśura by Kṛṣṇa⁷. The language is terse and his appreciation of poets is a specimen of his melodious poetry⁸.

1. Harihara ruled between 1309-1401 A.D. Taylor, (*Or. Hist. Mss.*, II, 98) places Harihara in 1385-1429 A.D. and Sewall (*Forg. Emp.* 404) says that Virupakṣa was son of Harihara and gives their dates 1470 and 1379 respectively. In Mys. Arch. Rep. (1927) Mss. No. 199, 155 Virupanna is called son of Bukka.

2. *ELI*, III, 226, where he is called Virūpākṣa I. For a list of his inscriptions, see *ELI*, VI, 923 f. n. His Ariyar grant (*IA*, XXVIII, 12) is dated Śaka 1812 (1890 A.D.). The other Virupākṣa, the last of the Sangama dynasty lived about 1480. See his inscription dated Śaka 1892 (1471 A.D.) *IA*, XXI, 821. On the ancestry of Virupākṣa see *IA*, XXXIV, 19.

3. *SR*, I, 6, 90, *CC*, III, 63, *SVH*, 53. Schuyler (*Bibl.*) gives date 1350 A.D.

4. *CAL*, II, 27. In the Tanjore Palace Library, the following books are found under the name of Virupākṣa, but his identity is not clear, *Śāradāśārvārī* (a commentary on *Candrarloka*), *Colacampu*, *Virupākṣacampu*. See *Tanj. Cat.* VII, 8231.

5. For his inscription dated 1470 A.D., see *IA*, XXI, 822, *SVH*, 6, 67.

6. Mādhava and Mādhavapuri, poets quoted in *Padyāvalī*, Mādhava of Taliketanagara, author of *Uḍbhavaduṭa* (printed in Haberlin, 943), Mādhava author of *Subhadrāharṇa Śṛigadīṭa* (printed, Bombay) and *Pragayamādhavacampu* (*PR*, III, 895), Mādhava, son of Lakṣmana, author of *Dānālīlākāvya* (printed, Bombay) and *Mādhavasena*, poets quoted in *Skm* are different persons.

7. *Tanj. Cat.* VI, 2772. Virupākṣa, the minister wrote *Oṣṭurmāsyakalpavallī* in which he says he was the minister of king Virupākṣa.

8. जगदानन्दजननी जयलव्याजकोमला । कविता कालिदासस्य कलेवाचकलानिधे ॥
 कथं कविचकोराणामर्पितामिव पारणाम् । स्तुम क्षेमेन्द्रचन्द्रस्य कविताकौमुदीमिमा ॥
 वकिमाणमनुज्झन्ती बाणस्य मणितिक्रमा । कस्य न प्रीतये हृद्या कान्तानां च दृगञ्चला ॥
 श्रीहर्षस्य कवेर्वाच शीतलामृतसोदरा । मञ्जयन्तिरसोदन्वलयपारेरसिक जनम् ॥
 मधुव्रतद्वयश्चान्ये मधुनिश्चन्दनिर्मराम् । भारवेस्सुरभिं सूक्तिं माकन्दस्येव मुन्दरा ॥

131 Saluva Narasimha was a king of Vijayanagar of the second dynasty who ruled in 1456-1486 A.D. His father was Gunda, grandfather Gaulta (Gautamara) and great-grandfather Sāluva Maṅgi. His mother was Mallāmbikā. He married Śrīraṅgāmbā. He died in 1493 A.D. Gaulta was the chief of Kalyāṇa and his descent has been traced to the Moon. Maṅgi was a friend of prince Kampāna, son of Emperor Bukka, and accompanied him in his expeditions to the south. He made extensive gifts to the shrine of Śrīraṅgam. He was for a long time commander of the forces under king Mallikārjuna and his successors of the first (Sangama) dynasty and appears to have proclaimed himself king late in his life. His mother Mallāmbikā had no issue for a long time. Gunda and Mallāmbikā retired to Ahobīlam for performing penance near God Narasimha of that place. "Pleased with their devotion the God appeared before the king in a dream, and expressing his satisfaction at their devotion, promised them a son possessed of all virtues and ordained to rule the whole world. The king awoke from his dream and communicated it to his wife. After a short time a son was born to them whom they called Narasimha after the God. The military genius and excellent qualities of Narasimha are then described at length. He is said to have ruled over the territory comprising the Kalyāṇa, Kanchi, Katāk, Kuntala, Chola and Pandraka. The poets and scholars of his court one day, after extolling his great qualities, requested him to display his scholarship by the composition of a poem (Kāvya) on the life of Rama." Thus he came to compose his poem *RĀMABHĪYUDAYA* in 24 cantos.¹ In the colophon to the 5th canto, however, it is said that the author was Sopādīrṇātha, son of Abhirāmā and Rājānātha and the work is called *Mahānātaka-agrajaṭakāvya*.

132 Krishna Deva Raja was the son of Narasa and Nāgāmbā and brother of Viranarasimha, of the Tuluva dynasty of Vijayanagar. He ascended the throne, in succession to his brother, in A.D. 1509 and after a glorious reign of 21 years passed away in 1529 A.D., leaving his name behind him in Indian History as 'the king'.² He was a fine sportsman, graceful artist and versatile scholar. All South India was

1 *Trav. Cat.* III 12. For notes and extracts, see *SVH*, 7, 10, 82, 83, 85. See also Halicz *SII*, 131-2. Sewall's *Torg. Empire*, 108; Taylor's *Hist. Manuscripts*, II 93. There are *Rāṅgbhīyudayaṭilaka Kāvya* (*Op* 1556), anonymous, *Rāmābhīyudaya Kāvya* in 30 cantos by Venkatesa (*BTC*, 161 with commentary) and *Rāmābhīyudayanātaka* by Yaśovarmaṇ, quoted in *Dhvanyāloka* and by Vyāsa Śrī Rāmaḍeva, (*CC*, I 528).

2 Taylor (*op. cit.*) gives the date 1509-1529. See also *EI*, I, 362; *IA*, I, 78.

under his sway and under him were his feudatory chiefs, dispersed throughout his territories. Of his military exploits in wars against Adilshah, we have glorious accounts in contemporary chronicles.¹

His father had two other wives Tippāmbā, and Obamamba. Viranarasimha was son of Tippāmbā and Acyūta son of Obamāmbā. His father's father Isvara was a companion of Saluva Narasimha in his expeditions.² He had a son Irumala and a daughter Irumalāmba who married Aliya Rāma Rāya.³ He was an ideal king, a great poet and a generous patron of letters. The Telugu poet Nandī Timmayya called him Śrī Kṛṣṇa incarnate.⁴

He had three queens of whom Tukkā was the daughter of Pratāparudra Gajapati of Orissa, but the marriage seems to have not been happy.⁵ A virtuous lady that she was she resigned herself to her fate and sang a few verses on her forlorn, perhaps, undeserved condition.⁶ Of the works of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya, Uṣāparinaya is a drama on the marriage of Uṣā,⁷ and Jāmbavatī Kalyāna is a drama in five acts, enacted at the Chaitra festival of Virūpākṣa, the tutelary deity of his Empire.⁸ It describes the story of the recovery of Syamaṅṭaka jewel by Kṛṣṇa, his victory over Jambavanta and his marriage with his daughter Jāmbavatī.⁹ Other works are mentioned in his Telugu poem Āmukṣamālyadā, are Madālasācārītra, Satyāvadhū-sāntvana, Sakalakāṭhāsārasangraha, Rasamanjarī and Jnānacintāmani.¹⁰ Rasamanjarī, a work on poetics, contains illustrations in praise of Kṛṣṇadevarāya,

1 For an account of his reign, see Sewall's *Forgotten Empire* (London, 1900) 120-164 and the appendices containing the Chronicle of Paes and Nuniz Commentaries of Afonso D'Albuquerque (Ed. Hakluyt) Bellary Dt. Manual and Madras Christian College Magazine (1886 Dec.) and articles in Andhra Patrika annual numbers V 181, 195, X 187, 285.

For his inscriptions, see *ET*, 1866, 898 IV 3, 266 *IA*, XXIV 205, *JBRAS*, XII 886, Hultzsch, *SIL*, 132.

2 *SVH*, 8 and extracts 38 to 40 from Telugu poems.

3 He was practically ruler between 1542-1565 A.D. and he fell in the battle of Talikota. His brother Tirumala became King and removed his capital to Penukonda and his son Venkatapati to Chandragiri.

4 See his *Amukṣamālyadā*, *SVH*, 183.

5 See the Introduction to Nāṇḍula Gopa's commentary on Prabodhacandrodaya, *SVH*, 144.

6 *SVH*, 143. But these verses do not seem to be her composition. One verse is found in Mukula's *Abhidhāvṛṭṭimatṛka*.

7 The manuscript is said to be in the library of Vanaparti, Hyderabad State. There are other plays of the same name by Śrinivāsācārya (*Rice*, 256), by Rudradeva, (*Tam. Cat.*, VIII 3649), analysed in Mitra *Notes*, (III 192) and Uṣānaraṇa by Harṣanātha, (*CC*, I 71) and Poems, Uṣāparinayacampu by Rṣṇa Kavī (*DC*, XXI 8185, *Opp*, II 3604) and Uṣāharana by Trivikrama (*BTG*, 157) and Uṣāniruddha in prakṛt (*TC*, III 4045).

8 *SVH*, 142, *CC*, I 206.

9 For the same theme, see Tāṇḍini's *Jāmbavatīharana* *supra*.

10 *SVH*, 134.

it is therefore conjectured that it was not his own work but of a poet of his Court

133 Tirumalamba's literary achievements were the subject of universal admiration. She began under King Kṛṣṇa Devarāya and continued to the days of Acyutarāya of the Iluva dynasty of Vijayanagar.

The only extant work of hers, *Varadāmbikāparinaya*,¹ is a pleasant prose-poetic composition. It begins with a short geneological history and describes the exploits of Narsa, his marriage of Obamāmba, and the birth of the son Acyuta.² Then follows the marriage of Acyuta and Varadāmbā, a princess of Salaga and ends with the installation of their boy Chama Venkatādri, as the Yuvaraja.³

134 Dindimas Connected with the Court of Vijayanagar are the poets of the Dindima family. Their history is recorded in a work called *Vibhāgarāṇṇamāla* or *Vivekapaṇṇamālā*,⁴ composed about 200 years ago. The author's name is unknown. The following account is given there. Originally resident at Mandāra, a village on the Ganges, eight Brahmins of Śaiva sect of different Gotras were taken by a Cola king from Benares to his country, and were settled at the village of Mettapadi (Talpagiri), in North Arcot District, Madras. In that village was installed the deity Rājanāṭha after whom the image was named Rājanāṭhapuram. They became divided into 21 families and gradually expanded into seventy at the date of that work. Then the story follows how Arupagiriṇāṭha in whose time it appears this work was written was refused the grant of a garden ground by Praudhadevarāya or Devaraja II (1422-1448 A.D.), how in displeasure he went to Delhi and having pleased the King there Suratrāpa by his erudition, he brought a letter to Praudhadevarāya and as a result of it the garden ground was donated to him as an Agrahāram.⁵ From the family of Arupagiriṇāṭha came poets of the Court of Viṣṇyanagar under successive kings and composed their edicts recorded in inscriptions.

1 *Tam. Cat.* VII 3244. For a full account, see paper by Lakshman Sarup in Proceedings of Fourth Oriental Conference II 181.

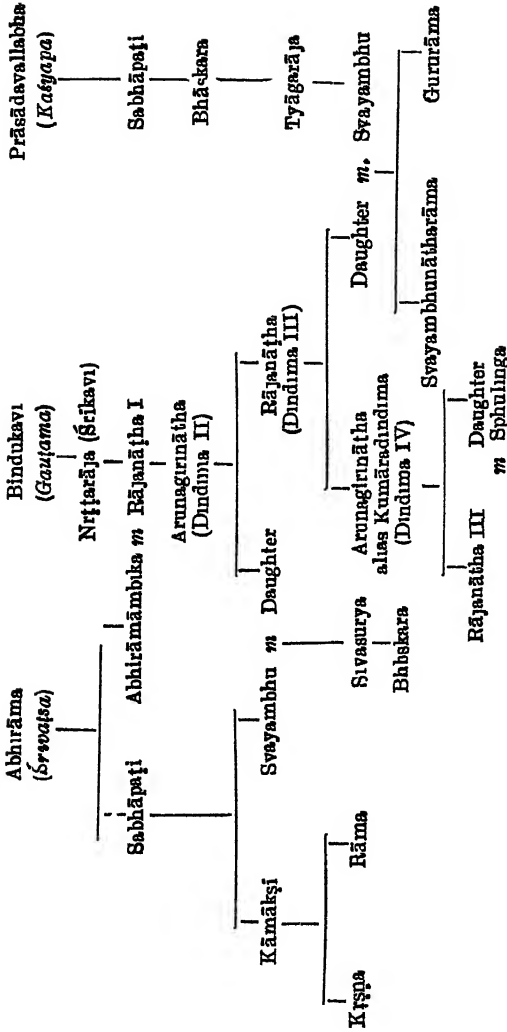
2 Acyuta ascended the throne in 1530 A.D.

3 *SVH*, 170.

4 *TC*, II 2462. Edited with translation and notes by T. Gopinatharow, *Id.*, XLVII 83, 83, 94 125. For a short account, see Veturi Prabhākara Śāstri's *Śṛṅgāra Naiṣadha*, Chapter V.

5 Prāsāḍavallabha of Kāśyapagoṭra, Bhāskara of Gauṭama goṭra, Rājanāṭha of Sāvarṇya goṭra, Subrahmanya of Śāṇḍilya goṭra, Jātāḍharaśa of Śrivaṣṭagoṭra; Nilakantha of Bhāradvāja goṭra, Somanāṭha of Goṭama (Samaga) goṭra and Mallikarjuna of Sankṛti goṭra. From the first family came Tṛyagarāja.

On a collation of the dates of inscriptions and of the prologue to the play of Sphulunga, this geneology is evolved



From the prologue to Somavallyogānanda, it appears that Arunagirinātha was the daughter's son of Dindimprabhu and sister's son of Sabhāpaṭi and son's son of Śīkavi prabhu and from Sālvābhūdaya that this Śīkaviprabhu was Nattarāja. This shows Abhirāmāmbikā mother of Aruṇigiri, was wrongly given in Vibhagaṭamāla as the daughter of Guruswāmī and Somanātha is also wrongly stated to be Arunagirinātha's mother's brother, because a statement by the poet himself is entitled to better credence than a work written three centuries later from memory and tradition.

135 Arunagirinatha I was the son of Rājānāṭha I and Abhirāmāmbikā of Gautama gotra of Sāmasākhā. His mother's father Abhirāma was a scholar in Śrīkanthāgama and was known as Dindimuprabhu (Dindima I). Sabbhāpaṭi was his mother's brother, and Nṛttarāja, his father's father, known also Śrīkavi was the head of Purendra-agrahāram, a poet in eight languages and a victor of the poet Nāgana.¹ He married Yagnāmbikā.² His fame was always proclaimed by the title of *dindima* and he was therefore called Dindimakavisārvabhauma (Dindima II). He graced the court of Parudhadevarāja or Devarāja II of Vijayanagar (1422-1448 A.D.)³ He vanquished Kaviṃḍa in disputation. His *Somnavalliyogānanda* is a prahasana replete with humour, ridiculing the amorous overtures of an ascetic to a fallen married woman.⁴

136 Rajanatha II was Arunagirināṭha's son. He was also known as Dindimakavisārvabhauma (Dindima II). His fame was even greater than that of his father and extended to the kingdoms of Sera, Cola and Pāndya when he received honours of precedence. He married Durgā. His proficiency in histrionics, languages and philosophy brought him new titles. He was a favourite of Śīlva Narasimha, generalissimo of Kings of Viḍyanagar, whose activities as such begin in 1436 A.D. as the first of the Śīlva dynasty.⁵

In grateful regard for his patron, he wrote *SAUVAMIVUDAYA*,⁶ a poem in 13 cantos, describing the achievements of his ancestors and himself. Salva invaded Kalinga and Daśārpa and conquered the Bhamini Sultan Mohammad. He then proceeded northward conquering the Gajapaṭi kings and having visited Benares, he came back to Candragiri which he made his residence for the worship of Viṣṇu at

1 This information is taken from the prologue to *Somnavalliyogānanda*, where Nṛttarāja is also described as मञ्जलरायकटकविकुलगर्वपर्वतपवे ।

2 प्रचण्डतरकाहलवण्टाडिण्डिमादिरचितबिषदबोधण ॥

3 See *PSOC*, I No 128, 227, *SII*, I: 79, 83, 162, 107; Sewall's *Forgotten Empire*, 404; Virabhadrarow's *Andhrulacaritam*, III 388; *Andhrapatrika Annual* Number VIII 153. In *Mys Arch Repts*, (1927), 20, dates for Praudha Praṭīpa Devarāja are given as 1419-1446 A.D. and Mallinatha is said to have lived in his court.

4 *TC*, II 2276.

5 See *BI*, VII 74 (edited by J. Ramayya Pantulu), Virabhadrarow's *Andhrulacaritam*, III, 410.

6 Printed, Madras. For a short account, see *SVII*, xii, 80, 90. For extracts, see *DC*, XX, 7897.

Tirupati There he ruled in all glory and greatness and there is a benediction that he may rule the world for all time

The poem makes no mention of Narasiṃha's rule at Vijayanagar. For many years he was only commander of the forces of Vijayanagar under Mallikāṛjuna and his successors and it was probably because the last of the Sangama dynasty died issueless or became powerless that he assumed the reigns of Government and proclaimed himself king. It appears therefore that this poem was composed about 1480 A.D., while yet Narasiṃha was only a viceroy with his seat of Government at Candragiri.

137. Sivasūrya Abhirāma's son Sabhāpati had a son Svayambhū and a daughter Kāmakotī or Abhirāmakāmākī.² Svayambhū married the daughter of Dindīma II and his descendant was Sivasūrya, of Śrīvatsagoṭṭra. He wrote Pāṇḍavābhuyudaya,³ a poem in 8 cantos, on the story of Mahābhārata. His son BHASKARA was preceptor of King Halaghatta and wrote Vallīparipāya,⁴ a play in five acts, staged at Jambunātha's festival at Tiruvānakkaḷai near Srirangam. Abhirāmakāmākī had two sons Kṛṣṇa and Rāma. In her Abhinava-Rāmābhuyudaya, a poem in 24 cantos, she relates in exquisite verse the story of Rāma.⁴

138 Arunagirinatha II, Kumara Dindīma or Dindīma IV, was son of Rajanatha II. He lived at Parendra-agraharam and was patronised by Vīranarasimha of Vidyānagar (1505-1509 A.D.) and Kṛṣṇadevarāya (1509-1530 A.D.).⁵ He was versed in many languages and bore the title Dindīmakavisārvabhauma and Kavirājarāja. His Virabhadra Vijaya,⁶ a drama, describes the creation of Virabhadra and the destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice and was enacted at the festival of Rājanātha at Bhūpaṭirāyapuram.

139 Rajanatha III was Kumāradindīma's son. His Bhāgavata-campu⁷ was composed at the instance of king Acyutarāya of Vijayanagar.

1 These particulars are furnished by Vibhāgarajñamālā *supra*

2 TC IV 5818

3 DC XXI 8589 Bhāskara, author of Unmaṭṭa Raghava, was a contemporary of Vidyāranya

4 TC, IV 5202

5 TC, III 2832

6 Kṛṣṇadevarāya's conquests were recited by Kumāradindīma in the presence of the king and Dhurjati embodied the recital in his Telugu poem Kṛṣṇarāyaviṣayam.

7 DC, XXI 8256 For extracts, see SVH, 176.

(1530-1542 A.D.)¹ and describes the life of Kṛṣṇa. His *ACYUTA-RAYABHYUDAYA*² is a poem in twelve cantos. It begins with a short sketch of the reign of the earlier kings of the Tuluva (third) dynasty of Vijayanagar tracing their descent from the Moon and rapidly traces the lives of Narsa and his sons Virānarasimha and Kṛṣṇadevarāya. On the death of the latter in 1530 A.D. Acyutarāya, his step-brother and son of Narasa, by his third wife Obalāmba became king. The main theme of the poem is a description of Acyutarāya's South Indian expedition, the object of which was the restoration of the Pāndya ruler to his dominions whence he was driven away to the King of Cera. The king visited several places of pilgrimage, Irupatī, Kalahastī, Kanchī and Madura and made a tour through Travancore and the West Coast. The poem closes with the siege of Bijapur and the victory over the Sultan and the king's triumphal entry into his capital.

140 Kumāradindima's daughter was married to Mallikārjuna or SPHULINGA KAVI. He was the son of Lakṣmaṇa and Sāvitrī of Bhāradvājagotra. His father's father was Somanātha and was the disciple of Sabhapatiśeṣika. His *SATYABHAMAPARINAYA* in five acts describes the marriage of Kṛṣṇa and Satyabhāmā and was enacted at the festival at Mulanda.³

141. Besides the son Kumāradindima, Rājānātha II had a daughter who married Swayambhū, daughter's son of Rājānātha I and son of Tṛyāgarāja of Kāsyapagotra. Swayambhū had two sons Swayambhūnātha and Gururāma. *SWAYAMBHUNĀTHA* or Guru Swayambhūnātha wrote *Sankarānandacampū* on the fight between Śiva and Arjuna as described by Bhāravi⁴ and a poem *Kṛṣṇavilāsa*⁵ in 14 cantos on the life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. Among his distinguished ancestors, Gururāma mentions Aghoraśivadeśika, Prāsādevallabha, Dhakkāsabhāpaṭi and Bhāskara

1 *IA* IV, 328, 330, V, 19, XXIII, 129, *P S O C*, I No 180, 182, *EI*, I, 398, IV, 8, III, 147, 151. *EC*, Part I, 176, *As Res* XX, 26. For an account of his reign see Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, Ch. XIII.

2 For a full summary of its contents, see *SVH*, 103, 158. For the extant inscription, see *DC*, XX 7687. *EI* 1 (the first six cantos) *Srirangam* with an Introduction by K. Bilasubrahmanyam Iyer and a commentary by R. V. Krishnamacharya. See *IA*, XXXVI, 352.

3 *TC*, III 2953, where the poet's genealogy is also given. There is another play of the same name by Kṛṣṇa of Garbhapura (*TC*, III 2987). Antrecht (*GOI*, I, 689) mentions a play of that name by Kṛṣṇakaviṇḍra.

4 *DC*, XXI 8808.

5 *TC*, III 2826.

who wrote a Prasannakāvya His Subhadra-Dhananjaya¹ in five acts relates the story of Subhadra's marriage and Ratnesvaraprasādana,² play in five acts celebrates the marriage of Ratnacūda, with Ratnavālī, daughter of Gandharva Vasubhūti, brought about by the good graces of God Ratnesvara of Benares, whom the maiden propitiated by her devotion Madanagopālavlāsa is a bhana on the loves of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā³ Hariścandracariṇa-campu narrates the story of Hariscandra This work was written as he says on Monday in Tula of Nala of the Cycle after Kali 4709⁴

142 Appayya Dikṣita was born at Adayapalam near Kāncī in the Kanyā month of Kali 4654 (1554 A D)⁵ He was the son of Rangarāja of Bhāradvāja Goṭra⁶ For many years he lived at Vellore under the patronage of Chinna Bomma Bhupāla⁷ by whom he was honoured with a shower of gold⁸ Later on he was invited to the Court of Penukonda by Emperor Venkatadeva of Vijayanagar (1586-1613 A D) In the last year of his life he visited the Pandya country at the invitation of Tirumala Naik to settle some sectarian disputes at

1. *DO*, XXI 8556

2. *DO*, XXI. 8482

3. *DO*, XXI 8440

4. *TC*, III 2818.

5. See T. S. Kuppusami Sastri's Introduction to Gaṇāyaṭaraṇa (*Kavyamālā*, No. 76, Bombay), Śivānanda Yogis's Dikṣitacarita and P. S. S. Sastri's Life of Appayya Dikṣita (Madras).

6. In the introduction to Alankāra Candrikā (Venkatesvar Press, Bombay) it is said that Appayya Dikṣita was the grandfather of Venkatādhvari, the author of Viśvagunāḍarśa This mistake originated in the similarity of the names Venkatādhvari's grandfather was also called Appayya This error received an apparent support from the circumstance that Venkatādhvari was the nephew of Tātārya, who was a contemporary of Appayya Dikṣita Venkatādhvari was of Ārīya Goṭra and Appayya Dikṣita was of Bhāradvāja Goṭra In the same introduction (i.e.) the colophon says श्रीरङ्गराजाध्वरिन्द्रवरदसूतो meaning thereby that the father's name was Varada. This is a wrong reading for श्रीरङ्गराजाध्वरिवरसूतो: (See *DO*, XXII 8642)

7. See grants dated Saka 1488, 1471 (A D 1566, 1549). Hultzsch *SII*, I 69, 84 and grant dated Saka 1528 [*IA* XIII 127 (notes, 17)] This Chinna Bomma was the son of Chinna Vira and father of Langa Langamanayaka This Chinna Bomma of Velur must be distinguished from another of the same name, who was the son of Nalabomma, the minister of Chokkanāṭha and the author of the Prakṛyāmanandīpikā and Saṅgīta-rāghava (*BTC* 61a)

8. On the valuable presents made by that king to Appayya Dikṣita, see Samarapungava's Tīrthayatra-prabandha Campu (*DO*, XXI 8226) and *SVH*, 260.

Madura¹ He was the tutor in Vedānta to the famous Bhoṭṭoṭṭa Dikṣita² He was the first scholar that placed the Śikānta school of philosophy on a firm basis³ He was best in the Pūrva and Uṭṭara Mīmāṃsā With his eleven sons well read and alive at his death, he passed away with pleasure at Cidambaram in 1626 A D at the age of seventy-two⁴ He is the reputed author of 104 works the range of which covers poetry, poetics, dialectics, philosophy etc⁵

143 Among his poetical works are Ātmārpanaṭṭi or Sivapancāśikā,⁶ Āryāśaṭaka,⁷ Dasakumāracaritasangraha,⁸ Pancaratnastava,⁹ Sivakarnāmṛta,¹⁰ Vairāgyasaṭaka,¹¹ Bhaktāmarasṭava,¹² Sāntiṣṭava,¹³

1 "In the year S S 1544, in Dunduthi year, the 17th of Masi month Muthu Tirumalai Naicker came to Maḍura in order to be anointed (or installed) to receive the sceptre and other ensigns of royal authority. Having thus arranged the plan, the work was thus begun to be carried into execution at once on the 10th of Vyasi month, of Akshaya year during the increase of the moon From that time forward as the master came duly to inspect the work, it was carried on with great care As they were proceeding first in excavating the Teppakkulam they dug up from the middle a Ganapathi (or image of Ganesa) and caused the same to condescend to dwell in a temple built for the purpose As they were placing the sculptured pillar of the Vasanta-mandapam and were about to fix the one which bore the representation of Yekapada murthi they were opposed by the Vyshnavas Hence a dispute arose between them and the Saivas, which lasted for six months and was carried in the presence of the Sovereign Two arbitrators were appointed Appa Dikshitar on the part of Saivas, and Ayya Dikshitar or Ayyan on the part of the Vaishnavas They consulted Sanskrit authorities and made the Sastras agree, after which the pillar of Yekapada murthi was fixed in its place" [Taylor's *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, II, 149, 153],

2 See his *Siddhanṭaḍḍipika*

3 His commentary Śivārkaṃanidīpika has a place equal to the Bhāṣya of Rāmānuja or Śaṅkara

4 It is said he uttered this last verse on his deathbed,

चिदम्बरमिदं पुर प्रथितभैवपुण्यस्थलं सुताश्च विनयोञ्ज्वलां सुकृतयश्च काश्चित्कृताः ।
वयांसि मम सत्तेष्वपरि नैव भोगे स्पृहा न किञ्चिदहमर्थये शिवपदं दिदक्षे परम् ॥

5. So says Nilakanṭha in his *Sivalilāṅghava* (I. 6). For his works, see *CO*, I, 22, 11. 5, *SKC*, 865, *HR* II xii.

6. *BTC* 168.

7. *CC*, II, 5

8. Printed *Kavyamālā* I, Bombay, 91

9. *Opp*, II 7182, *HR*, II 1039.

10. *HR*, III 1724.

11. Printed *Kavyamālā* I, Bombay.

12. *TC*, III 2803, *HR*, III, 1723, 1724 There is a *Bhaktāmarasṭotra* of Māṇṣuṅga [*PR*, VI List of authors] Printed, *Kāvyamālā*, Bombay.

13. *Opp*, II 7295.

Rāmāyanatūtparvanirṇaya,¹ Rāmāyanatātparyasangraha,² Bharatastava,³ Rāmāyaṇasārasaṅgraha,⁴ Rāmāyanasāraṭṭava,⁵ Varadarājaṭṭava or Varadarājaṭṭaka, Ādityaṭṭoraratna,⁶ Sivalāmistavaratna,⁷ Sivamahimākalikūṣṭava⁸

He has written commentaries on Vedāntadeśika's poems, on Govinda Dikṣita's Harivaṃśasāracarita,⁹ on Kṛṣṇānāmīśra's Prabodhaṇḍodaya¹⁰ and a play Vasumatīcitrasenavilāsa¹¹

His Cītramīmāṃsa is a disquisition on the nature of Alankāras and runs to the end of Atisayokti¹² His Vṛttivārtuka is a treatise on the three modes of signification¹³ His Kuvalayānanda is a standard work on the subject of the figures of speech¹⁴ and is designed as a commentary

1 Opp, II 4884, HR, II 1019

2 Opp, II 5411 9879, 10355, HR, II 1009

3 HR, II 1040

4 Opp, II. 7266, HR, II 1982

5 CC, II 22

6 HR, III 1788

7 HR, II 3037, III 2815

8 HR, II 1025

9 CC, I 22

10 Taylor, I, 222, Opp, II 2070, 3712

11 Mys 1

12 Ed Bombay, Kavyamala No 38 This was criticised by Jagannātha, in his Cītramīmāṃsākhaṇḍana There is a commentary on the Cītramīmāṃsa called Sudhā by Dharānanda son of Ramabala of Vasista gotra, born at Bharatpur probably of the 18th century. He also wrote a commentary on the Mṛīcakaṭika See DC, XXII, 8658

13 Ed Bombay, Kavyamala.

14 Ed Bombay, Kavyamala For translation into English, see Sak VIII 5 VII 67 The colophon says that the work was written at the direction of King Venkatapati of Penukonda There are commentaries on it —

(i) *Alankārasaṅgrahikā* by *Vaṇḍyanūṭha*, son of Tatsaṭ Ramabhatta (1 c) Bombay. He was a Desasta brahmin of Verula in the Maharashtra country—probably of the 18th century DC, XXII, 8646 He wrote also a commentary on Kāvya-praṇīpa of Govinda, DC, XXII 8621

(ii) *Rasikāraṇjanī* by *Gaṅgādharaḍḍhwarin* He says that Appaya Dikṣita wrote more than a hundred works This commentator is referred to by Appākavi, in his Śṛṅgāraṃjanarī Sāhājiyam, composed in the reign of the Tanjore King Shahji (1684 1711) and probably was his contemporary

(iii) *Alankāra Saṅgrahikā* by *Chulakamarti Tirumalācārya*, son of Rāmānujā cārya of Rāmaṭṭirṭha village near Kotipalli in Godavari District (TC, II 2695). He has also composed a commentary on the Praṭṭāparudīya (Ibid 2651).

(iv) *Alankārasuḍha* of Nagoji Bhatta (K, 98, 104)

(v) *Kāvyaṃjanarī* of Nyāyavāgisa Bhattācārya, (NP, II 122, B, 842).

[NOTE ON VIDYARANYA]

Alankārasudhānidhi¹ is attributed to Vidyāranya. On the identity of Vidyāranya with Mādhava, there appears a doubt, for there is an indication of a contrary view that Sāyana² and Mādhava composed Vedabhāṣya and other works at the behest of Vidyāranya. The following passage [*Mys Arch Rep* 1932], pp. 103-7] from Vidyāranyakālānjāna is instructive³.

“(Praise of the sage Vyasa) I bow to Vidyātīrtha, the Mahesvara whose breath is the Vedas and who created the whole Universe from the Vedas. I, Vidyaranya by name, am telling briefly what happened to me while I was in the Vindhya mountain. May all people listen attentively. O guru, lord of gods, my master, I am going to Benares to clear my doubts in the commentaries on the four Vedas. May you be pleased.

One morning, while dwelling in the Vindhya mountain, I met a Brahmarakshasa named Śringin of Prisni-gotra suffering from thirst and hunger and emaciated. I asked him who he was and where he was and why he was wandering in the forest alone and why he was so emaciated. He explained that it was due to his having received a gift called Tulapurusha from Rama in the age of Treta and not having performed the requisite penance. I however pleaded my inability to help him with food since I was an ascetic. Śringin replied that he would enable me to meet the sage Vyasa from whom I could get all the necessary miraculous powers. I followed the directions of Śringin and met Vyasa in the disguise of a hunter (kirata) leading four dogs (which were really the Vedas) and proceeding to

1 *Mys Arch Rep* (1908), 27.

2 See para 125 *supra*.

3 *Mys Arch Rep* (1932), 108-7. According to this the foundation of the City was in Śaka 1258, Dhatri Vaisakha Suddha Septami, Makha Nakshatra. Owing to faulty transcription, the readings differ here and there, but the following verse seems to be in order.

दिक्शरद्वयसंख्याके शकाब्दे सुसमाहिते ।

धात्वब्दे सितसप्तम्या वैशाखे मासि भास्करे ।

सुलभे शुभनक्षत्रे मखाख्ये च विशेषतः ॥

“In Guruvamśakāvyā, the same date is given, but the week day is added as Sunday. In an inscription quoted by Mr B Suryanarayana Rao in his History of Vijayanagar the week day is read by him as Saumyavāra (Wednesday). But in the year, month and tithi, all concur. On a collation of the constellation and tithi, it appears that *Vaisakhe masi Bhaskare* indicates that it was Vaisākha (solar, not lunar), meaning Vṛsabha month. This is equivalent to Friday, the 17th May 1336 A D.”

Benares I told him that I knew who he was through Srīngin Vyasa took me with Srīngin to Badari and taught me how to acquire the *siddhis* like Anima (miraculous powers attributed to yogis in India) He also instructed me in the knowledge of all *śrutis*, *smṛitis*, *purāṇas*, *itihāsas*, *arthaśāstras*, *kamaśāstras* (erotic science), and the 64 *samhitās* of Śiva and enabled me to understand the events of the past, to know what is going on at present and to foretell what would happen in the future To enable Srīngin to be fed to his heart's content the sage Vyasa directed me, after initiating me into the mystic lore of Śrīchakra, to construct a city as had been done by Maya and Viśvakarma for the Devī after she killed Bhandasura and to set up a throne there¹

After the sage disappeared I went in the company of Srīngin to Kīṣkīndha and worshipped god Virupakṣa on the bank of the Tungabhadra The god bade me re-build in accordance with the *tantras* the city named Vijaya (Vijayanagar) which was once one of the eight great cities and measured two *yojanas* in circumference and in the middle of which lay the hill Matanga and which had disappeared in the course of time Hearing this, I stopped for a time in a cave of the Matanga hill

During this time, two persons named Sayana and Mayana came to me and begged me to bless them with offspring But I told them that they were not destined to get children At this they became sad and begged me to make use of the large sums of money earned by them for performing Dharma (charities) and enable them to attain on death the regions reserved for those who have sons Thus entreated I made them my disciples and I composed and got composed by them works named Sayaniya and Madhaviya dealing with various *śāstras*

“Vidyaranya was a desciple of Vidyasankara called also Vidyā-bīrtha He calls himself a follower of Sankarācharya He was the author of numerous works on various *śāstras* which are attributed to the brothers Sayana and Madhava, including Vedābhashya He was given to much travelling and went to Benares to meet the sage Vyasa to get his Vedābhashya revised On the way, he met Srīngin, a Brahmarakṣasa in the Vindhya Mountain From Vyasa, Vidyaranya learnt all the mystic lore and on going to Hampi to pay his respects

1 Details about Śrīchakra are given in pp 4-19 (*ibid*)

पीठेष्वष्टसु सख्याता नगरी विजयाङ्गया । आयामविस्तारतया योजनद्वयसम्मिता ॥

सतङ्ग इति तन्मध्ये राजते सर्वकामद । सा पुरी कालसर्गादिदानीं क्षयमागता ॥

सद्योऽपि सर्वतन्त्राणि सूयोऽपि नगरीमिमाम् । सम्यङ्निर्मायता मे त्वमङ्गदान प्रदापय ॥

to god Virupaksha he was bidden to revive the ancient city of Vijayanagar which had disappeared and to set up a kingdom there. This would enable the god Virupaksha to receive proper worship and offerings and help Sringeri to be fed to his heart's content. We find a temple for Sringeri called Malayala-brahma set up near the Matt in Sringeri and it is said that without propitiating him no entertainment or feast could be organised at Sringeri.¹ Vidyaranya accordingly stopped at Hampe where he met later Harihara and Bukka, who had been defeated by the Ballala king. With his blessings they attained success. The spot for the construction of a capital city was indicated by a hare turning on hounds during a royal hunt south of the Tungabhadra. Vidyaranya after careful study and calculations built a city there and installed Harihara on the throne there. He also foretold the history of that city and kingdom, its rise, fall, and revival under Vira Vasanta to Harihara and this account was compiled under his orders by the ascetic Bharatīkrishna. The first three Kings at Vijayanagar ruled with his favour. The first thirteen Kings were devotees of god Virupaksha and had deep reverence for Vidyaranya and his disciple Kriyasakti.²

We may note here that the story of Vidyaranya's meeting with Vyasa is also found in a Sanskrit poem called *Guruvamsa* composed about 1740 A.D. giving a history of the Sringeri Matt.³ There Vyasa is said to have assumed the disguise of a Swapacha (low caste man). The story of Sringeri and of Madhava and Sayana is also given in the same work. They are called ministers there.⁴ But it has to be remembered that Sayana and Madhava only acknowledge Vidyaturtha and not Vidyaranya as their guru. Moreover, Sayana had several sons as stated in *Alankarasudhanidhi*.⁵ That Madhava was different from

1 *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1916), 16

2 विद्यारण्यमुनीन्द्रस्य तच्छिष्येण तथैव तु ।

क्रियाशक्ताङ्गयेनैव कृतानुग्रहशालिन ।

विरूपाक्षस्य भक्तास्ते त्रयोदश नरेश्वरा ॥

"Kriyaakṣi was a Salva teacher of the Kalamukha School. Madhava-mantri, Governor of Ohandragutti, etc., speaks of him as his guru in 1347, *Mys Arch. Rep.*, (1929), p. 172. Inscriptions down to Dandapalli plates of 1410, E I XIV speak of Kriyaakṣi as the guru of Harihara II, Muddadandesa, Vitthana Vodeyar and Vijaya-bhupati, etc. Apparently there must have been two gurus of the same name at this period."

3 *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1928), 15,

4 *Guruvamsa*, V 44.

5 *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1908), 27

Vidyaranya and that Bharatīkrishna was a disciple or junior of Vidyatīrtha and Vidyaranya was the disciple not of Bharatīkrishna but of Vidyatīrtha and that he was already an ascetic before the foundation of the Vijayanagar kingdom are facts of great interest to be gleaned from Vidyaranyakalajñana. The poem Guruvamsa makes Bharatīkrishna, a younger brother of Vidyaranya before he became a sanyasi but he is said to have become a sanyasi earlier.¹ The journey of Vidyaranya to Benares and his sojourn there, not before 1336 but very much later is referred to in a Kadita inscription in the Sringeri Matt of 1380.² Inscriptions recognising Vidyaranya as the head of the Sringeri Matt are dated between 1375 and 1386.

As regards Vidyatīrtha or Vidyasankara he is called Vidyatīrtha in inscriptions³ and the works of Sayana and Madhava. Vidyasankara was the name of the linga set up over his tomb and hence that of the temple at Sringeri enshrining the linga. However in later literature, he is called Vidyasankara. Vidyatīrtha seems to have been different from a Vidyasankara who died about 1388,⁴ while Vidyatīrtha must have died about 1356, long before the accession of Vidyaranya at Sringeri about 1375. What relation he had to Vidyasankara who was the guru of Naraharimantri, governor of Goa in 1391, cannot be determined.⁵ Probably he was different.

Bharatīkrishnatīrtha is called Bharatīrtha in inscriptions and contemporary literature.⁶ He seems to have set up the Vidyasankara temple at Sringeri in memory of his guru Vidyatīrtha before 1380. He is said to have died in 1374.⁷ The first inscription of his successor in the Sringeri Matt (Vidyaranya) so far discovered is that at Kudupa, South Canara District, dated 1375.⁸ But though Vidyaranya succeeded him to the pontificate at Sringeri he seems to have been a junior to Vidyaranya as indicated in the Sringeri copper plate grant of 1386 A D and the Kadita of 1380.⁹

1 *Guruvamsa*, IV 22

2 *Mys Arch. Rep.* (1916), 57.

3 *EC*, VI Sringeri I., *Mys Arch. Rep.* (1916), 57, *EC*, IV Yedatore, 46 etc.

4 *FC*, X Mulbagal 11

5 *Ep. Ind.* XXI p 17 Chaudala grant

6 *EC*, VI Sringeri of 1846, Sringeri Kadita of 1380. *Mys Arch. Rep.* (1916)

57 Parasara-smṛiti-vyakhyā, etc

7 *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1916), No 460

8 *Madras Epigraphical Report* (1929), No. 460

9 *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1916), pp. 57-58.

CHAPTER V

Mahakavyas—(contd)

145 The Naik Kings of Tanjore¹ Chinna Cheva, son of Īmma, was a great warrior. He married Mūrtiambā, younger sister of Tirumalāmba, the queen of Emperor Acyutarāya of Vijayanagar (1530-1542 A D). It is said that the province of Tanjore was granted free to Mūrtiambā as a wedding gift by the Emperor. This Chinnacheva Naik became the first ruler of Tanjore. He ruled about 1549-1572 A D. He built the big gopuram and tank at Tiruvannamalai, the Dhvajastambha at Vriddhācalam and compound wall and steps to the temple of Śrīsailam.

Cinna Cevva's son was Acyuta or Acyuṭappa Naik. He ruled about 1572-1614 A D. He married Mūrtiambā and by her had a son Raghunātha. Raghunātha Naik was installed on the throne during the lifetime of his father about 1614 A D. Raghunātha married Kalāvati and his son Vijarāghava succeeded him and ruled till 1662 A D. Vijarāghava describes his ancestors in his Telugu poem Raghunāthā bhūdaya.²

Chokkanatha Naik, the ruler of Madura, applied to Vijayaraghava for the hand of one of the daughters and as the request was refused, Chokkanatha went to war and in that war Vijayaraghava and his elder son were killed. One of his queens managed to hand her little son Cengamaladas to a nurse with all her jewels and the young prince was removed and secretly brought up by a wealthy brahmin at Negapatam. The Sultan of Bijapur was requested for help and he sent Ekojee, the son of his minister Shahaji, to march against Tanjore, which was then under Alagiri. Alagiri was defeated and Chengamala Das was restored to the throne of his father. In the meantime the Sultan of Bijapur was killed in battle by Aurangzeb. By the enemies of Chengamala, Ekoji was induced to capture Tanjore and as Ekojee advanced Chenga-

1. See the Telugu work, *History of Tanjore Andhra Kings* extracted in *SVH*, 319, 336. For the genealogy, see *SVH*, 254. See also T. S. Kuppusami Sastri's Tamil pamphlet *Naik Princes of Tanjore*, Tanjore District Manual, 260, *Naik Kingdom of Madura* (IA, XLII XLVI); *Danver's Portuguese in India*, II Ch. VIII. The genealogy is given in Rajacāḍāmaḡi's *Rukmiṇīkalyāṇa* (DC, XX 7848).

2. For extracts, see *SVH*, 254-266.

mala fled away and was no more heard of Thus came in the Maharatta Kingdom of Tanjore

146 Raghunatha was the greatest of the Naik Kings of Tanjore He ruled between 1614 to () He was a great scholar and patron of letters ¹ He constructed many temples and granted new Agraharas ² His minister Govinda Dikṣit was a scholar and politician His preceptor was Kumāraṭīcārya of Kāncī ³ His queen Rāmabhadraṁbhā considered him Rāma incarnate and wrote a poem Raghunāthābhyaḍaya in his glory ⁴

He was a poet and musician and discovered a new type of Vīna called after his name His Sangītasudhā is a comprehensive work on music, including instrumental music and dancing In the introductory verses, there is much useful historical information ⁵

His Bhāratasudhā embraced dancing Among his other works are Pārijātharāsa, Valmīkīraṇa, Acyutendrābhyaḍaya, Gaṇḍamokṣa, Nalābhyaḍaya and Rukminī-Kṛpā-vivāha, Yāgāṇa, Rāmāyaṇasārāṅgraha ⁶

Kṛṣṇakavi who in his rhetorical work, Raghunāthābhūpālīya, in eight chapters has illustrations in praise of Raghunātha ⁷

147 Madhuravani, whose real name is not known, flourished in the Court of the King Raghunātha Naik of Tanjore who came to the throne about 1614 A.D. His son Vijaya Rāghava Naik ruled till 1662 A.D. In 14 cantos she wrote a poem on the story of Rāmāyaṇa in measures as graceful as the author's extant name Her description

1 See SVH, 819 and Introduction Danver's Portuguese in India, II Ch VIII Tanjore District Manual, 750 SVH, 267

2 See Govinda Dikṣita's Sāhitya Sudhā

3 He was the son of Venkatācārya, of the famous family of Kāncī He wrote the Pārijātanātaka a drama in five acts, the plot of which is based on the story of the bringing of the Pārijāta flower from Indra's garden, by Kṛṣṇa to please his beloved Satyabhāmā (TC, III 2374) His life is described in a poem by Rūgasami Tāṭācārya (Printed, Kumbakonam)

4 Tanj Cat, IV, 2688

5 TC, IV 4568 There is a Sangītasudhā by Bhīma Narendra, Oudh X 12

6 These are given in Govinda Dikṣita's Sāhitya-sudhā, see SVH, 297, BC, XXI. 8979.

7 Tanj Cat, VI 2634

8 TC, I 896 There is a commentary on it by Sudhindrayaṭi, pupil of Vijayaṇḍarājītha, written at the instance of King Raghunātha (TC, III. 4037)

of good poetry is lovely¹ In the 1st canto she thus describes the circumstances under which the poem came to be composed Once when the Prince Raghunātha-Bhūpa was seated on his throne surrounded by the accomplished court-ladies, one of them sang verses from the beautiful Andhra-Rāmāyana composed by the Prince himself, while another complimented him for his untiring devotion to God Śrī Rama This set the Prince thinking on Śrī Rama, and he considered within himself as follows "Many are the stories of Viṣṇu, and amongst them, it is Rama's story that serves as nectar to me Though enjoyed thousands of times, it seems to me ever fresh and pleases me most Hundreds of ladies are assembled here, who are skilled in composing original Sanskrit and Telugu works Who amongst these could best render my Andhra Ramayana into Sanskrit verse With such thoughts, the Prince retired from the Court God Śrī Rama appeared to him that night in a vision and said—"I understand what is now uppermost in your mind Give up all anxiety in the matter Know that the lady, whom you have honoured with the title Madhura Vanī, is the ablest of all the Court-ladies" Next day when the Court assembled, he called Madhura Vanī to his side and related to her the vision he had the previous night, and directed her to bring out an excellent work on Śrī Rama, which shall be replete with beautiful alankaras (figures of speech) and rasas (emotions) in language that is charming and melodious" She replied—"With the aid of one (yourself) that always has Śrī Rama at heart, I can say the work is achieved" About the end of the 1st canto, there is a lively description of her royal patron and his splendid court²

148. Govinda Dikṣita³ was a brahmin of Vāsistha Gotra Nāgāmbā was his wife Yagnanārāyaṇa and Venkatamakṣin were his sons He lived mostly at Tirunagesvaram and Pattesvaram He was the prime minister of the Tanjore Kings, Chevvappa (1549-1572 A.D.) Acyuta (1577-1614 A.D.) and Raghunātha (1614 A.D.) At Pattesvaram

1 सङ्ख्यावता सर्वपर्यायार्थमिस्सद्योविता चेत्कविता कवीनाम् ।

कस्तूरिकाचन्दनकुङ्कुमाद्यैरुद्वर्तिताङ्गी युवतीव दीव्येत् ॥

मध्येमणीमित्यनुबिंबित ख मत्वारमा यत्र विनन्तुकामा ।

करे तदीये कमल तदानीमनीक्षमाणा त्रपते नताङ्गी ॥

2 See *Mys. OML. Sup* 10 There is a brief account of it, by Narasimhiengar in the Indian Review

3 For an elaborate account of his life, see N. K. Venkatasana on Govind : Dikṣita, *ABQ*, II 220-241

the images of his wife and himself in his state garb are seen still standing, to whom the ardent devotee pays his regard. At home his life as a brahmin was pious and simple and in office his greatness as a statesman and administrator has become proverbial in South India. The worthy friends Raghunātha and Govinda, King and Minister, have been well described thus.

त्रिनामाद्यन्त्यनामानौ महीक्षिद्दीक्षितावृभौ ।

शस्त्रे शस्त्रे च निपुण बाह्वेपु हवेपु च ॥

He was proficient in Advaitī and was known Advaitācārya. Himself a scholar and author, he was a patron of letters. He admired Appayya Dīkṣita and requested him to write a commentary on Kalpataru. Numberless are grants of agraharams made by his kings at his instance and the several mandapas and bathing ghats visible along the Kaveri banks are monuments of his administration.

Govinda had eight sons and a daughter. "I here is a tradition that his daughter died of Rājadrsti (the look of the king). One day when the king paid a visit to the Great Minister at his residence, Govinda Dīkṣita's accomplished daughter took the harathi to the king, as is the custom on such an occasion. The king was naturally pleased with the accomplished lady, but unfortunately she died, it is said, afterwards by the evil effect of the look of the king. It is said also that one of his sons was an expert player on Vina. The king, it is stated, gave away all his royal ornaments to that young son, but a few hours afterwards he died of the effect of Rājadrsti. Tradition says that it was then that Govinda Dīkṣita pronounced a curse on his clan, that wealth and beauty should not adorn his children at any time and the members of the Dīkṣita's clan still believe in the curse. His religious devotion has left several institutions in the land which are bound to keep his fame and name green in our memories for ages to come. One story is enough to show how Govinda Dīkṣita was ever ready to help all to the best of his ability—one day while he was taking a walk he saw a young man uttering a sloka and ardently praying to the Sun for his grace. The Dīkṣita approached the young man and heard him uttering a śringara sloka (a piece of poetry containing śringara rasa or element of love) and not a song of devotion as he thought it was. On asking the young man, the Dīkṣita was told that the young man, desiring to be married and well established in life, had appraised a guru of his desire, that that Guru had given him that sloka for prayer to the sun, and that he ~~was~~

since then been continually praying to the sun with that sloka, not knowing anything as to what it meant. The Dikshita heard him and was amused. Seeing the young man's ardent devotion and sincerity, the Dikshita took the young man with him and got him married and well established in life. In social matters Govinda Dikshita appears to have been a permanent court of arbitration. One description at Patteswaram shows how the class of weavers known as Patunūlkara always went to him to settle all family disputes among them. Even now, when difficulties arise among this class of people they go to Patteswaram and in the presence of the image of Govinda Dikshita settle their differences. Govinda Dikshita was an authority in Dharma Sastra. He was a true Brahmin and performed all the sacrifices enjoined in the Vedas. He was a master of politics and he steered the ship of state very successfully and gloriously for nearly three quarters of a century. At the end he gave up all his estate, palace etc. to God and resigned all Karma-phala (the fruit of his actions) and had for his Vibhava or wealth only his Advaita Vidya and realised his Atma. He gave up all and in the last days of his life, he retired and spent his time in Thapas in the Sannadhi of Mangalambika at Kumbakonam as is popularly believed and left the mortal coil to evolve from the prison house of mortal life and join the great Rishis of Aryavarta in the regions of immortality. Thus passed out of sight this illustrious sage of the sixteenth century. Govinda Dikshita was a true hero while he lived and became a God after his death. As has been said at the out-set, Govinda Dikshita is now worshipped as a God in the form of Linga at Kumbakonam and at Tiruvadi and as an image at Patteswaram. He has beside him at Patteswaram his consort, his Dharma Patni Nagamba, the two standing there today as if to illustrate the famous line of Milton. He for god only, she for god in him' ¹

149. Among Govinda's works² are Sāhityasudhā³ which describes in exquisite poetry the history of his masters Acyuta and Raghunātha. Venkatamakhi in his Caṭṭandapprakāśikā says that his father wrote a work on music Sangītasudhānidhi and a commentary on Śūṇḍara-kānda of Rāmāyana.

1. N. K. Venkatesan, *l.c.* 240

2. Govindamantiram of Sāṇḍilyagoṭra, who wrote the poem Hariṣamsāśāracarita was in the Kondavidu court and was a different author. There is a commentary on it by Appayya Dikṣita (*Tanj. Cat.*, VI 2686)

3. *SVH*, 267

150. Govinda has two sons Yagnanārāyaṇa and Venkateśvara or Venkatamakhi¹ Venkatamakhi was tutor to Nīlakantha and author of *Sāhityasāmrajyākāya*, *Caṭurdaṇḍiprakāśikā*² and *Vārṭikābharana*

The other son Yagnanārāyaṇa³ was an all round scholar and of special fame in poetry He was patronised also by Raghunātha of Tanjore (under whom he also studied) and was presented with many jewels as a mark of his appreciation His *Sāhityaratnākara*,⁴ a poem of which 13 cantos are now recovered, and *Raghunāthavilāsa*⁵ a play in 5 acts, and *Raghunāthabhūpavijaya*, a poem, describe the greatness of the Tanjore Niyak family and of the Raghunātha's conquest over an island near Ceylon⁶ He wrote a commentary on Venkateśvara's *Citrabandharāmāyaṇa*⁷

151 *Srinivasa Dikṣita (Ratnakheta)* was the son of Śrī Bhavaswāmī⁸ and grandson of Kṛṣṇa He was sixth in descent from Śrī Bhavaswāmī, the author of the *Bhāṣya*, and of Viśvāmītra Gotra He had three sons Keśava, Arjhanārīśvara and Rājacudāmanī Pleased with his description of an evening horizon, the king of Chola (Naiḥ of Gingi) called him *Ratnakheta*⁹ and so he is known to this day He was a contemporary of Appayya Dikṣita and Govinda Dikṣita He bore the titles *Sadbhāṣyacaṭura* and *Advaitavidyācārya*, *Abhinava-Bhavaabhūti*, and *Ḍantidyotiḍivāpraṭīpa* He was a prolific writer and of versatile learning Besides his works on philosophy and other sciences, he is

1 See Int to *Gangāvaṭaraṇa* (10)

2 On this work, see chapter of a *Singita* (music) *poṣṭ*

3 The identification of this author with Yagneśvara, author of *Alankāraśāghava* and *Alankārasūryodaya* (*BTC*, 54) is wrong

4. *SVH*, 269 (where a summary is given) See *Sāhityaratnākara* of Dharmasūṇhi is a different work on rhetoric

5 *Tanj Cat*, VIII 3486 Printed *Sah*, XX

6 *Rāghavendravijaya* of Nārāyaṇa (a poem in 4 cantos) says that Venkata nātha alias Rāghavendratīrtha defeated Yoganārāyaṇa in disputation and made him undergo *cakrāṅkana* (*SVH* 262)

7 *BTC*, 158

8 Also known as Lakṣmī Bhavaswāmī See *DC*, XXII 8017 His name is also given as Lakṣmīdhara in *DC*, XXII, 8265

9 सन्ध्यासन्धुक्षिताम्भोधरनलिकगणादुद्भूतान् सीसखण्डा-
स्ताराकाराचिरोद्धु शशिरविकपटाद्विभ्रतो रत्नखेटौ ।
अभ्योन्य युध्यमानाबुदयचरमभूत्तत्प्रवीराविति द्रा-
ग्वत्स्वाख्यातापराख्य क्षितिपतिवचसारत्नखेटाध्वरीति ॥

said to have composed 18 dramas and 60 poems.¹ *Sṭikānthaviṇaya* is a poem describing the deeds of Śiva. *Bhaumīparinaya* is a drama describing the marriage of Damayāntī.² *Bhaumīparinaya* is a campu on the marriage of Rukmini.³ *Sāhityasānjivini*, *Bhavodbheda* and *Rasārṇava*, *Alaṅkarakanstubha*, *Kāvyaḍarpana*, *Kāvyaśārasaṅgraha*, *Sāhityasūkt-masāraṇi* are works on rhetoric.⁴ *Bhāvanāpuruṣoṭtma*,⁵ composed at the instance of Surappa, the Naik king of Gingi,⁶ is an allegorical play.

152 Rajacudamani Dikṣita was the son of Ratnakheta Śrinivāsa and Kāmākī. Arthanārīyāra (Sevadriśekhara) and Kesava⁷ were his step brothers. He was patronised by King Raghunātha of Tanjore on whom he wrote a poem *Raghunāthabhūpaviṇaya*.⁸ He was the worthy son of his father in literary merit. Besides works on Mīmāṃsa and other sciences, he wrote poems and plays and on poetics. His *Tantrasikhāmaṇi* a commentary on Jaimini's aphorisms was composed in 1636 A.D.⁹ His *Rukmīṇīkalyāṇa* is a poem in 10 cantos on the marriage of Rukmīṇī.¹⁰ *Sankarābhyaṇaya*, of which only 6 cantos are available, describes the life of Jagadguru Sankara.¹¹ Among other poems are *Bhāratacampū*, *Kamsavadha*, *Vṛttaraṭṇāvali*, (in imitation of Sankara's *Tārāvali*), *Sāhityasāmrajya* and *Citramanjarī* and *Rāmakathā*.¹² He wrote a Yamaka poem *Ratnakhetaviṇaya* on the life

1 For a list of his works, Balayaguesvara's commentary on *Rukmīṇī Kalyāṇa* of Rājacudāmaṇi written in 1839 A.D. and quoted in introduction to *Gaṅgāvaṭaraṇa* (*Kavyamālā*)

2 *Rice*, 284, 286. There is another play of the same name by Venkatācārya, *Rice*, 286.

3 *DC*, XXI, 8264.

4 *CC*, I, 81, 102, *Rice* 282, 244 *Opp* 3104, *BTC*, 55.

5 *Opp* 8429, *BTC* 170 *CC*, I, 407. (The author's name is here wrongly given as Śrinivāsa Tīrtha Ācāryaṇavan).

6 *SVH*, 272. Surappa was the son of Pota, who assisted King Tirumala I and his successor Śrīraṅga against Mohammadan invasions after the battle of Talikota in 1565 A.D. See Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, 214 and South Arcot Dt. Manual.

7 Kesava's son was Patanjali and Paṇḍuraj's son was Rāmacandra who wrote *Rāmācandracampū* (*HR*, II, vii.).

8 For his works, see his *Kāvyaḍarpana* (*DC* XXII, 8615) *HR* I ix *CC*.

9 Ed. *TSS*, with introduction by T. Ganapati Sastri.

धीमान्मान्ये शकस्यान्देहायने चेश्वरामिधे ।

श्रवणे मासि नवमे पूर्णस्तन्तश्चिखामणिः ॥

10 *DC*, XXI, 7848. Printed, Adyar, Madras with a valuable introduction by T. R. Chintamani.

11 Printed *Saṅ*, Vols. 17-18.

12 This is mentioned in *Kāvyaḍarpana*.

of his father, a poem with treble meaning on the stories of Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Pāṇḍava (Rāghava-Yāḍava-Pāṇḍavīya) and a work (in prose?) Manjubhāṣiṇī with pratyakṣaśleṣa, on the story of Rāma, and Yuddhakāṇḍa of Bhoja's Rāmāyṇacampū in a day ¹

Among his plays are Sṅgārasarvasva, a bhāṇa, ² Ānandarāghava ³ in 5 acts, on the whole story of Rāma from marriage to coronation, and Kamalinīkalahansa, in 4 acts, on the marriage of Kalahansa with Kamalinī, daughter of Kamalākara, who was rescued from a storm ⁴ These plays are stated to have been staged at the Court of Raghunātha at Tanjore and during his visit to Cidambara

In his Kāvya-darpaṇa, a treatise on rhetoric, he cites his Alankāra-cudāmaṇi ⁵

153. To the Court of Raghunātha belonged Kṛṣṇadikṣita or Ayyādikṣita In his Nāṇadharpāṇīyāta he related the stories of Nala and Pāṇīyātharapa at a time ⁶ and in his Raghunātha-bhūpālīya, he wrote on poetics, with illustrations in praise of his patron ⁷

Mṛtyunjaya was the son of Ayya Dikṣita and was daughter's son of Raṭṇakheta Śrīnivāsa Dikṣita His son Rajacūdāmaṇi Dikṣita was his Guru In his Pradyumnottaracanti in 11 cantos he relates the story of Pradyumna's marriage with the daughter of demon King of Vajrapuri ⁸ Mṛtyunjaya's son Anantaṇārāyaṇa wrote Gīṭasāṅkara, a musical poem like Gītagovinda ⁹

154 Nilakantha was the son of Nārāyaṇa and Bhūmidevī and grandson of Accātīkṣita, brother of Appayya Dikṣita He was known as

1 Edited *IHQ*, VI No. 4 by T. R. Chintamani

2 This is quoted in his Kāvya-darpaṇa There is another Bhāṇa of this name by Svāmi Śāstri, brother of Subrahmanya and son of Anantaṇārāyaṇa, staged at the festival of Matrābhūteśvara at Trichinopoly (*DC*, XXI 8542) and a third by Kaudika Nallabudha (*BC* 173 *CC*, I 661)

3 *DC*, XXI 8372, *CC*, I 48 The prologue gives the genealogy of the author and the names of Raghunātha's works Pāṇīyātharapa, Nalābhayudaya etc.

4 Printed, Madras, *DC*, XXI 8392; *HR*, II, 1580.

5 *DC*, XXII, 8615, *BTC* 54, *CC*, I, 101. Printed Madras. There is a commentary on it by Raviṇḍita

6 *BTC*.

7. *CC* I, 486, *Rice*, 264

8. *Tanj Cat*, VI, 2571

9 *BTC*, 61.

Ayyādikṣita¹ He studied under Venkatesvaramakhi, son of Govinda Dikṣita He commented on Kayyata He was best in Srikantha philosophy and wrote Sivaṭṭavarahasya² His four brothers were also poets His Nīlakanthaviyaya, a popular campu on the story of the churning of the ocean, was composed in Kali 4738 (1637 A D)³ His Sivalīlānava is a poem in 22 cantos, comprehending in it the legends of 64 lilās of Hālāsyānātha the form of Siva as worshipped at Madura⁴ His Gangā-vatarana, a poem in 8 cantos, describes the descent of the Ganges from regions celestial⁵ Among his minor poems⁶ are Kalividambana, Sabbhāranjana, Anyāpadesasaṭaka, Sāntivilāsa, Varagyaṣaṭaka and Ānandasāgarastava

In his Cītramīmāṃsāśoḍbhikkāra he answered the criticisms such as those of Jagannātha Panditarāja and justifies the views of his grand-uncle Appaya Dikṣita⁷ Nalacaritaṇṭaka in 7 acts describes the story of Nala⁸

As a poet Nīlakantha is much appreciated His fancies are imaginative, his sentiments lofty and his language natural

Nīlakantha's third son Gīrvaṇendra wrote Sṅgarakosabhāna⁹ and Anyāpadesasaṭaka¹⁰ Nīlakantha had four brothers, all poets¹¹ Of

1 Nīlakantha, author of the play Kalyanasaugandhika (TC III 3840) and Kavyollasa (TC, IV 3848) is a different author So is Nīlakantha author of Cimanī-carita, B, II 182

2 HR, II 1011

3 Ed Madras with commentary For commentary Paṭāka, see HR III 1654 and by Ghanaśyāma, see HR, III 2041

4 Ed TSS Tanj Cat 2673 Śivacarita of Kaviyādikṣekhara is on the same theme (Mys OML Sup 12)

5 Ed Kavyamāla, Bombay, with a valuable introduction on South Indian poets by T S Kuppusami Sastri The same story is found in Bhāgīrathīcampu of Ayyaṭṭarman, son of Nārāyaṇa, of the family of Modaka of Nasik It was composed in 1814 A D and is printed in Bombay

6 Printed, Sri Vanivilas Press, Srirangam and Kavyamala, Bombay

7 HR, II 1281

8 Printed, Bombay, TC, II. 1599 Opp II 3869 In the prologue it is said that he wrote a poem Mukundavilāsa and his father wrote Mahāvīracarita and a commentary on Sāhityaratnākara and his uncle Appaya Dikṣita was the author of Rukmīpāriṇaya Gururāmakaṇṭhi is said there to have been a contemporary of Ācāṇḍikṣita, grand father of Nīlakantha There is a Nalacaritaṇṭakāvya (Opp 2865, 3799)

9 Tanj Cat, VIII 3596 There is another bhāṇa of that name by Abhinava Kālidāsa, (Ibid VIII 3594) probably of Kānci

10 DC, XX 8019 Ācāṇḍikṣita, a member of the family of Appayadikṣita wrote Anyoktimāla (DC, XX 8020)

11 BTC, 185,

these Atirātrajayam wrote the play Kusakumadvaita¹ and Accādikṣita wrote a commentary on his Nilacaritṅināṭakā.²

155 Cakrakavi was the son of Iokunṭha and Ambā and brother of Rāmacandra and Patinjalī. He appears to have been appreciated by Pandya and Chera Kings and he mentions Nilakantha Adhvarin as one of his admirers. It is likely that this latter was the same as the famous Nīlakantha, grandson of Appaya Dīkṣita and he must have therefore lived in 17th century A.D. He wrote flowing poetry on the marriage³ of Rukminī,⁴ Jīnakī,⁵ Gauṇī,⁶ Draupadī.⁷ Of these Jānakīparinaya⁸ is a poem in 8 cantos describing the story of Bālakānda of Rāmāyana from the birth of Rāma to his marriage at Mithila. The other works are of the class of campus with mixed prose and poetry. His Citraratnākara, in six parts, is a poem of humorous verses of enigmatical composition, the first half of the verses asking a question, the second half giving the answer.⁹

156 Venkatesa was the son of Srīnivāsa and grandson of Venkatesa of Atreya Goṭra. He was born in Kali 4697 (1596 A.D.) at Arasanipalai near Kāncī. In Rāmāyamakārnava¹⁰ and Rāmacandrodāya,¹¹ he relates the story of Rāma the former in the Yamika style.

Sūryanārāyaṇa¹² was the son of Yagneshvara and Gnānāmbhā. He belonged to the Aluri family of brahmins who did varieties of sacrifices.

1 *Tanj Cat*, VIII 8979

2 See prologue to same

3

रुक्मिणी-जानकी-गौरी-द्रौपदी परिणीतय ।

कृतयो यस्य तस्यैषा कृतिश्चक्रकवे शुभा ॥

— *Cits at alnāhara*

See Introduction to T. S. Kuppusami Sastri's *Gāṅgāvataram*

4 *DC*, XX, 7854. There are other works of this name by Venkṭeśvarya, son of Nāyanācārya of Praṭivāḍibhayankara family (*TC*, III, 3599).

5 There are other works on the same theme by Ponnintā Venkatesan (*TC*, III, 3081), by Kandukurū Rumaśvara (*TC*, III 4135) of the Cīrūr, and by Bhattanārāyaṇa (*Mys OML*, Sup II).

6 Printed *Sah* XXII *DC*, XXI 8285

7 *EA Tr. Sans Series*

8 *TC*, II, 1468

9 *Tanj Cat*, VI 2631. *Yamakārnava* was composed in Śaka 1578 (1556 A.D.)

10 This is long poem of about 30 cantos. Ibid 2658. There is commentary by this author himself. Ibid VI 2664. This work was composed in Kali 4736 (1635 A.D.).

11 Sūryanārāyaṇa Sumaṭi, son of Viśvanātha Sumaṭi, who wrote *Prāśnabhāṣa* is a different person [*Tanj Cat*, VI 2734]. His descendants are still living at Tirunnevely,

In the court of Lingaya Prabhu¹ (1601 A D), he swore to compose a poem in a day and that was Ekadinaprabandha² in four cantos on the story of Mahābhārata

Malaya was the son of Rāmanātha of Bhāradvāja Goṭra. He lived in Madura District. In Mīnākṣīparinaya in 18 cantos he describes the story of Sundaresa's marriage with Mīnākṣī, Goddess of Madura, as told in the Hālāsyamāhātmya.³

In Pārvaṭīparinaya, in 8 cantos, Īśvarasumatī celebrates the marriage of Pārvaṭī after the style of Kumārasambhava.⁴

1 Linga or Veluri Linga was the son of Chinna Bomma the patron of Appayya Dīkṣita and was the donor of Vilāpākam Grant (*ES*, IV No 39) of King Venkata II (1601 A D). Linga was killed and his capital taken possession of by Damarla Chenna who granted Madras to East India Company. "The capture of the place was possibly the immediate cause of the change of capital from Chandragiri to Vellore by Venkata paṭi Rāja" [*SVH* 21, 251, 805]

2 *Tanj Cat*, VI 2698

3 *Tanj Cat*, VI 2619

4 *Tanj Cat*, VI 2565

CHAPTER VI

Mahakavya (*contd*)

157 Mahratta Kings of Tanjore. Ekoji, whose earlier name was Venkoji was the brother of the famous Sivaji. They were the sons of Shahaji. Ekoji's three sons Shahaji (1687-1711 A.D.) Sarabhoji (1712-1727 A.D.) and Tukkoji (1728-1735 A.D.) succeeded him one after another. Tukkoji had five sons (1) Bava Saheb, (2) Saiyaji, (3) Anna Saheb, (4) Nana Saheb, and (5) Pratapsing and of these the first two were legitimate and the last three illegitimate. "Pratapsing died in 1763 and was succeeded by his son Tulzaji. He died in 1787 after a reign by no means peaceful or prosperous which excluding the two or three years during which he was kept a prisoner in his own palace, extended over a period of about twenty one years. He had no son, but adopted one before his death, and this was Rajasaraabhoji. This prince, however, was at the time set aside, and Amarsing, half-brother of Tulzaji (being son of Pratapsing by a sword wife) succeeded him, with the sanction of the Honourable East India Company who had now the direction of the affairs of Southern India."¹

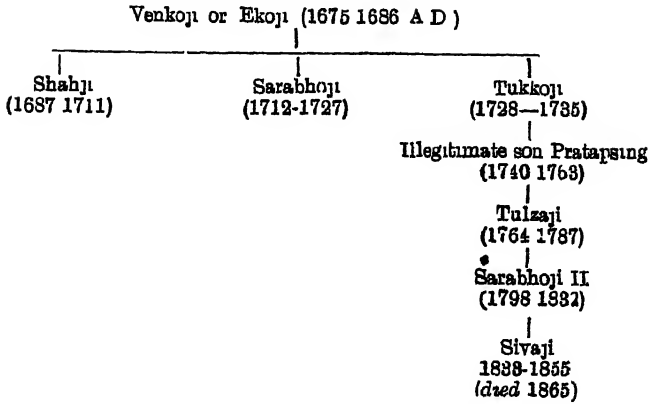
Sarabhoji was a child nine years old at the time of his adoption. He remained under the protection of Raja Amarsing until 1792. On account of complaint of ill-treatment he and his adoptive mother were sent to Madras where in 1798 he was recognised as the rightful heir to the throne. "After he was placed on the musnud, Raja Sarabhoji consented to resign the Government of the country wholly into the hands of the Company, provided they made a suitable provision for the maintenance of his rank and dignity, and the treaty dated 25th October 1799 was the result. Under this treaty Tanjore became a British province and the Raja had ensured to him a fixed annual allowance of one lakh of pagodas or three and a half lakh of Rupees with a fifth of the net revenues of the country. Raja Sarabhoji enjoyed his rank and dignity with the pecuniary benefits attached to it, for thirty-four years, and on his death in 1832 the same honours and privileges were continued to his son Sivaji until his death in 1855."²

1. *Tanj Dt Manual*, 775.

2. *Ibid*, 818-4.

3. *Ibid*, 824.

The following geneology shows the line of King Ekoji of Tanjore



158 The life of Sivaji, the founder of the Bhosala dynasty, is a matter of history. In 31 chapters Paramānanda describes his exploits in his *Śivabhārata*¹. His expedition and capture of the fortress of Parnālaparvata is described by Jayarāma in 5 ullasas in *Parnālaparvata-grahākhyāna*². The life of Śivaji's son Rājārāma is sketched in *Rājārāma-carita*, a poem of 5 cantos,³ by Keśavapandita where the struggle for Mahratta independence in the Carnatic is well depicted.

In the court of King Ekoji (1675-1686 A D), Jagannātha, son of minister Bālakṛpā, wrote the play *Ratimanmaṭha*⁴ and Śrīsaila, son of Ānandayajvan, another minister, wrote *Tripuraviyayacampū*⁵.

King Shahaji wrote the play *Caṇḍrasekharavilāsa*⁶. In *Kumāra-sambhavadcampū*, King Sarabhoji narrates the story of the birth of the War God⁷. King Sarabhoji compiled an anthology⁸. King Tulzaji wrote *Saṅgītasārahmaṇa*⁹.

159 King Sarabhoji (Sarfoji), the second son of Ekoji, is remembered as a preserver of Sanskrit literature. To him belongs the glory of the collection and preservation of Sanskrit manuscripts in an

1. Printed, Poona *Tanj Cat*, VII 3254. See also *Śivavijayacarita* (BTC, 162.)

2. *Tanj Cat*, VII 3262.

3. *Tanj Cat*, VII 3263.

4. *HR*, III 1804, *Tanj Cat*, VIII 3490.

5. *HR*, III 1803; *Tanj Cat*, VIII. 3044.

6. *Tanj Cat*, VIII, 3396.

7. *Tanj Cat*, VII, 3033.

8. See *JBRAS*, (n.s.) I. 252.

9. *BTC*, 60.

organised library in the palace of Tanjore, rightly named Sarasvatī-mahal. The library bears the name Tanjore Maharaja Śaṛṅgi's Sarasvatī Mahal Library and is a monument of that benevolent King's reign.¹

To King Śaṛabhoji is attributed the poem RAGHAVACARITA in 12 cantos on the story of Rāma, also called Sangraharāmāyana. In the colophon to the 2nd canto in one of the manuscripts it is said इति पञ्चरत्नकृतौ राघवचरिते द्वितीय सर्ग. This may indicate that the real author was Pancaratna and the work was put in the name of the poet's patron Anantanārayāna, a poet of the court of King Śaṛabhoji was called Pancaratna and Anantanārayana was the father of the poet Cidambara² and also wrote Anandavallī stotra.³

160 Ramabhadra Dīkṣita was born in the family of Caṭur-veḍiyayvans in the village of Kandramanikam near Kumbhakonam. His father Yagnarāma Dīkṣita was a specialist in grammar and his brother Rāmacandṛa was a humorous poet.⁴ He studied literature and philosophy under the ascetic Bālakṛṣṇa and under Cokkanāṭha, whose daughter he married. He was an admirer of the poet Nilakantha and was invariably in his literary assemblage. It was Nilakantha's poetry that infused the poetic spirit in Rāmacandṛa early in his years and his name reached the ears of King Shahaji of Tanjore (1684-1711 A.D.). The munificent king bestowed upon Rāmacandṛa and others the agraḥaram of Shahajirajapura (Tiruvananthapuram) and there the poet settled in comfort and serenity. He was much loved by his disciples and was called Ayya or Ayya Dīkṣita. His devotion to Rāma was unequalled. He passed away about the first decade of the 18th century.⁵

His Paṭanjalicarita,⁶ a poem in 8 cantos describes the incarceration of Ādiśeṣa in the womb of Gomka as Paṭanjali, his lectures on the Mahābhāṣya from behind a screen, his curse on one of his pupils to be a Rākṣasa for transgression of his order, and the limitation of the curse

1 For an account of this library, see *Tanj. Cat.*, VI Introduction by P. P. S. Sastri.

2 *Tanj. Cat.*, VI 2641. Aufrecht (*OG*, I 15) names the author as Anantanārayana.

3 *BTC*, 200, *Opp*, II 8716, *OG*, I 15.

4 He wrote *Keralābharana*, a campu on the lines of Viśvagunādharaśa (*Tanj. Cat.*, VII 3095). Rāmacandṛa, son of Janardana and author of *Rāḍhāvinodakāvya* (*Tanj. Cat.*, VI 2848) is a different poet of the Ganjam District.

5 For an account of his life, see V. S. Ramasami Sastri, *Sah. XXII*, 180 and *IA*, XXXIII 126.

6 Ed. Bombay and Madras.

to the appearance of one Candragupta. The demon meets Candragupta and teaches him the lecture. The latter records them in the leaves of a banyan tree, but while out to drink water, a goat eats away some of the leaves. These lost passages are still known as *ajabhakṣita* (goat-eaten). Candragupta went to Ujjain and there transcribed the lectures, which are extant today as a monument of literary merit. Candragupta married three wives, of whom were born Vararuci, Vikramārka and Bhartṛhari. The poem closes with the advent of Śāṅkara and his and final return to Kāñcī.¹

By the drama *Jānakīpariṇaya*,² which will be noticed later, he is well-known. Śṅgāratilaka or Ayyābhāṇa describes the amorous adventures of Bhujangasekhara of Madhura,³ written rival Vasantatilakabhāṇa or Ammalbhāṇa of his friend Varadācārya known as Ammalācārya.⁴

Among Rāmabhadra's other works⁵ the Rāmabhāpastava, Rāmācāpastava, and Rāmātaprāsa, Prāsasthava, Viṣṇugarbhastava, Paryāyokunṣyaṇḍa, lūnīraṣṭava, Rāmabhadrasaṭaka.

161 Cokkanatha,⁶ was the son of Tippādhvari and Narasāmbā of Bhāradvāja Goṭra. He had five brothers of whom one was Yagnesvara. He was the teacher of Rāmabhadra and a friend of Nīlakantha. He lived in Tanjore under the patronage of King Shahajī. He travelled to South Canara to the Court of King Basava.⁷ His *Sevantikāparinaya*,⁸ a

1 For an account see *Stt* XXII 167-8

2 Ed Bombay Madras. See *Sal* XXII for a critical account.

3 Ed Kavyamālā, Bombay. There is commentary by Rāmācandra (*CC*, I, 660). Keith, *SL*, 263.

4 Ed Madras and Calcutta.

Varadācārya known as Ghatikāsāṭṭa Ammal of Śrīvatsagoṭra was the son of Sūdarśana, fifth in descent from the Varāḍa or Varāḍadesika or Nadādūr Ammal, who was the guru's guru of Veḍāntadeśika (See *DC*, XVIII 7262 4 for verses in his praise). Besides this bhāṇa, he wrote *Veḍāntavilāsa* a play on the incidents of Rāmānuja's history (*DC*, XXV 8530). There are other Varadācāryas who wrote *Colabhāṇa* (*PR*, I 262), *Anangabrahmavilāsa* (*CC*, I 549), *Anangaivanabhāṇa* (*BTC*, 167) and *Rukmiṇīparṇaya* (*BTC*, 172).

5 Ed Bombay, Kavyamālā XII.

6 It is stated in *Tanv Arch Rep*, V 18, that this was different from the father in law of Rāmabhadra, but no reasons are given. The dates appear to make them identical. Chokkanāṭṭha, son of Sūdarśana of Bhāradvāja Goṭra who is the author of a commentary on Vāṣuḍeva's *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* is a different person.

7. He may be Basavappa Nayak of Ikkeri (1697-1714) or Basavarājendra of 1700 A.D. see *JMy*, X 257.

8. *TC*, III 4064.

drama, describes the marriage of Basavarāja and Sevantika, the daughter of Miṭṭavarman, a prince of Malabar, when the latter having fought with Godāvarman of Cochin and was defeated, was imprisoned in the temple of Mūkāmbā, north of Udipi. Then they were received kindly by Basava by the gift of a new palace and presents. His Kāntimatī-parinaya,¹ a drama, describes the marriage of King Shahāji and Kāntimatī. His Rasavilāsa² is a bhāna of an amorous nature.

His son Sadāsivamakhin wrote a rhetorical work, Rāmavarmaya-sobhāsana during the reign of King Rāmavarma of Travancore (1758-1798 A.D.)³

162 Among the illustrious disciples of Rāmabhadra were Venkatesvara and Bhūminātha. Venkatesvara wrote a commentary on the Paṭanjalicarita. Bhūminātha known as Nallā Dikṣita composed Dharmaviṣayacampū on the life and history of King Shahāji whom he called the modern Bhoja.⁴

Among his worthy contemporaries were Venkatakr̥ṣṇa, Śrīdhara Venkatesa, Appa Dikṣiṭa and Mahādeva.

Venkatakr̥ṣṇa was the son of Venkatāndra and Mangāmba of Vādhūla Goṭra. He wrote his Natesaviṣaya,⁵ in 7 cantos, describing the story of Śiva's vanquishment of Kālī at Cidambaram by his triumphant cosmic dance, under the patronage of Gopāla, a Governor of Śivaji's provinces, near Cidambaram. Uttaracampūrāmāyana is said to be a sequel to the work of Bhoja and Lakṣmaṇa,⁶ Rāmacandrodīya relates the whole story of Rāmāyana,⁷ and Kusālavijayanātaka⁸ describes the conflict of Rāma with his sons Kuśa and Lava and the final restoration of Sītā to Rāma.

Śrīdhara Venkatesa, known as Ayyāval, is celebrated in South India for his piety and devotion. Besides his religious lyrics,⁹ Dayāsataka, Mātṛbhūtaśataka, Īrāvatisataka and Ārṭiharasṭoṭra, he wrote Sāhendra-

1. *Tanj. Cat.* VIII. 3367

2. *CC*, II. 116

3. See *Tr. Arch. Series*, V. 18.

4. *Tanj. Cat.* VII. 3269

5. *DC*, XX. 7747.

6. *DC*, XXI. 8182

7. *CC*, II. 28

8. Probably the same work as is described in *DC*, XX, 7814 (where the author's name is doubtfully given as Kavi Vallabha). It breaks off in 26th Canto.

9. Ed. Sri Vidya Press, Kumbakonam

vilāsa, a poem in 8 cantos, describing the exploits of his patron, King Shahājī and is of great historical interest in the annals of Hindu dominion in Tanjore¹

Appā Dikṣita or Appāsastri or Peria Appā Sastrin was the son of Cidambara Dikṣita *alias* Annan Sastri and brother of Visvanātha of Śrīvatsa Goṭra. He lived in Kilayur near Tanjore. His father vanquished Kāmadeva in a controversey at the court of King Venkatapaṭi for which he was rewarded with a golden palanquin and an agraharam Frakaran. He was the pupil of Kṛṣṇānanda and received from him the title of Kavītārkikasarvabhauma, for proficiency in dialectics and poetics. He was a favourite of King Shahājī of Tanjore.² His *Śṛṅgāra-manjarīsāhajīya*,³ is a drama describing the life and history of King Shahājī and staged at the Chatira festival at Tiruvaiyar (Tiruvadi). His other works are *Madanabhūṣanabhāna*,⁴ and *Gaurīmāyūracampū*.⁵

In his play *Adbhut darpana* in 10 acts, Mahādeva, son of Kṛṣṇasūri, says that the sentiment of *Adbhuta* reigns supreme and illustrates his theory by the incidents of the *Rāmāyana*.⁶

163 In the Court of Kings Shahājī and Sarabhoji flourished other famous poets. Sumatindra Bikṣu was a poet of King Shahājī's court. He was the pupil of Venkatanārāyaṇa and Surindrapīṭha.⁷ He wrote a poem *Sumatindrajayaghoṣaṇa* on his patron and a commentary on Jivikrama's *Usāharapa*.⁸ Besides *Shāhaviḷāsa* on music⁹ and a poem *Abhinavakādambarī*.¹⁰ Dhundirāja Vyāsayaṇvan, son of Lakṣmana composed his commentary on *Mudrārakṣasa* in 1713 A.D., probably at the direction of King Sarabhoji who wrote his own gloss on the play.¹¹ To him goes the credit of preserving the allegorical poem of 8 cantos, *Jānānavilāsa*¹² of Jagannātha, son of Nārāyaṇa and Alkā, who was probably the same as the author of *Śarabharājaviḷāsa*.

1 *Tanj Cat* VII 3266

2 See *JOB*, III

3 *TC*, III, 2575, *CC*, II 158

4. *Tanj Cat*, VIII 3532

5. *Tanj Cat* VII 4085

6 *Id* Kavyamala, Bombay, *Tanj Cat*, VIII, 3584 Mahādeva Kavīśacārya Sarasvaṭi, author of *Dānakeli Kaumudī* (bhāṇukā) (*CC*, I 248), Mahādeva or Mahāśvara, author of *Dhurvaidāmbanaprahasana* (*CC* I, 272) and Mahādeva Śāstri, author of *Unmaṭṭārāghava* (*CC*, I 66) are different poets.

7 *Tanj Cat*, VII 3282

8 *Ibid*, VI 2695

9. *CC*, I 215,

10 *Opp* II 3321

11 *Tanj Cat*, VIII 3474

12 *Ibid*, VII, 2758

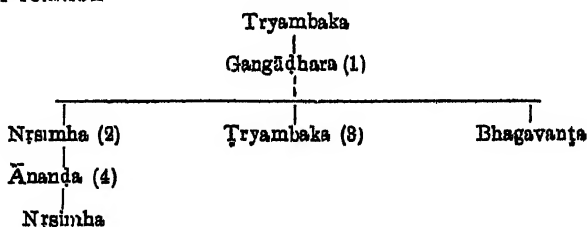
In Kosala-Bhosaliyam, Seśācalapatī describes in 6 cantos the reign of King Shahājī along with the story of Rāmāyana in double entendre¹ In Bhosalavamsāvalī, a campū, Venkateśa of Naidhrva-kāśyapa Gotra describes the ancestors of King Sarabhojī and particularly the glorious reign of that King² Similar is the poem Sarabharājaviḷāsa composed in Kali 4822 (1722 A D) by Jagannātha, son of Śrīnīvasa of Kāvala family, a minister of that King's Court,³ who also wrote Anangaviṣayabhāṣa,⁴ and Śrīngarataraṅginī

Vanceśvara was a descendant of Govindā Dikṣita. He was of the family of Bhosala and was minister of King Tukākṛī of Janjore (1728-1735 A D) His Mahā-sātaka is a marvellous and pleasant poem, in which he mingled praise and censure, indicating by puns that the King was a buffalo⁵

During the days of King Sarabhojī II (1798-1832 A D) the poet Sadājī composed the poetical work Sāhityamañjūṣa in 1823 A D in praise of the House of Śivājī⁶

In the time of King Śivājī (1833-1853 A D) Virarāghava, son of Īśvara, wrote the play Vallīparīnaya⁷

164 To this house of Fkojī, belongs the credit of continuing the progress of Sanskrit literature in S India, so well inaugurated by the Naik Kings. These kings were themselves poets and it was a happy chance that their ministers came successively from a family of illustrious Brahmins of learning descended from Tryambaka. The following list of the kings and the geneology of Tryambaka given in Dhundhirāja's commentary on Mudrarāksasa and Appadikṣita's Ācāranavanīṭa will show their relation



1 *Tanj Cat*, VII 8275,

2 *Ibid* VII, 8287

3 *Ibid*, VII 8291

4 *HR*, III 1776.

5 Printed Bombay *HR* III 1579. In *Tanj Cat*, VII 2156 there is a commentary by the author's great grandson Vanceśvara, son of Nṛsimha, son of Mādhava (*BTC*, 164, *HR*, II 1528)

6 *Tanj Cat* VII, 3298

7 *DC*, XXI. 8491 Virarāghava son of Śrīśaila who wrote *Indirāparīṇaya* (*HR* III 1749) is a different author.

	KINGS	MINISTERS
Sons of Ekoji	i Ekoji (1674—1687)	Gangādhara (1) and Nṛsiṃha (2)
	ii Shahaḥi (1687—1711)	Tryambaka (3)
	iii Sararhhoji (1712—1727)	Tryambaka (3) and Ānanda (4)
	iv Tukkoji (1728—1735)	Ānanda (4) (and Ghanasyāma)

165 In Bhosalavamsāvalī, Gangādhara wrote the story of the Bhosalas.¹ Tryambaka (II) wrote Dharmākūta, commentary on Rāmāyana.² Bhagavanṭa wrote Mukundavilāsakāvya, a poem in 10 cantos, on the story of Śrī Kṛṣṇa,³ and a play Raghavābhyaḍaya.⁴

Bhagavanṭa was the son of Gangādharaādhvarin and younger brother of Tryambaka. In his Mukundavilāsa, in 10 cantos, he relates the story of Kṛṣṇa,⁵ and Uṭṭaracampū, the story of Uṭṭararāmāyaṇa.⁶

Ānanda or Ānandarāyamakhin wrote the plays⁷ Vīdvāparinaya and Jivānanda, allegorical like Prabodhacandrodaya. In the former, for instance, the plot is the marriage of Jīvātman or individual soul and Vidyā or spiritual knowledge.

Ānanda's son Nṛsiṃha wrote Tripuravijayacampū.⁸

1 *Tanj. Cat* VII 3272

Gangādhara a poet of the Court of Karna of Dāhala vanquished by Bilhana (*Vak* xviii 95), Gangādhara quoted in *Skm* and *Subh* (*CC*, I 137), Gangādhara (Vājapeyin), author of *Rasikaraṅginī* (*Opp* I 3348, 4806 II 2514, 3772, 5997), Gangādhara, author of *Ānandalaharīkā* (*K* 204), Gangādhara (Śāstrī), author of *Kṛṣṇarājacampu* (*Rice* 248), Gangādhara, author of metrics (*CC*, I 138), Gangādhara author of *Vasumatiśrīrasena Kāvya* (*Opp*, 4714), Gangādhara, author of commentary on *Saṅgitaratnākara* (*BTC*, 59) and on *Suryasāṭaka* (*Hall's Int. to Vāsavaḍatta*, 7) are different persons [See *CC* I, 137-9]

2 See pages 28 & *supra*

3 *Tanj. Cat* VI. 2627

4 *BTC*, 172, *Opp* II 4672 (In the prologue his parentage is given)

5 *Tanj. Cat* VI. 2627

6 *Ibid* VII, 3082

7 Printed, *Kāvyaṃālā*, Bombay

8 *Tanj. Cat* VII. 3044, *HR*, III 1605

166 Ghanasyama,¹ originally known as Āryaka, was the son of Kamalā and Kṛṣṇa Mahādeva of Mauna Bhārgava family. He had a brother Īsa who became an ascetic and under the name of Cidambara-guru settled in Devipattanam. His father's father was Caundo Bālaji. His mother's father Timmaji Bālaji of Kaundinyagotra was called Sakambhāri Paramahansa. He had two wives Sundarī and Kamalā. They were equally learned and composed another commentary on the Viddhasālabhanjikā,² as he did one himself in three hours.³ Besides his prolixity in literature, he was great in politics and was the minister of King Tukkoji of Janjore (1728-1755 A.D.)⁴

In his 26th year he wrote the Bhīma Madanasanjīvanā⁵ and in his twenty-second year Navagrahacarita⁶ a Sattika in Prakrit. He composed in a single night of Śrīramanavamī a commentary on the Uttararāmacarita and wrote also an allegorical drama Pracandaraṅhūdaya like Prabodhacandrodaya.⁷ He wrote 64 works in Sanskrit, 20 in Prakrit and 25 in other dialects.⁸ Among his poems, are Bhṛṅgavatṛpāḍacarita, Venkatesacarita, Prasāṅgalīlārnava, Saṁmanamandana and Anyāpadesā-sāṭaka⁹ and five Sthalamāhāṭṭmas. Ābodhākara is a poem with three meanings, namely, the story of Nala, Kṛṣṇa and Hariscandra. Kalidūṣapa is a poem which is at once Sanskrit and Prakrit.

In his twelfth year he made up the Uddhakāṇḍa for Bhojacampū.¹⁰ Among his dramas of many classes are Ganēśacarita, Madanasanjīvana, Kumāraviyaya,¹¹ Anubhavaśīlāmaṇi and Ānandasundarī,¹² and last two acts for Mahāvīracarita which apparently were then missing.

In rhetoric he wrote the Rasārṇava. He wrote commentaries on Śakuntalā,¹³ Uttararāmacarita,¹⁴ Prabodhacandrodaya, Candakaṇṭika, Mahāvīracarita, Venīsamhāra, Hālasapṇasatī, Vikramorvaśī, Bhoja-

1 He himself made a pun on his name

तदुचि यो न श्याम कवीनां स यदि घनश्याम ।

कवने कमनश्याम किमसूयामिर्मुधैव नश्याम ॥

"If he is Ghanasyāma, he is not black in color, but he is a poet of poets because he is himself a cuckoo which sings beautiful poetry. Why kill ourselves in vain with jealousy?"

2 *HR*, III 1676

3 *HR*, III, 1677

4 Tanjore District Manual, 764

5 *HR*, III 1679

6 *Ibid.* 1671.

7 *Ibid.* 1675

8 See *HR*, III ix xi.

9 *Tanj. Cat.*, VII 2900

10 *HR*, III 1681

11 *Ibid.* 1682

12 *Ibid.* 2142

13 *Ibid.* 1656

14 *Ibid.* 1600, Printed Bombay.

Mahakavyas (could)

169 Manavikrama and Eighteen and Half Poets¹ In the Court of Zamorin Mānavikrama flourished what has been known as eighteen and half poets in the beginning of the 15th century A.D. The Zamorin was a scholar and patron of literature. Eight brothers of Payyur Patteri family and a son, five brahmins of Tiruvapara and Tiruvegapara, Mullapilli Patteri, Chennasu Narayana Nambudri, Kakasserī Nambudri and Uddanda were the eighteen poets and Punnattu Nambudri was the half poet, for his poetry was mixed Malayalam and Sanskrit. The eldest of the Payyur family was famous as Maharsī, versed in Mīmāṃsa, the fifth brother was Narayana Patteri. Two other brothers were Sankara and Bhāvadāsa. Maharsī's son Paramesvara is quoted by Uddanda in his Mallikāmaruta and Maharsī is mentioned with reverence by him in his Kokilasandesa as Mīmāṃsāśāstrayakulaguru. Works on Mīmāṃsa written by the brothers are found everywhere in Malabar. One poet of Tiruvapara wrote Lakṣmī-Manavedācampū and another Nārāyaṇa, son of Brahmadaṭṭa, wrote the poem Subhadrā-haraṇa kāvya²

Chennasu Nārāyaṇa wrote Tantrasamuccaya, a work for artisans. Verses satirising kings composed by him and Kakasserī Nambudri are quoted in Malabar, for which it is said they were punished by the Zamorin by novel methods of religious degradation. Kakasserī Dāmodaran Patteri was Uddanda's rival and wrote the play Indumaṭī-Rāghava.³ Mānavikrama himself wrote a commentary on Anargharāghava.⁴ Sāmbasiva, son of Kanakasabhāpati, of Śrīvaṭṭagotra, resident of the village of Gopālasamuḍra, wrote Singāravilāsabhāna⁵ to please Mānavikrama.

169. Uddanda⁶ was the son of Ranganāṭha and Rangūmbā of

1 *Sahityam* (in Malayalam,) Tiruchitr.

2 *TC*, IV 8888. See para 46 *supra*.

3 *TC*, IV. 4778.

4 *TC*, II 2580, IV. 5613.

5 *TC*, IV 4925.

6 He was known as Uddanda Sastrī. Jivānanda Vidyasagara (1820-1891 A.D.) in his Calcutta Ed. mistook Uddanda for Dandin and made the latter the author of Mallikāmaruṭa. Schuyler (*Bibl*, 90) calls him Uddandin (wrongly).

Vadhūlagotra He lived in the village of Lātapura near Kāncī¹ Passing his literary career at the various seats of learning in South India, he went to Malabar in search of fame and there in the courts of kings overcame his opponents Mānavikrama, the strong Zamorin, was his patron His success evoked much jealousy, and tradition says² that a pandit's wife vowed to beget an adversary and that she did with the help of prayers and enchantments of the many learned men of Malabar The son was Kakkaseri Bhattāturi As a boy of twelve he vanquished Uddanda in open competition and composed a Malayalam drama Vasumatī-Vikrama and a Sanskrit drama Indumatī-Rāghava³ His Kokilasandesa⁴ is the message of a lover to his beloved at Calicut and is a very fine imitation of Meghasandesa of Kālidāsa This poem is said to have been written in response to a similar poem named Bhrangasandesa sent to the author by Vāsuḍeva, a poet in the Court of Ravivarma and Godāvarma, who ruled at Calicut⁵ His Mallikā-Māruṭa, a prakarana in ten acts,⁶ follows in all details the plot of the Malatī-Madhava The plot relates the affections of two sets of lovers, Mallikā and Māruta, and Ramayantikā and Kalakantha Mandākūṇi answers to Kamandakī and Kāḷindī resembles Avalokīṭa Uddanda has sometimes improved on his original His language is attractive and verse melodious The speeches abound in apt illustration and proverbial generalisation

SANLARA Marar was Uddanda's friend They met at the temple at Guruvayoor and Sanlara completed a verse then begun by Uḍḍanda. He wrote the poem Sri Kṛṣṇavijaya⁷

SUKUMARA or Prabhākara was Uddanda's younger contemporary His Kṛṣṇavilāsa Kavya⁸ is as good as his name

1 It is said in Nallākavi's Subhadrāparinaya (TC, I 1040) that Uddanda was a native of the village of Kandaramanikka (Tanjore District) in Cola country, and Uddanda's father Ranganātha the native of that village was a great writer and among his works are Kṛṣṇaṣaṅkṛṣṇa Prayasaiṭṭam (DC, II No 1169, TC, I 868) and commentaries on the Paḍamanjari and Kaumudī. It is therefore probable that Uḍḍanda was born at Kandaramanikkam and later in his life settled at Lātapura near Kāncī

2 Travancore State Manual 488

3 TC IV 4778 Only two acts are available. Indumatīparinaya (Opp, II 6882) is a different play

4 Ed. Trichur (with introduction)

5 DC, XX 7942 See para 170 post

6 Ed Calcutta and Mysore with commentary DC, XXI 8446.

7 Ed. Trichur

8 Ed (4 cantos only) at Palghat with the commentary of Rāmapānīyāḍa

170 Vasudeva was the son of Maharsī and Gopālī. Maharsī was the famous scholar of the Payyaur Bhāṭṭa Mana of Malabar, which became famous as a centre of learning about the end of the 15th century. Maharsī had nine sons, well versed in various branches of Sanskrit learning and a daughter. The daughter's son was a grammarian Vāsudeva. Vāsudeva was the friend of the dramatist Uddanda and therefore lived about 1423 AD. The famous Mānavikrama, Zamorin of Calicut, was his patron. In reply to Kokilasandesa of Uddanda he wrote Bhṛngasandesa or Bhramarādūṭa¹. Later he was in the court of Kings Ravi Varma and Godāvarma². His Vāsudevavijaya³ is a poem in illustration of the grammatical aphorisms of Pāṇini. It was left unfinished and completed by Nārāyaṇa, very likely his sister's son, under the name Dvāṭa-kāvyā⁴.

171 Devīcanta⁵ a poem in Yamaka style in 6 āśvasas, describes the story of Goddess Gopālī Devī worshipped in Vedāranyam or Kunnangolam, as the eighth child of Devakī and sister of Śrī Kṛṣṇa⁶. In his Satyaṭapakahāṭhā, he relates in three āśvasas the story of Satyaṭapas also called Maharsī one of the ancestors of the author who made penance at Vedāranya and on the banks of the Nīlī river now called Bharatappola⁷. In Sivodaya the poet gives a history of himself and his eight brothers. In his Acyutamāla, a poem in Yamaka form, he describes God Acyuta worshipped at Vedāranyam⁸. Rajendramoksa appears to be his work⁹.

171 PANDAVACARIṬA, a poem of which 13 cantos are available,¹⁰ does not mention the name of the author, but the poet salutes a Vāsudevakavi who wrote a Yamaka poem on "Pārthakāṭha," Arjuna's story¹¹.

1. *DC*, XX, 7942; *CC*, 507. For the alternative names see also *JRAS*, (1884), 452.

2. Vāsudeva, pupil of Karaṇākara alias Sūhṛṭyamalla who commented on Viṇḍhasālabhanjikā is another author.

TC, III 3878.

3. Printed Kāvyamala, Bombay. *DC*, XX, 7745. The commentator called this Vāsudeva, a resident of Puruvana.

4. *Ibid* *DC*, XX 7745. In the colophon the whole poem is called Vasudeva vijayam (*TC*, III 4056) इति नारायणकृतौ वासुदेवविजये कसवधमणिं प्रथमस्सर्गः।

5. *TC*, IV 4528.

8. *TC*, IV 4531.

6. *TC*, IV 4529.

9. *TC*, IV 5385.

7. *TC*, IV 4530.

10. *TC*, IV 5062.

11. तस्मै नमोऽस्तु कवये वासुदेवाय धीमते ।

येन पार्थकथा रम्भा यमिता लोकापवर्जनी ॥

It is not known what this Pārthakathā was. Similarly Arjuna-Rāvaṇīya,¹ is a poem in 17 cantos describing the fight between Rāvana and Kāritā-virva, in illustration of the Astādhyāyī of Pāṇini. There is a commentary by Vāsudeva. The manuscript is again found in the same place in Malabar as Pāṇḍavacarita. The author's name is not given there. It is probable that these two poems were composed by members of the Mahārṣi's family.

172 Vasudeva, the author of Rāmakatha² was the son of Umā and Nārāyaṇa and wrote that prose work at the Court of King Āḍitya-varma, King Sri Vira Kodai Āḍitya Varma of Kilapperur, Jayasimhanad, about 1472 and 1484 A D. Under the patronage of King Ravivarma, he wrote Govindacarita³, Sanksepabhārata⁴ and Sankseparāmāyanam⁵. It is probable that this Nārāyaṇa was the eighth son of Mahārṣi, or Nārāyaṇa, daughter's son of Mahārṣi, more likely the latter.⁶

1 TC, IV 4281

2 Printed Madras

3 DC, XX 7918

4 DC XXI 8324 4 (with commentaries), TC, IV 4175. There it is said प्रकाश श्रीकरोराजा रविवर्मा विराजते. K R Pisharoti identifies this King as King of Prākāsa or Vettat in South Malabar (*Bull Or, Studies*, V 797 9).

5 TC, III 4305

6 K R Pisharoti (*op cit*) identifies this Vāsudeva with Vāsudeva son of Mahārṣi. The Travancore State Manual (I 277 8) give the following account: "There was on the 1st of Kumbhom 647 M.E (1472 A D) a king by the name of Sri Kodai Āḍitya Varma of Kilapperur, Jayasimhanad, the Senior Tiruvadi of Siraivoy according to the temple chronicles of Sri Padmanabhaswamy. But beyond this bare fact nothing could be ascertained except that he might have been one of the co regents at the time. There is another inscription to prove that Āḍitya Varma, the Senior Tiruvadi of Jayasimhanad, as well as his younger brother named Rama Varma, the Senior Tiruvadi of Siraivoy, reigned on the 14th Kumbhom 659 M.E (1484 A D). This latter may be identical with Sri Vira Kodai Āḍitya Varma who flourished in Venad in 1572 A D. But he is mentioned in the temple chronicles as the Senior Tiruvadi of Siraivoy while Āḍitya Varma of 1484 A D is closely referred to in the inscription as the Senior Tiruvadi of Jayasimhanad, Kilapperur. On this basis the reign of Sri Vira Kodai Āḍitya Varma may be taken as having lasted up to the year 1484 A D. His younger brother Rama Varma was probably his co regent under the title of the Senior Tiruvadi of Siraivoy. Sri Vira Ravi Ravi Varma, the Senior Tiruvadi of Thruppapur, ruled over Venad for a period of thirty two years from 654 to 686 M.E (1479-1512 A D), for the first five years of which he ruled probably as co regent. The temple chronicle records that on the 3rd Karkadagam 678 M.E (1498 A D) Sri Vira Ravi Ravi Varma made a gift of twelve silver pots and granite images as an atonement for sin committed in a fight which took place at the northern entrance of Sri Padmanabhaswamy temple, and that he granted some lands adjoining the tank of Viranarayanasiri to the aggrieved parties. It states also that on the 24th Medam 675 M.E. (1500 A D) he gave 5,000 fanams as

173 Narayana Bhattatiri (Bhattapāda) was a Nambudiri brahmin born at Melputtur near Chandanakkavu Deviksetra, which is Kurumpattur desa of Ponnani taluk in Malabar. Of that Devi, Nārāyana was a devotee. His father Mātṛdatta was a great scholar. His mother came from the Payyur Patteri family. He lived between 1560-1646 A.D. He was until late in his life unlearned, and after his marriage in a Piṣāroṭi family of Trikkantiyur, he studied under a Acyuta Piṣāroṭi, a learned member of the family. Acyuta was not qualified to teach the veda, but as he did teach Nārāyana the vedas, he committed a sin and was attacked by a Vātaroga. Nārāyana got the disease transferred by his mesmeric power to himself and by the singing of the Nārāyaṇīya, a panegyric of Śrīkṛṣṇa of Guruvāyoor the disease disappeared and he attained Āyurārogyasaukhyam, longevity, health and happiness.¹ This expression in arithmetical terminology denotes 1712210 days of Kali as the date of the completion of the work which indicates 760 Kollam, Vrihika 13th day or 1585 A.D. This poem is one of the finest specimens of devotional poetry.

"The fame of Bhattatiri travelled outside Kerala even in his own days, and the renowned Bhattotji Dikshita of Benares, the author of Siddhanta Kaumudi and the greatest grammarian of his age, was so much impressed with the profundity of Bhattatiri's learning in that branch of knowledge that he proceeded to South India to see Bhattatiri and converse with him. Learning, however to his regret that Bhattatiri had passed away in the meantime, the Dikshita is known to have gone back observing that he had no other men to see in Dakshinapatha. Bhattatiri was also known to the great Pandits of the Court of Raghunatha Naik of Panjore, such as Yajnanarayana Dikshita, his minister, and the author of Sahitya Ratnakara and other works, with whom he used to hold correspondence. Bhattatiri appears to have visited the courts of the Zamorin of Calicut the Maharaja of

garvakkattu together with a silver vessel to the temple of Sri Padmanabhaswamy to expiate the sin of having destroyed several villages at that time. Ravi Varma having killed several people during the fights that took place in the year 682 M.E. (1507 A.D.) made another gift of twenty seven silver vessels to the same temple together with the grant of lands at Vembanur Kaladi and Kuppukal. It appears from these gifts that at this period several small battles were fought between the years 673 and 682 M.E. (1498-1507 A.D.) during which many people were killed. The inscription also makes mention of several princes at the time. Of these ADITYA VARMA and UDAYA MARTANDA VARMA were reigning sovereigns. Jayasimha Deva (afterwards Jayasimha II) and Sakalakalal (Srivanganatha) Martanda Varma were probably their co-regents."

1. See Travancore State Manual, II 432 3.

Cochin and the Rajas of Chempakasser and Vatakkunur, and numerous verses have now been discovered which are the composition of Bhattatiri in praise of Virakerala, the then ruler of Cochin, as also of Devanarayana of Ampalapuzha and Godavarma of Vatakkunkur. Devanarayana is a common name for all the rulers of Chempakasser and all that is known of the ruler of that country at that time was that he was born under the star Puratam. It may be stated in this connection that Virakerala of Cochin was a great patron of letters and that several poets flourished under him. The Raja of Chempakasser was also a distinguished patron of learning and several works particularly on Vyakarana appear to have been composed under his special direction. Bhattatiri did not proceed to Travancore possibly because Travancore and Chempakasser were not then on friendly terms. There is a verse in the Matsyavatara Champu of Bhattatiri from which it may be inferred that Ravivarma the ruler of Travancore at that time, who was consolidating his position in the south after the reverses that the country had suffered as a result of its conquest by Achyuta Raja of Vijayanagar, had even incurred the envy of the Raja of Chempakasser.¹

Bhattatiri has written numerous works, on diverse subjects.² Stotra Campū, Mīmāṃsa, Vyākaraṇa and Vyākhyāna

174 NARAYANIYAM is the greatest of his stotra kāvyas. "It contains more than a thousand verses, divided into a hundred parts of ten or more verses each and is a succinct and soul-stirring summary of Śrīmat Bhāgavata. Every verse is addressed to the presiding Deity of Guruvayur direct, and easily reaches the high water mark of perfection in sound and sense. Almost every aṣṭika in Kerala recite some verses of this great poem every day, and there is no human heart which it cannot melt and mend. The merits of Krishna worship have been dilated upon by the poet in a masterly manner in more places than one. Bhattatiri points out than even Sankaracharya, the expounder of the Advaita Philosophy, found consolation in composing Bhashyas on Vishnubhasanama and Bhagavatgita and composing Vaishnavite hymns such as Vishnupadadiksha. He takes to task the Nambudri

1 On Nārāyaṇa and his works see *Malayala Rīṅgam*, Annual number. Many of these are still unprinted and manuscript copies are found in Travancore Maharaja's Library and throughout Malabar with the Śūktiyars. Article by Ullur S. Parameswara Ayyar in Cochin Maharaja's College Magazine, Vol. XII, No. 3.

2 Printed, *Travancore Sanskrit Series*, and at Trichur with an introduction by K. Vasudeva Moosad. The poet Unnayi Variyar at a later date imitated Bhattatiri in his Rāmāpancaśatī in praise of the Deity of Injalakkuda.

Brahmins of his time who were proud of their birth, but who were not devoted to the worship of Krishna" The whole of Bhagavatsgīta had been beautifully summarised in a single verse which runs as follows

जिष्णो त्व कृष्णसूत. खलु समरमुखे बन्धुघाते दयालुम् ।
खिन्न त वीक्ष्य वीर किमिदमपि रुखे नित्यएकोयस्मात्सा ॥
कोवध्य कोऽत्रहन्ता तदिह वधमय प्रोऽङ्ग्य मय्यर्पिततात्सा ।
धर्म युद्ध चरेति प्रकृतिमनयथा दर्शयन् विठवरूपम् ॥

175 He wrote a number of prabhandhas, a variety of campū, on several themes Rājasūya, Dūtāvākya, Pāncālīsvayamvara, Draupadī-paripaya, Subhadhrāharana, Kirāta, Bhāratajuddha, Svargārohana, Mat-yāvātāra, Nīgamoksa, Gajendramoksa, Syamantaka, Kuchelavṛtta, Ahalyāmoksa, Niranunāsika, Daksayaga, Parvāṭīsvayamvara, Astamī-campū, Gosthīnagaravarnana, Kailasasailavarnana, Sūrpanakhāpralāpa, Nalāyanīcarita and Rāmakatha Rājasūya reveals Bhaṭṭatīrī's profound knowledge of Veda and Mīmāṃsa These campūs were written by Bhaṭṭatīrī mainly for the use of Śakkiyars Many well known previous works such as Bālābhārata of Agastya, Bharatācampū of Anantabhaṭṭa, Veṇīśambhāra of Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa and Śiṣupālavadha of Māgha have been freely quoted from, though the best portions are Bhaṭṭatīrī's composition Kotiviraha and Svābhāsudhākara are fine specimens of his poetry¹

His son Kṛṣṇakavi wrote the poem Tārāśaśanka²

176 Manaveda or Eralpatti Raja, a Zamorin of Calicut, was an admirer of Nārāyaṇa and he imbibed his devotion by ardent study of his works, and his language displays the similarity He lived in the 17th century A.D. He wrote his Kṛṣṇagīti or Kṛṣṇanūtaka on Kali day 1736612³ and his Mānavedācampūbhāraṭi on Kali day 1733111⁴ besides a commentary on Campūrāmāyaṇa⁵ Rudradāsa describes the marriage of Candraleka and Mānavedārāja in his Saitaka Candralekhā or Manavedacanta⁶

1 Printed, Kavyamāla, Bombay

2 Printed, Kavyamāla, Bombay

3 Printed, Trichur, with an introduction TC, III 4082, the date given is माघा स्तुतिर्गायके ।

4 TC, II 2580, DC, XXI, 8267 There is a commentary by Kṛṣṇa, TC, II 2595

5 TC, III, 4020 The date given is पापेयल्लालसोयम्

6 TC, IV 4782

177 Ramapaninada or Rāma whose popular name was Kunjunn Nambiyar was born of the Warior caste near Kunnanikulam, Cochín State, and lived about the middle of 18th century. He was a pupil of Nārayanabhatta. He is one of the best poets of Malabar in Sanskrit and Prakrit. For some time he was with the Zamorin of Calicut and latterly settled at Kotilinga (Cranganore) where he was performing service as drummer in the temple there. In *Viṣṇuvilāsa*,¹ a poem in 8 cantos, he describes the deeds of Viṣṇu in the nine incarnations. In *Mukundaśṭava*, he sings the praise of Mukunda at the instance of King Rāmavarma of Śrīkantha family.² While he was living at Sendamangalam he wrote the poem *Raghaviya* in two parts *purva* and *uttara* in 20 cantos on the whole story of Rāmāvana.³ *Lalitārāghaviya*⁴ and *Pādukā-pattābhīṣeka*⁵ are plays on the same theme. His *Candrika* is a *Veethi* said to have been enacted in Irivandrum in the time of King Vancimartānda and *Madanakēṭucarita* is a *prahasana*. Besides various works on other Sastras he composed in Prakrit the poems *Uśaniruddha*, and *Kamsavaho*. He commented on Sukumra's *Kṛṇavilāsa*,⁶ *Kṛṇavilāsuka's* *Govindabhīṣeka*, and Nārāyaṇa's *Dhātukāvya*.⁷

RAMAVARMA of Cranganore was the junior prince, *Yuvarāja*. He lived about 1800. His *Rāmacarita* is a poem in 12 cantos⁸ on the story of Rāma, and *Rasasadanabhāṇa*,⁹ a fine play. Some of his ideas are very fanciful.¹⁰

178 Śrī (Swati) **Ramavarma** Kulasekhara, Maharaja of Travancore lived in 1813-1897 A.D. He was the son of Lakṣmī Rānī and inherited the throne in the womb. His father was Rājārājavarma of Chengannasery. He was a linguist and his proficiency in Sanskrit was

1. *TC* IV 5136

2. *TC*, IV 5077. There is a commentary by a fellow pupil.

3. *DC*, XX 7838, *TC*, IV, 5773, with commentary, *TC*, IV, 5035

4. *DC*, XXI 8542

5. The manuscript is in Kalakath Illom in Malabar.

6. Printed, Trichur

7. *DC*, XX 7745, *TC*, IV, 5411

8. Printed, Poona *DC*, XX 7845

9. *Ed Kāvyaṃālā*, Bombay

10. For instance

राका मुखेन दशमी च कपोलकान्त्वा
फालेन पञ्चमतिथि प्रतिपन्नखाङ्कै ।
एषा कुहुरपि कचप्रकरेण धत्ते
प्रथमस्ततिथिसङ्गहमाजनत्वम् ॥

admirable. Besides his poems *Padmanābhasatuka*, *Ajāmīlopākhyāna*, *Kucūlopākhyāna* and *Bhaktimanjarī*,¹ he wrote the *prabandhas*, *Utsava-varnana* and *Syānandūrapuravarṇana*.² In the latter, he described the incarnation and stories relating to God *Padmanābha* of *Irivandrum*.

179 Keralavarma (*Valia Kovil Iambiran*) was the consort of *Maharani Lakshmi Bayi* of *Travancore*. He was one of the greatest of modern poets and was held in high esteem. He lived between 1845-1910.³ He has been called *Kerala Kālidāsa*. Of his Sanskrit works, we have the *Viśākharājamahākāvya*, *Kamsavadhacampū*, *Śingāra-manjarī*, *Guruvayupuresastotra*, *Vjaghrālayesasatika*, *Sonadrīśasatuka*⁴ and *Kṣamāpamasahasra*.⁵

180 Manavikrama Etti (*Iambiran*, the *Zamorin*), died about 1920. He was an extempore poet and wrote several small poems. *A. R. Rajaraja Varma* (*Koil Iambiran*) was the superintendent of Sanskrit Studies in *Travancore*. Besides an original commentary on *Pāṇini*, he wrote *Āṅgalasamrājya Mahākāvya* and a poem *Vitavibhāvari*. He lived in 1863-1918 A.D.

Jola Nambudri wrote *mahakavya*, *Ilakāvya*. *Idayath* of *Candanpalli* wrote *Rāmacaritkāvyā*. *Kunju Kuthan Tambiran* wrote the poem *Yādavavijaya*. *Nambudripad* of *Edavathikodmana* wrote *Rukmī-svayamvaraprabandha*, *Kunhukattan Iambiran* of *Cranganoor* wrote *Kirātavyāyoga* and *Balhruvāhanacampū*, *Kochunni Iambiran* of *Cranganur* wrote the poem *Gosricarita*, *Bānāyudhacampū*, *Viprasandesa* and *bhūnas*. *Anangavijaya* and *Vitarājavijaya*. *Ramawariar* of *Kaikolangara* wrote *Āryāsaptasatī*. *Unni Nambudripad* of *Muthukurisi* and *Mahīṣamangala Nambudri* wrote *bhūnas*. *Vakathol Nārāyaṇamenon* (born 1890) wrote *Mahākāvya*, *Iapatisamvarana*, *Devīśṭava* and *Kṛṣṇasatuka*.

The poetess *Manoranā* died a hundred years ago. *Lakṣmī Rājñi*, a princess of *Kadathanat*, *Edavalath* palace wrote *Sanjñānagopālakāvya* and died about 12 years ago. *Subhadṛā*, princess of *Cochin*, who died in 1921, wrote *Saubhadrasṭava*.

1. Ed. Tr. Sans. Series.

2. Ed. Tr. Sans. Series, with commentary.

3. Trav. State Manual, II. 488.

4. Printed, Travancore.

5. The manuscript is in Travancore.

CHAPTER VIII

Mahakavyas (*contd*)

181 Parvatiyamsavali¹ gives a list of rulers of Nepal with the lengths of their reigns and an occasional reference to dates of accession. It dates back from 1768 A.D. to seven or eight centuries before Kaliyuga. It consists of several dynasties of kings, and Bhūmivarman, the first king of the 5th of the Sūryavamśi dynasty, is distinctly described as having been crowned in Kali 1389 (1712 B.C.) and Śivadevarman the 27th king of this Sūryavamśi dynasty is placed about 338 B.C. For, it will be seen that Amsuvarman, the 1st king of the 6th or Thakuri dynasty, is stated to have been crowned in the year Kali 3000 (101 B.C.) and reigned 68 years from 101 B.C. to 30 B.C. and in his time, Vikramāditya came to Nepal and established his Era of 57 B.C. there. Amsuvarman is described as the son-in-law of Viśvadevarman, the 3rd and last king of the 5th or the Sūryavamśi dynasty who reigned for 51 years from 152 B.C. to 101 B.C. whom he succeeded. Similarly, the 30th king Viṣṇudevavarman, the predecessor of Viśvadevarman, reigned for 47 years from 199 to 152 B.C. His predecessor Bhīmadevarman, the 29th king, reigned for 36 years from 235 to 299 B.C. the 28th king, Narendrarman, reigned for 42 years from 277 to 235 B.C., and lastly the 27th king Śivadevarman abovenamed reigned for 61 years from 338 to 277 B.C.

“But a good deal of confusion has been introduced into the chronology of the dynasties of kings that ruled at Nepal by Dr. Fleet, and other orientalist by mistaking the Harṣa Era given in some of the copper plates as referring to an era supposed to have originated with Harṣavarḍhana Śilāditya of Kānyakubja (Kanauj) who is ascertained to have lived (or reigned) from 606 or 607 A.D. Thus in a Charter of Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Śivadevarman, the 27th king of the 5th or the Sūryavamśi dynasty of the Nepal kings above referred to (who according to Nepalese Chronology ruled from 338 B.C. to 277 B.C. for 61 years), the date of his accession to the throne is given as Harṣa Samvat 119. These orientalist at once assume the Harṣa Samvat to be an era founded by Harṣavarḍhana, the patron of Bāna and contemporary of Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese traveller who travelled

in India from 629 to 645 A.D. On this assumption they take the Harsa Samvat 119 given in Sivadevavarman's charter as equivalent to 119+606 or 607 A.D. (the initial date of Harsavardhana Śilāditya) or 725 or 726 A.D. and at once concluded that the Nepala Vamsāvali which places Sivadevavarman's accession about 338 B.C. calculated according to the dates given in Kaliyuga, must be a mistake, and that accordingly he should be placed about 725 or 726 A.D.

Taking this wrong assumption as true the whole of the Vamsāvali of the Nepal Kings has been mercilessly meddled with and altered according to this new theory, in disregard of all the specific dates given there. There is no tradition or record that Harsavardhana Śilāditya of Kanauj inaugurated any era of his own. If Harsavardhana, or King Harṣa as he is usually called, had really founded any such era corresponding to 606 or 607 A.D., it must have been dated from the accession of that famous king, it is unlikely that if such an era had been founded by Harsavardhana, the contemporary admirers of the King Bāna Bhatta and Hiuen T'sang, would have failed to notice it in their works.

How, then, is this difficulty to be solved? What does the Harsa Samvat in Sivadevavarman's charter denote? The answer is this. In the Harsa Era which dates 400 years before the Samvat or the Vikrama era, founded by Vikramāditya of Malava. The era of Sri Harṣa or the Harṣa Samvat may be taken to indicate the *terminus ad quem* of the suzerainty of Sri Harṣa Vikramāditya of Ujjain, the contemporary of Hiranya Maṭṛgupta and Pravarasena II, the 3rd, 4th and 5th Kings of the Third Goanda Dynasty, described in Kalhana's Rajatarangini. It dates from 457 B.C. just 400 years before the Vikrama era of 57 B.C. Alberuni, the celebrated Muhamadan historian speaks of the existence of a Harṣa era in Nepal and other Northern countries in his time and according to him, it falls exactly about 457 B.C. just 400 years before the Samvat or the Vikrama Era.

Now if we take the Harṣa Samvat as referring to the Harsa Era spoken to by Alberuni Sivadevavarman of the Nepalese Charter in question will have to be placed B.C. 457, 119 or 338 B.C. which exactly tallies with the original date assigned to the said king in the Nepal and the objection raised by these authenticity of the Vamsāvali have no foundation.

1. Alberuni's India, translated and published by Dr. Edward C. Sachau, Vol. II, Ch. XLIX, p. 7

182. Vardhamana was pupil of Govindasuri, a Śvetāmbara Jain. He was in the Court of Siddharāja 1094-1143¹. He composed his Ganaratnamahodadhī in Sam 1197,² in which His Kriyaguptaka (where the predicate is concealed in the verses) and his Siddharāja-varṇana describing the history of his royal patron are quoted.

183. Sambhu³ was a devotee of Śiva and a poet of the court of King Harṣa (1073-1101 A.D.). His son Ānanda,⁴ also a poet, was one of the assembly of distinguished persons that heard the first reading of Srikanthacarita by Mankha at the house of Alankāra,⁵ minister of King Jayasimha (1129-1159 A.D.). His verses are quoted in Subhāṣitāvalī by Vallabhadeva. He appears to have travelled all over India and frequently refers to Malabar and South India. He admires fluency of diction.⁶

His Rājendrakarnapūra⁷ is a eulogium of King Harṣa, his patron, in the form of an address and Ayoktumuktālaṭī is a collection of ingenious verses on various topics indicating an indirect meaning.⁸

184. Kalhana was the son of Campaka. Campaka was minister of King Harṣa of Kāśmīr (1089-1101 A.D.). When that king fell into trouble and was finally assassinated he was faithful to him and kept away from politics. Campaka had a brother Kanaka to whom King Harṣa taught music. Kalyāna or Alakadaṭṭa was his patron.⁹ Kalhana was well-versed in all legendary lore and was by nature well-fitted for historical investigation. His ambition was to write a chronicle of the kings of Kāśmīr. After Sussala's son Jayasimha (1127-1159 A.D.) came to the throne and he was in his Court. He began his work in 1149.

1. See para 70 *supra*

2. Ed. London

3. *PR*, I 11-12. See para 72 *Supra*. *CO*, I 636. *Raj*, VII 948

4. Vallabhadeva in his Subhāṣitāvalī quotes poets Tho. Ānanda, Bhattānandaka, Rājanakānandaka and Rādananda and it is not possible to identify them. There is a poet Ānanda referred to in Padyāvalī.

5. अशेषमिषगग्रण्य शरण्य शास्त्रपद्धते ।

वन्दन्स्थीतमानन्दं सुतं शम्भुमुहाकवे ॥ *Srkaṇ* XXV 97

6. He says पुसामेकसखण्डनं पुनरिदं शम्भोर्भते मण्डनम् ।

यत्किञ्चिद्विहितपार्वणेन्दुशकलस्यन्दोपमास्सूक्तयः ॥

7. Ed. Kāvya-māla, Bombay. He refers to Munja (verse 17)

8. Ed. Kāvya-māla, Bombay. See *PR*, I. 81

9. See under Mankha, para 72 *supra*

A.D.,² and completed his *Rājataranginī* in a year with the prevailing sentiment *Sānta*

Kalhana was at once a poet and chronicler. He did not forget his poetry in the course of his narration. His was a *Mahākāvya* in every sense of the term, with *sānta* as the prevailing sentiment. The turbulent times of his boyhood and the pathetic story of King Harṣa to whom his father *adhered* must have made him pessimistic and there is a vein of satire everywhere. He was very god-fearing and his devotion to Śiva was extreme and Him he praised in his *Ardhanārīśvarastotra*.³ It appears as if his motive in writing the History of Kings was not merely to record a story of events mundane, to which he attached little importance, but to illustrate the unreality of human fortunes and the vicissitudes of pompous royalty. Just as Vālmīki did, Kalhana realised that the doctrine of fate was the sensible solution of life.⁴

Before proceeding to attempt the poem he rightly realised his duty and when he said

श्चाद्यस्स एव गुणवान् रागद्वेषबहिष्कृता ।
भूतार्थकथने यस्य स्थेयसेव सरस्वती ॥—I 7

and he kept up this ideal unaffected by the events of his chronicle

According to Kashmir tradition, he wrote a poem *Jayasimbhābhya-daya*, apparently a history of the achievements of King *Jayasimha*.⁵

185. Kalhana mentions previous writers —“*Suvrata*,⁶ whose work, he says, was made difficult by misplaced learning, *Khemendra* who drew up a list of kings, *Nipāṇah*,⁶ of which, however, he says, no part

1 Ed. by Durga Prasad and by Troyer. Translated into English by Y. C. Datta and by M. A. Stein “*Kalhana's Chronicle of Kashmir*” with a valuable introduction. For editions and translations and for notes on Kalhana, see *IA*, IV 107, VI 264, XVIII 65, 97, XL 97, XVII 801. See also *JBRAS*, Extra No 1877. On the close logical affinity between *Harṣacarita* and *Rājataranginī*, see *VOJ*, XII 33, *JRAS*, (1894), 485 and Stein's *Int* I 133.

2 Printed by Durga Prasad and by Troyer. Translated into English by Y. C. Datta and by M. A. Stein “*Kalhana's Chronicle of Kashmir*” with a valuable introduction.

3 Printed, *Kāvya-mālā*, Bombay.

4 A verse of this poem is quoted in *Rājnakathā Sūtrasamuccaya*. For verses quoted in anthologies, see Peterson *Int* to *Subh* 18.

5 There are poets *Suvrata* and *Suvrataṭṭa* quoted in *Ślem*.

6 Mentioned in *Kāvya-mālā* I, 85. *Rājāvalī* is a history of Kings of Hindustan from before of Kaliyuga up to Warren Hastings by Vijayagovinda Simha. *CC*, I 503.

was free from mistakes, Nilamuni, who wrote the *NILAMATAPURANA*¹ Helaraja, who composed a list of kings in twelve thousand verses, and Srimihira or Padmamihira, and the author of the *SRICHCHHAMILLA*. His own work, he tells us, was based on eleven collections of *RAJAKATHAS* or stories about kings and on the works of Nilamuni. He verified the traditional dates by reference to grants, inscriptions, manuscripts etc

1 Ed by Kanajulal with preface and appendices See *Dhanu Daga*, 110, *Stein*, 202

In the introduction to *Rājataranginī*, Stein says "The oldest extant text, which deals in detail with Kashmirian Tirthas, is the *Nilamatapurana*. This work which Kalhana used as one of his sources of information, claims to give the sacred legends regarding the origin of the country, and the special ordinances which Nila, the lord of Kashmir Naga, had revealed for the worship and rites to be observed in it. It is unnecessary to refer here to the legends which are related at the commencement of the work, and to 'the rites proclaimed by Nila' which are next detailed, and with the former occupy about two thirds of the extant text. These parts have been fully discussed by Prof. Buhler in his lucid analysis of the *Nilamata*. The remaining portions, however, deserve special notice. For, to use Prof. Buhler's words, 'they form a real mine of information regarding the sacred places of Kashmir and their legends'.

In the first place we find there a list of the principal Nagas or sacred springs of Kashmir (vv 900-975). This is followed by the interesting legend regarding the *Maha padma* lake, the present Volur, which is supposed to occupy the place of the submerged city of Candrapura (vv 976-1008). The Purana then proceeds to an enumeration of miscellaneous Tirthas chiefly connected with Siva's worship (vv 1009-18). To this is attached a very detailed account, designated a *Bhūtosvaramahatmya* of the legends connected with the numerous lakes and sites on Mount Haramukuta sacred to Siva and Parvati (vv 1049-1148). Of a similar Mahatmya relating to the Kapatesvara Tirtha, the present Kothar, only a fragment is found in our extant text (vv 1149-68). The list of Vishnu Tirthas which succeeds it (vv 1169-1248), is comparatively short, as indeed the position of this god is a secondary one in the popular worship of Kashmir.

After a miscellaneous list of sacred Sangams or river confluences, Nagas and Lakes (vv 1249-78), we are treated to a somewhat more detailed synopsis of the chief Tirthas of Kashmir (vv 1271-1371). This is of special interest, because an attempt is made here to describe these Tirthas in something like topographical order, and to group with them such localities as are visited along with them on the same pilgrimage. It is thus possible to determine, with more certainty than in the case of other Tirtha lists, the particular holy sites really intended by the author. This synopsis starts in the east with the fountain of the Nilanaga (Vernaga), and follows with more or less accuracy the course of the Vitasta and its tributaries down to the gorge of Varnhamila. A short *Vitastamahatmya*, describing the original and miraculous powers of this holiest of Kashmir rivers (vv 1371-1404) closes the text of the *Nilamata*, such as it is found in our manuscripts."

He used the Laukika era in his computation "The 24th year of the Laukika corresponds with the year 1070 of Sakakala" ¹

186 Book I treats of Gonanda dynasty Book II brings us to a new line of Kings and Book III mentions the restoration of Gonanda line under Meghavāhana Book IV begins in Karkota Dynasty The dynasty was overthrown by Avantivarman, grandson of Utpala Book V narrates the history of the Utpala dynasty The Lohara dynasty succeeds peacefully in Book VI and Book VII concludes with the assassination of King Harṣa In Book VIII there is a long account of the country of

1. लौकिकाब्दे चतुर्विंशे शककालस्य साप्रतम् ।
सप्तत्यभ्यधिकं यात सहस्रं परिवत्सरा ॥

"Laukika era is placed on Caitra Suddha I of Kali year 25 (expired) or the year 8076 75 B C Laukika year is counted at present in Kāsmir from the first day of the bright half of the lun solar month Caitra Kalhana follows the identical reckoning. In *Raj* VII 341 Kalhana says that Uccala was murdered on 6th Pausa Suddha of Laukika 4187 and the dethronement of his successor who 3 months and 27 days later, that is, 3rd Vaisakha Suddha of Laukika 4188 The months are reckoned by his Purnimānta as it is to day in Kāsmir For a full discussion of the Laukika era, see Buhler's *Rep.* 59 *et seq* and Cunningham's *Indian Eras* 6-17 The omission of the centuries in giving Laukika dates is an ancient custom"

"The Lok-kal, or "common era," called also the Sapt Rishikal, or "era of the seven Rishis," is a cycle of 2700 years divided into twenty seven centenary periods, a new reckoning being started at the beginning of each century The theory of the cycle is, that the seven Rishis, or stars of Ursa Major remain for one century in each of the twenty seven nakshatras, or lunar mansions All authorities agree in making Aśvini the first of the Nakshatras, and in stating that the Mahābhārata took place when the Rishis were in the lunar constellation Magha, the tenth of the series The Puranas, and the practice of all the people who still use this cycle, excepting only the Kashmiris, agree in making the era of Yudhishtira the same as the Kali yuga All, however, agree in stating that, at the time of the Mahābhārata, the seven Rishis had already passed 75 years in Magha But as Varaha places the Great war 658 years after the beginning of the Kali yuga, or in 2449, B C, that year should have been the 76th of the tenth Nakshatra, and the 976th year of the cycle This would fix the first year of each centenary period to the 26th year of each century B C, and to the 76th year of each century A D But to prevent the confusion that would thus have arisen Varaha simply ignored the generally accepted belief that the Rishis had spent 75 years in Magha when the Mahābhārata took place and retained the initial points of the Saptarishi centuries only bringing Magha down from B.C 8177 (or 8103 & 76) to B.C. 2477 Accordingly, Varaha's followers place the initial point of the Vrihaspati Chakra in 3377 B C in Aśvini so that each century begins in the 26th year of each century of the Kali yuga exactly as Dr Buhler was informed This also accords with the statement of my Kashmiri informant that the Rishis had completed three revolutions i.e. 25 years in the Dvapara yuga before the Kali yuga began, that is, their Chakra preceded the Kali yuga by 275 years, equivalent to B.C 3377, or 8104+275 years"—*Cunningham*.

forty years from the accession of Uccala. The book mentions Jayasimha, son of Sussala, as the reigning sovereign,¹ and concludes by an apt simile comparing the seven parts of his chronicle with the seven branches of the Godāvari.²

187 Kalhana criticises the view that Mahābhārata was fought about beginning of Kali Yuga and fixes it as 653 years later. He equates the 24th year of Laukika era 1070 years of Saka era and places the first King Gonanda in the year 653 Kali. There he was in error and his attempt to go against the tradition landed him in a misapprehension.³

1 In all, the books treat of the dynasties of (i) Gonanda (1st and 2nd) (ii) Karkota (Dunlabhavaradhana to Anangāpida 601-855 A.D.) (iii) Uṣpala (Avantivarman to Saṅkatavarman and Pārtha 855 to 999 A.D.) (iv) Viradeva (Yasaskaradeva) and Saṅgāmadeva 940 to 949 A.D. (v) Divira (Pavagupta to Bhīma 950 to 1003 A.D.) (vi) Lohara (Sangrāmaraṇa to Jayasimha 1004 to 1158 A.D. For genealogy, see C. V. Vaidya's *History of Med. India*, I, 292-24.

2 गोदावरी सरिदिवोचुमुलैस्तरङ्गै-
वैकैस्फुट सपदि सप्तमिरापतन्ती ।
श्रीकान्तराजविपुलामिजनाविषमंय
विश्रान्तये विवति राजतरङ्गिणीयम् ॥

3 In the Introduction to *Rājataranginī*, Stein says "Kalhana takes as the starting point of the chronological calculations the traditional date indicated by Varahamihira's *Bṛhat-sambhita* for the coronation of Yudhisthira, the Pandava hero of the epics, viz. the year 653 of the Kali era. The date of this legendary event is accepted by him also for the accession of Gonanda I, the first of the 'lost' kings of Kashmir, whose name, as we are told, was recovered by the Chronicler (or his predecessors) from the *Nilamata Purana*. The exact reason for the equation of these dates is nowhere given. But it appears that the story as contained in the earlier version of the *Nilamata* which Kalhana had before him, represented Gonanda I in a general way as a contemporary of the 'Kauravas and Pandavas.'

Kalhana next assumes a period of 2263 years as the aggregate length of the reigns of Gonanda I and his successors as detailed in Book I. For this statement Kalhana does not adduce his authority, though it is one of the main basis of his chronology. But the importance which he attached to it, is evident from the trouble he takes to prove its correctness. He does this by showing that if to the figure of 2263 years are added the 653 years from the commencement of the Kali era to Gonanda I's accession, as well as the years (1328) representing the rough total of the reigns described in Books II-VIII, we arrive at an aggregate of 4249 years which corresponds exactly to the 4249 years of the Kali Yuga elapsed in Saka 1070, the date when Kalhana wrote his introduction.

Kalhana himself tells us that the calculation of a total of 2261 years for the regnal period of the first Gonanda dynasty had been "thought wrong by some authors." As the ground of their objection he indicates the belief (according to him, erroneous) which placed the 'Great War' of the Kurus and the Pandavas at the close of the Dvapara Yuga, i.e. at the commencement of the Kali era. From this remark it is evident that

188 Kalhana's Rājataranginī was followed by Jonaraja and Śrīvara. Jonaraja wrote the history from King Jayasimha to Sultan

Kalhana was not the first to propose the above figure for the aggregate length of the reigns of Gonanda and his descendants, and, further, that the connection of Gonanda I's date with the legendary date of the Bharata war was generally assumed by writers on Kashmir history. Kalhana's reticence does not allow us to go beyond this. We know neither the source from which he obtained that base of his chronological system, nor by what figure the entries he alludes to were prepared to replace it.

Kalhana's Introduction furnishes us only with two more chronological statements of a general character. One is that at the time of Kalhana's writing or in Saka Samvat 1070, "on the whole 2380 years had passed since the accession of Gonanda III," and the other that 1266 years were "believed to be comprised in the sum of the reigns of fifty-two lost kings."

In explanation of the first statement it has to be noted that it is only from Gonanda III onwards that Kalhana is able to indicate the length of individual reigns. With this ruler begins in fact the continuous list of kings which Kalhana professedly obtained from the works of earlier chroniclers. We have already seen that a 'rough calculation,' as implied by Kalhana's expression (*prayah*, 'on the whole') of the aggregate duration of those reigns actually gives us the total of 2380 years. Kalhana does not tell us distinctly whether he took the figures for individual reigns summed up in this 'rough' total, also from the "works of former scholars" which supplied the dynastic names from Gonanda III onwards. It is hence *a priori* not certain whether these earlier sources already knew the date of Gonanda III's accession as indicated by Kalhana's calculation, viz. 1919 Kali or 1182 B.C.

As regards the second statement, allotting 1266 years to the whole of the reigns of the 'lost' kings who preceded Gonanda III, it is evident that this figure could easily be computed either from the traditional sum of 2268 years for the whole period of the first Gonanda dynasty or from the rough total of 2380 years just discussed. Kalhana's words, in fact, seem to imply that this computation had been made by himself.

Period from the death of Cīpatra Jayapīda, Laukika Samvat 88 (iv. 703), to the date of Kalhana's Introduction, Laukika Samvat 42 (i. 52) — 385 0 0

The exact total of these figures would be 1329 years, 8 months and 28 days. But if we disregard the odd months and days found in the aggregate of Books II and III, the result will be again 1328 years. We are all the more justified in adopting this manner of calculation as Kalhana's words (i. 58) distinctly imply that he himself had arrived at the figure of 2380 years for the total from Gonanda III to his own time by a similar 'rough' reckoning.

Total of reigns of the first Gonanda dynasty	.	2268
Deduct for reigns from Gonanda dynasty, to Yulhisthira I		1002
Results a total for 'lost' kings' years	..	1266
The same result is obtained by deducting from	..	
the number of Kali years elapsed in Saka Samvat 1070		4249
the aggregate number of years of known reigns,	.	2380
& the number of Kali years passed before Gonanda I,	..	658
		2068
		1266

Jaṇlabādin (1417-1467 A D) His pupil Srīvaśa continued the history from 1419 to 1486 A D The story of a few more years till the annexation of Kasmīr by Akbar was told by Prājyabhatta and his pupil Suka in Rājāvalīpatākā¹

The following calculation shows that the year in which Kalhana wrote his introduction, was Laukika samvat 4224 —

Distance between Kali 25 (initial date of Laukika era) and the initial date of the Saka era	3154
Distance between Sakasamvat 1 and Kalhana's time	1070
Total of Saptarsi years	4224

We are led by two calculations to the total of 1328 years as Kalhana's aggregate of the reigns from the close of the first Gonanda dynasty to Kalhana's time. Deducting from the total of 2268 years for the reigns comprised in Book I, these 1266 years which Kalhana allows "for the sum of the reigns of the fifty two lost kings" (i 54), there remain 1002 years for the aggregate rule of the kings the length of whose reigns is specified in Book I, (from Gonanda III. to Narendraditya I), and of Yudhisthira, the last king of Book I, the duration of whose reign Kalhana has omitted to indicate. If we deduct these 1002 years from the rough total of 2330 years which Kalhana mentions as having elapsed from the accession of Gonanda III to his own time (i 58), we get result of 1328 years as the aggregate length of the reigns in Books II-VII.

The other calculation we may follow is to add up the figures given in the seven later Books. These are, according to the text, adopted for our translation as follow —

	Years	Months	Days
Total of reigns of Book ii	192	0	0
„ „ iii	589	10	1
„ „ iv			
from Durlabhavardhana to Cippata Jayapida	212	5	27

P L Narasimhaswami says (IA, XL 182) "The fallacy of Kalhana's calculation will be evident on a little consideration. He says that 2330 years have elapsed between Gonanda III and himself, and 1266 years between Gonanda II and Gonanda III. Therefore (2330-266) 8596 years must have elapsed between Gonanda II and himself, who lived in 1070 Saka. This assigns a date (8596-1070) 2526 years before the Saka era to Gonanda II. But from older authorities, Kalhana learns the fact that king Gonanda II was too young at the time of the Great Battle to take part in it. According to the old view, the Battle of Mahabharata took place 3179 years before the Saka era (i.e., at the beginning of the Kaliyuga), while Kalhana's calculation makes the time of Gonanda II (a contemporary of Pandhavas) to 2526 years before Saka era. So to get over this difficulty, Kalhana brings down the Pandhavas to 685 (3179-2526) Kali. This is the explanation of Kalhana's calculation. The author's real mistake lies in his statement that 1266 years have elapsed between Gonanda II and Gonanda III. For he says in his own book पञ्चविंशन्महीपाला मग्नाविस्मृतिपापरे Thirty five Kings were drowned in the ocean of forgetfulness. Such mistakes in his chronology led him to his wrong conclusion."

1. These are printed along with Kalhana's work in Bombay.

Junarāja was son of Nonarāja and grandson of Lovlarāja.¹ He wrote commentaries on Kirātārjunīya,² Pithvirajvijaya,³ and Śīkanthacarita. Śrīvara also wrote Subhā-śīlavali, Junarājataranginī, and Kathā-kautuka in verse, a history of Yusuf and Zulika translated from the original Persian poem of Jami.⁴

189 SANDHYAKARANANDIN, son of Prajāpatinandin, describes the history of King Ramapāla of Bengal, who regained his ancestral kingdom which had been usurped by Bhīma and ruled in 1104-1130 A.D., in the poem Rāmapālacarita.⁵

190 Jalhana⁶ is mentioned by Mankha with admiration as a minister at the Court of Rājapuri the capital of King Somapāla, son of Sangrāmapāla. When Sussala was preferred to his eldest brother Uccala to the throne of Kasmir, he went away displeased to Rājapuri.⁷ On the history of that king he wrote a poem Somapālaviṣṭa⁸ on which Rājānaka Rucaka commented.⁹ His Mugdhopadesa is ethical.¹⁰

1. *CC*, I 208, see Peterson *Int to Subh* 43

2. Composed in 1449 A.D.

3. *BKE*, 101 x, xiii, *CC*, I 667, *BR*, (1883 4), 51

4. Printed (foreign) with a translation by Rich. Schmidt

5. Ed. by Haraprasad Sastri, *Mem ASB*, III. See *BI*, I, 821

6. He is different from Ācārya Bhagadatta Jalhana, author of *Suktimulavali* (*JBRAS*, XVII 57), on which see under SUBHĀSITAS *post*

7. See para 72 *supra* Peterson, *Stull*, 41 2.

श्रीमद्राजपुरीसन्धिविग्रहस्य नियोगिनम् ।

अथानर्च वचोमिस्त जह्ण विनयाञ्चिते ॥

8 सग्रामपाले नृपतौ तस्मिन्नवसरे मृते ।

तत्सुतस्सोमपालाख्य पितुराज्य समादधे ॥

राज्याहमग्रज बुद्धा सोमिषिच्यत चाक्रिकैः ।

इति कोपाग्नेन्द्रोऽमृतकृष्यन्नाजपुरीं प्रति ॥

9 This is quoted by Rajakantha in *Śiṣṭikūsumānjali*. See *CC*, I. 203. There is a verse of the poem preserved in *Kāvya-prāśa śārasamuṇḍaya*.

मार्गं निसर्गादवलम्ब्य वक्रं सुधारसौचं मधुरं वसन्ती ।

चान्द्री च मूर्तिं कवितुश्च स्तुतिर्न धार्यते मूर्धनि नेश्वरेण ॥

10. Printed, *Kavyamālā*, Bombay.

191 Jayadratha,¹ (Rājānaka) was the son of Śṛṅgārāratha,² and brother of Jayaratha of Kasmir. He was a pupil of Subhatadatta and Sankhadhara. He says in his *Tantrāloka-viveka* that his great grand-father's brother Sivaratha was minister of King Uccala of Kashmir (1101-1111 A.D.).³ Jayadratha quotes from *Pṛthvirājaviyaya* composed in about 1190 A.D. and must therefore have lived about the beginning of 13th century A.D.⁴ In poetics he wrote *Alaṅkāra-vimarsinī*,⁵ and *Alaṅkāro-dāharana*.⁶

His poem *HARACARITACINTAMANI*⁷ "relates in thirty-two cantos as many legends connected with Siva and his various Avatars. Eight of these legends are localized at well-known Kashmirian Tirthas, and give the author ample opportunity of mentioning sacred sites of Kashmir directly or indirectly connected with the former. Jayadratha's detailed exposition helps to fix clearly the form which the legends regarding some of the most popular of Kashmirian Tirthas had assumed in the time immediately following Kalhana. The local names as recorded by Jayadratha, agree closely with those of the *Rajataranginī*. They prove clearly that the forms employed by Kalhana must have been those generally current in the Sanskrit usage of the period. For the interpretation of the *Nilamata*'s brief notices the *Haracaritacintamani* is of great value. Its plain and authentic narrative of the various local legends enables us often to trace the numerous modifications which the latter as well as the names of localities connected with them have undergone in the extant *Mahatmyas*. Jayadratha has well earned the honour unwittingly bestowed upon him by those who brought his fourteenth canto which deals with the story of Kapatesvara, into general circulation as the authoritative *Mahatmya* of that Tirtha at the present day."⁸

1 The published texts have the name Jayaratha. In Stein's *Kashmir Catalogue*, the name Jayaratha is given as author of *Alaṅkāra-vimarsinī* and Jayaratha and Jayadratha are treated as identical. Aufrecht (*CC*, I 200, 201, 754, II, 157, 754) treats them as brothers and makes Jayadratha author of these works given above and Jayaratha as author of *Tantrāloka-viveka* and relies on Peterson's manuscript of Rājānaka's *Sārasamuccaya*.

2 Śṛṅgāra's verses are quoted in *Skm*, V 25.

3 *Raj*, VIII 111.

4 Jacobi identifies Jayadratha's father's patron Rājārāja with Rājadeva who ruled at Saṅgasar in 1203-1226 A.D. (See Jonaraja's *Rajataranginī*, 79).

5 This is a commentary on Ruyyaka's *Alaṅkārasarvasva*. Printed, Bombay.

6 *SKC*, 59 (where the name is found as Jayaratha).

7 Ed. by Sivadatta and Parab, Bombay *CC*, I. 754. *BKR*, XIV 61, *PR*, II 18.

8 Steins *Int* to *Raj*.

192 Prthvirajavijaya¹ is an epic by Chandakavi on the life of Prthviraja, the Chahaman King of Ajmeer. He defeated Sultan Shahabuddin Ghorī in 1191 A.D., but was however overcome and killed later on. Soon after the victory the poem seems to have been begun and was left unfinished probably owing to his adversity. Jonarāja had commented on it.

193 Vasudevaratha, son of Govinda of Atreya-gotra, flourished in the court of Purusottama (Anangabhimā) of Kātak about 1423 A.D. His father's father Śrīnivāsa wrote a poem in 20 cantos. Lalitārāghava.

In his *GANGAVAMŚANUCARITA*,² in prose and poetry, he describes the dynastic history of the Ganga princes who ruled over Kalinga.³ It is mostly in the form of dialogue between Vidyārṇava and his wife Līlāvati who seem to have previously visited the Magadha and the Kārnāṭa countries. "He at first goes to a miserly Andara King. He then visits Śrī Kurma and thence proceeds to Puri. The car festival of the place is described and the history of Purusottama, the traveller's chief patron, is described at length. Anangabhimā, an early Ganga prince, is said to have founded Padmanābhapura as an agrahara for South Indian Brahmins. Bhīmapura was likewise constructed and called after his name. Ananga's great-grandson bore his name and conquered the princes of Kātak in 1193 A.D. His twelfth descendant established Kapilendra on the throne. The Gangas left the Oriya country and settled at Guḍarīkātaka. In the eighth Parichheda is given a detailed genealogy of the Gangas down to Purusottamadeva. His third ancestor Padmanābha, is said to have killed one Mallik, a Muhammadan general sent by the Emperor of Delhi, at a place called Nindapurī. A more detailed examination of the work will furnish the historian with much useful material for his purpose.

1. Ed. *BI*, by S. K. Belvalkar with Jonarāja's commentary *CC*, I 845. See Harbilas Sarda, *JRAS*, (1913), 250. There is a *Prthvirajacaritā* (printed, Bombay). One *Prthvirāja* has written a poem *Rukminīkṣṇavallī* in prakṛit, *CC*, I 527.

2. *TC*, IV 4415.

3. For Ganga dynasty, see *IA*, XII, III, XIII, 187.

For inscriptions of Devendrayarman, see *IA*, V 243, XVI, 204, XVIII 143, of Indrayarman, *IA*, X 243, XIII 119, 124, XVI 181, Satyavarman, *IA*, X 243, XIV 10, Nandaprabhanjanavarman, *IA*, X 243, XIII 48, Anantavarman, *IA*, XVIII, 161, dated Saka 1003, 1040 and 1057.

For a short sketch of history of Kalingas by S. Krishnasami Iyengar, see *ATQ*, I. 1 11.

On Indrayarman plates by R. Subbarao, see *ATQ*, III. 183.

VRAJASUNDARA was the son of Balabhadra of Caitanya school. He was a poet of the Court of King Anangabhinava. In his poem *Sulocanā-mādhava* he describes the story of the marriage of prince Mādhava, son of Vikrama, king of Tālādhara with Sulocana daughter of Guṇākara, King of Divyanti in Plaksadvīpa.¹

194 Virupakṣa's COLACAMPU contains a fictitious account of the Cola King Kulottunga and his son Devacola. This is said to be contrary to epigraphical evidence. Śiva came as a Brahmin to him and pleased with his devotion gave him sovereignty. He refused it but consented on condition of repairing all Śiva temples. Śiva revealed himself and went away. Kubera then appeared, related the story of Iṅgasa who obtained salvation through the favour of Ānandavallī at Samivana (ancient site of Tanjore) and crowned Kulottunga at Tanjore. He repaired several temples, crowned his son and went to heaven.²

SADAKSARIDĪVA, the well-known Canarese poet, lived at Dhanugoor in Mysore. He was a pupil of Uddandadeva who flourished at the beginning of the 15th century. In his *Kavikarnarāsāyana* or *Mahācolarajya* he describes in 10 cantos the history of a Cola King.³

195 UDAYARAJA was the son of Prayāgādāsa and pupil of Ramadāsa. His *Rājavinoda* celebrates the life and doings of Sultan Mahommed. He calls him *Rājanyacūdāmanī* and says that he surpasses Karna in liberality and in his footsteps attend Śrī and Sarasvatī. In seven cantos, he describes the genealogy of Mahommed from Myzaffar Khan, his Durbar hall and amusements and his exploits in war. This eulogy by a Hindu Brahmin writer leads us to doubt whether all that is said in our published Indian Histories about the cruelty and persecutions of Sultan Mahommed may not after all be true.⁴

196 P. G. Rāmārya narrates the life of Ghazni Muhammad in *Ghazni Mahamadcarita*.⁵

Birudāvahī is an alliterative poem in praise of Emperor Jehangir.⁶

1. *TC*, IV 5665 (breaks off in 14th canto)

2. *HR*, III 2081. His *Śaraṣāsāryavali* is a commentary on *Candraloka* (*Ibid* 1617)

3. *CM*, 249 (only two cantos are available). He praises Pārakurī Somanāṭha. There is a commentary by Vengana, Telugu poet of Madura.

4. See A. E. Gough, *Records of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 181.

5. *Sa*, XVIII

6. *CSC*, (1908), 95. There are other works of the same name by Palyāna and Raghudeva (*Ibid*, 96, 97).

AKBARNAMAḤ is a Sanskrit translation of the Persian work of that name relating the history of Emperor Akbar¹. There is the poem Todarmallakāvya on the life of Todarmal, his financial minister.² Kālidāsa Vidyāvīnoda wrote Sivājīcarita³.

LAKSMIPATI was the son of Viśvarūpa, son of Jayadeva. He wrote Avaḍullacarita on the life of king-maker Abdulla who lived in 18th century. The poem is not divided into cantos or chapters and contains many Persian terms⁴.

197 Keladi Basavaḥbupala was the son of Somasekhara and Cennāmbā. The family of Keladi to which he belonged traces its descent from Basava whose son Counda distinguished himself as a great warrior and was made the Governor of Pulladesa by the King of the country. His son Sadāśiva fought under Emperor Rāma Rāya of Vijayanagar. Under his successors the viceroyalty was augmented by presents, conquered territories by the Emperor. During Basava's minority, Cennāmbā acted as regent and once vanquished the forces of the general of Emperor Aurangzeb. Basava was proficient in the Sivādharma and worshipped Śiva in the form of Vīrabhadra. He had the titles Rajādhirāja, Kotikolāhala and Parayādayamurari.

His *SVATATVARATNAKARA*⁵ is a unique encyclopaedia, said to incorporate the essence of all arts and sciences treated in the Vedas and the Āgamas. The work was completed in Saka Candrāgnyāntuk-mā (1631) that is 1709-10 A.D. Apart from the valuable information it collects on different topics, it gives a history of the House of Keladi and a legendary account of the foundation of the City of Vijayanagar by Vidyāranya and a history of the emperors that ruled there. The work is divided into Tarangas and Kallolas after the manner of Kathasarit-sāgara.

Rājakālanirnaya of Vidyāranya, gives a history of kings of Vijayanagar from its foundation. It is said that Harihara and Bukka were guardians of the treasury of Vīrarudra and after him of Suratrūpa⁶.

1. *OSC*, (1904), No. 5

2. *CMJ*, *OMS*, 634

3. *Jl. of Sam. Sp. Parishat*, XI

4. *OSC*, (1904), No. 6

5. Printed in Madras. For extracts see *SVII*, 194, 337-364

6. *DC*, XX. 8587. On Vidyāranya, see para 125 *supra*.

198 Rudra¹ was the son of Ananta and grandson of Kesava. He belonged to the Deccan and appears to have gone abroad to Courts of Northern India. In Mayūragiri, he was patronised by King Nārāyaṇa Shah and his son Pratāpa Shah. In his *RĀSTRĀUDHAVANSA*, a poem of 20 cantos he describes the history of the Bagulas of Mayūragiri, from the first King of the dynasty, Rastraudha, King of Kanouj. This poem was composed in 1596 A.D. Later he wrote a work in prose, divided into Ullasas, *Jehangir SHAH Charitra*. Fragments of this work have been discovered in Nasik. The poet thus gives a mythical origin to the dynasty "Once Siva was playing at dice with Parvati on the peaks of Mt. Kailasa. One of the dice accidentally struck the moon in Siva's crest and a boy of eleven sprang from the moon. Pleased with his prayer, Siva granted him the kingship of Kanyakubja. At this time Latana, who seems to be the tutelary goddess of the kings of Kanyakubja, requested that the boy should be given to her for the throne of Kanouj. Siva granted her request. Virabhadra presented him with a sword of victory. Latana then took the boy and gave him to the king Narayana of Kanouj of solar race, who was praying God for a son. The goddess remaining invisible, told the king that the boy will be known as Rashtraudha as he would support both his kingdom and the family." The poem describes in later cantos the expeditions of King Narayana Shah and his son Pratapashah, the last of which was directed against Bālāpura in the Virata country."² Rudra's poetry is enchanting and many of his fancies are rare and original.³

199. [arācanārodaya of Vaiḍyanātha (Maithila) given in 20 cantos the history of King Tārācandra.⁴ Candrasekhara was the son of

1. He is different from the poet and rhetorician Rudra or Rudrata, for whom see Chapter of Alankara post.

2. Ed. by Embar Krishnamachariya, with summary of poem and an elaborate historical introduction by C. D. Dalal in *Gazet. Or. Servs.*

3. For instance see:

लसन्मालतीमालिकां कण्ठदेशे नवालक्तं च बिम्बाधारोष्ठे ।
 कुचै चन्दन वीक्ष्य काचित्सपत्न्या प्रिये सापराधेऽपि यौषा तुतोष ॥
 आरामघोषामवलोकयन्त्या वसन्तलक्ष्म्याश्चरणाम्बुजोत्थान् ।
 लाक्षातुरागानिव नीरजाक्ष्यो बालप्रवालान् दहशुर्लतासु ॥
 बधूजने चिन्वति पुष्पमाला मयाकुलाः षट्पदपायिकौघा ।
 आरामपाला इव कामराजं कोलाहलैर्जागरयामधुः ॥ XV, 59 6

4. CC, I 229, *JBRAS*, XII. The manuscript is dated Sam. 1796.

Jinamitra of Gudda country His Rajasūrjanacarita in 20 cantos describes the life of his patron of King Sūryana¹

VISVANATHA was the son of Nārāyana of the Vaidya family² He was patronised by Kings Kāmadeva and his son Jagatsimha of the Rānaka race and in their praise wrote his Jagatprakāśakāvya in 14 cantos³ Among his other works are Śatrusalyakāvya⁴ and Kōsakal-paṭaru⁵

Mallabhatta Harivallabha describes the history of Jeypoor State in Jayanaganpancaranga⁶

MAYURAVARNACARIIRA in prose and verse in 8 parts is a history of King Mayūravarma, the founder of the Kādamba dynasty of Jayantīpura (Banavāsi)⁷ Jāmaviyaya, a poem in 7 cantos, on the history of Jama dynasty of Kaccha and Navagara was composed by Vāṇinātha about the end of 16th century A.D.⁸ Vamsalaṭā of Udayanācārya contains geneologies of Kings, historical and mythical⁹ Ratnasenakulaprasasti of Bhāvaḍaṭṭa contains a geneological account of the Sena dynasty of Bengal¹⁰ Yācaprabandha by Tripurāntaka is a biography of Kings Yāca of Venkatagiri, who was an ancestor of Sarvajnasingabhūpāla,¹¹ Rāmacandrayasafprabanda by Govindabhatta is in praise of King Rāmacandra of Bikaner¹² Devarājatanṭacampu¹³ is biographical Vellapurivīṣayagadya is a prose account of Vellore and in praise of its ruler Kesavesarāja¹⁴

200 Itihāsatomamaṇi gives an account of the conquest of India by the English and was composed in 1813 A.D.¹⁵ Angarejacandrika by Vināyakabhatta composed in 1801 deals with the British Dominion in India¹⁶ RAJANAGARAHODYANA of Rāmaswāmī Rāja, Āṅgalasūmrāja

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| 1. <i>Mitra</i> (1870) | 4. <i>PR</i> , III 342. |
| 2. <i>PR</i> , IV cvx. | 5. <i>PR</i> , II 123 |
| 3. <i>PR</i> , III Ap. 854 | 6. Printed, Bombay |
| 7. <i>IO</i> , 1570 2703, 2730. | |
| 8. <i>IO</i> , 1510, 2351, Vaninatha's son Kayitarkika wrote Kautakarātnakara Prabhāsana (<i>IO</i> , 1618) | |
| 9. <i>IO</i> , 1517, 2364 | |
| 10. <i>IO</i> , 1515, No. 3886 | |
| 11. <i>Mañk</i> , 98, see Velugutivamvamsācariṭramu (in Tulu) 84. See further chapter of Alankara post | |
| 12. <i>Bk</i> 247. | |
| 13. <i>CC</i> , I | |
| 14. Taylor, I, 22 | |
| 15. <i>CSO</i> , IV 133 | |
| 16. <i>Oxf</i> , 134. | |

of Rājarājavarma and Āṅglādhirājvasvāgata of Paravastu Rangācārya describe the history of British rule in India Vidyālakāra Bhattācārya describes the reign of Queen Victoria in Vijayinikāvyā Srinivasa Vidyālakāra describes Dehli Darbar in Delhimahotsava Kāvya, G V Padmanabha, author of Pavanadūṭa, describes the life of King George V in his Jāyadevacarita ¹

The greatness of Maharaja Kṛṣṇarāja Odayar of Mysore has been depicted by Bhagavata Rṣṇa in Kṛṣṇarājabhayudaya,² by Srinivasa Kavi in Kṛṣṇarājaprabhāvodaya,³ by Trivikrama Sastrin in Kṛṣṇarājagūṇaloka,⁴ and by Gītācārya in Sri Kṛṣṇarājodayacāmpū ⁵

201. Rājasekharasūri was the pupil of Ṭilakasūri He was a Jain He wrote Prabandhakosa, a collection of 24 stories in prose at Delhi under the patronage of Mahanasimha,⁶ in Sam 1405 (1348 A.D) Of the stories related in the Prabandhakosa, ten refer to teachers (suri), four to poets, seven to kings, and three to laymen in royal service The four poets are Sriharṣa, Harihara, Amaracandra and Dīgambara-Madanakīrti Among the seven kings are Lakṣmanasena and Madanavarman ⁷ A manuscript ends with a list of thirty-seven Chahamanas down to Hammīradeva, who is stated to have ruled from Sam 1342 to 1358, and his ancestor Pṛthvirāja from Sam 1226 to 1248. The list also mentions the names of the Sultans with whom some of the Chahamanas kings were at war ⁸

202 VIKRAMADITYA is a series of metrical tales on Vikramāditya of which the extant manuscript ends in 28th canto which treats of Sālīvāhana ⁹ VIRACARITA is a heroic poem in 30 adhyayas by Ananta It narrates the events supposed to have taken place at Pratiṣṭhana (Paitha) on the Godāvari in connection with Sālīvāhana, the conqueror of Vikramaditya of Ujjain and his son Sakṣi Kumāra. The leading features of the narrative are the heroic achievements of Sudraka, the

1 Printed within the last fifty years.

2 Printed, Madras

3 Printed Bangalore

4 Printed Madras

5 *Mys OML* He is the father of Chakravarti, author of the romance Śaivalinī, for whom, see Chapter on Sanskrit Prose, *post*

6 His father Jagatsimha was a contemporary of Muhammad Bin Toghlak, see *JBRAS*, X 81,

7 Printed Bombay. *PR*, III. 272, IV cv.

8 *HE*, III vii.

9 *IO*, 1501, 1957.

CHAPTER IX

Mahakavya (contd.)

SECTION 1

205 Alvars The traditions of Śrī Vaiṣṇavas mention 12 Saints or Alvars¹ Garudavāhanapandita in his *Divyasūricarita*,² and Anantācārya in his *Prapannāṃṣṭi*,³ describe their story. The traditional dates,⁴ ascribed to many of these Ālvars are not accepted by "modern" scholars, probably because according to them tradition cannot be accepted as history. It is not known however why the innocent Vaiṣṇavas should forge chronology, for their reverence to these sages is not due to the time that has gone by, but to the intrinsic merit of their teachings. Speculation cannot displace tradition.

Of these Ālvars, some of whom were born in Dvāpara,⁵ some in Kali,⁶ Kulasekhara was the first, born in Kali year 27, Parābhava,

1. See *Vaiṣṇavite Reformers of India* by T. Rajagopalacharya, *Early history of Vaishnavism in South India* by S. Krishnasami Ayyangar, *Life of the Alvars* by A. Govindacharya, V. Ranganāthar, *Successors of Ramanuja*, JBRAS, XXIV 102 and Guruparamparas of the different Sects.

2. Printed *Saṅgrahya*, Madras, and Mysore. Gurudavāhana or Śrīnivāsa was also known as Kavivaiṇḍiyapurandara [DO, XXI 8125, TC, IV. 5099, 5943].

3. This is a long poem in 125 cantos dealing with the lives of Śrī Vaiṣṇava Ālvars of India. Printed Bombay and Madras. [SVH, 94, 71, 202, 251].

4. Bhaktiśaibhaviyaprakāśikā of Venkateśa, son of Praṭivādibhāyankara, gives the date, month, year, constellation of the birth of the several Ālvars (TC, II. 2010). For Venkateśa's many other works, see TC, II. 2025-2052, among which several are ślokaś.

5. (i) Mahāṣ (Peyālwar) in Dvāpara, 860900 (862901?), (Siddhārthi), Āśvayuja, Śukla 10th, Guru, Śrībhāṣa, at Mayurapuram (Mylapore) (ii) Bhūta (Puḍaṭṭalwar) in Dvāpara, 860900 (862901?), (Siddhārthi), Āśvayuja, Śukla, 9th, Budha at Mallāpuram (Mahābalapuram) (iii) Kāśīra (Poigai) in Dvāpara 860900 (862901?), (Siddhārthi), Āśvayuja, Śukla, 8th, Guru, Sravāṇa, at Kānci, (iv) Maṭhuraṁkavi in Dvāpara 868879 (889878?) (Tāvāra), Oṭṭāra, Śukla, 14th, Śukra, Oṭṭāra, at Tirukkolor (Tinnevely Dt.) (v) Bhaktiśāra (Tirumalaisai) in Dvāpara, 892001, (Siddhārthi), Puṣya, Kaula, 1st, Ādi, Makha, Tūlāṅga, at Tirumalaisai.

6. (i) Pāyālwar (Vīṇakṛtā) was born in Kali 47, Krodhana, Jyestha, Śukla, 12th Svāṁti, at Dhanupuram (Sivilliputtur), (ii) Āṇḍāl born in Kali 98, Nāla, Āṣāḍha, Śukla, 14th, Mangala, Pūbbhā, (iii) Vipranārāyaṇa (Tondaradippaḍi Alvar) in Kali 107, Prabhava, Margaṣṭha, Jyestha, at Mandangudi (iv) Ṭirupṇāni Alvar in Kali 162 (8482?) (Bahula 2nd,) (Durmatā) Kartika, Śukla, 15th (Kṛttika?) Budha, (Orayur) Bopini? at Nūlāpuram (v) Parakāla (Ṭirumangai Alvar) in Kali 217 (399?), (Nāla), Kārtika, 15th, Guru, Kṛttikā at Parirambhapuram.

3075 B C He was son of Dṛdhavrata¹ His famous lyric Mukunda-māla displays harmony and devotion²

Among Alwars, Nammālvar or Sathagopa of Kurukapuri,³ also known as Parāśara or Vakulābhārana was the greatest He was the son of Kari and Udayamangai and was born at Tirukkuruḥur in the 43rd year Kali of 3059 B C⁴ His original name was Maran After a period of contemplation while yet a child, he became inspired and the result of it was the singing of the Tamil Prabandham Nālāyiram This has been rendered into Sanskrit Kurukesagathanukaraṇa by Rāmānuja, son of Govinda of Kāśyapagotra,⁵ and in [ātparyaratnāvali by Vedāntadeśika⁶

Among the Ācāryas was Ālavandar (Yāmunācārya) who occupied the apostolic seat at Srīrangam He was the son of Īśvarabhaṭṭi and Ranganāyaki,⁷ and grandson of Nāthamuni⁸ He was a great devotee and his lyrics Cāṭussukī, Śtotṛaratna,⁹ and Srī-tuṭi,¹⁰ are famous for their piety and melody He lived between 915-1040 A D

1 Kulaśekhara was according to the Śrī Vaiṣṇava tradition born at Kolipattanam in Kerala, in Kali, 27, (Parābhava) Māgha Śukla, 12th, Guru, Punarvasu But Ganapathi Sastrī in his preface of *Tapaṭsamavaraṇa* (TSS), says that that Kulaśekhara mentioned in Tamil Prabandhas is said to have lived in Kali 1680 (1422 B C). The source of information is not given

2 See Chapter on Laghukāvyā, post

3 Śāthagopasahasra is a thousand verses in praise of Śāthagopa by Venkatārya (TC, IV 4612, 4660) Śāthagopagunāṅkaraṇapariçaryā is a treatise on rhetoric with illustrations in praise of Śāthagopa (TC, II 2810, IV 5232) probably by a member of the Bhaṭṭa's family of Srīrangam in 17th century A D For other eulogies, see TC, III, 2035, IV 5292, 5221, 5222, 4664, DC, XVIII 4842 For a short account, see *Ind. Rev* (1918), 646.

4. He was born in Pramadi, Vāiśākha śukla 16th, Śukra, Vāiśākha (TC, XVIII. 6881

5. TC, III. 8492

6 TC, III 4152

7 He was born in Kali 4017 Dhātū Āśādha Śukla 15th, Budha Uttaraśādhā See *Ind. Rev* IX 585.

8. According to Prapañcāmṛta, Nāthamuni was born in Śobharī, Kali 8084, Āni, Wednesday, Kṛṣṇa 13th, and he is said to have lived 330 (340?) years See *Ind. Rev* IX. 275.

9 See TC, II 2600

10 Printed, Madras There is commentary by Vedāntadeśika (DC, XVIII 7204) and a summary of this commentary Rāmānujasudhī (*Ibid* 7206) See also TC, III. 2983.

206 Ramanuja was Ālavandār's son's daughter's son. He was born in Kali 4119 (1017 A D) at Śrīperumbudūr¹. His father was Āsūrī Kesava Bhattar of Hārītāgotra. Rāmānuja was first named Lakṣmaṇa and to this day he is called Lakṣmaṇamuni and an incarnation of Ādiśeṣa. He studied under Yādavaprakāśa at Kāncī, but became estranged from him on account of his jealousy. After escaping an attempt at assassination, he lived at Kāncī, until he was called to Srīrangam to take the place of Ālavandār. He reached Srīrangam barely to see the remains of Ālavandār about to be consigned to the funeral pile². At Madhurāntakam, he was initiated into Vedānta by Perīanambi and soon he became an ascetic.

He wrote his commentary on Vyāsasūtras and a Bhāṣya on the Gīta and three works on Vedānta. In his tour in Kāśmīr, his commentary on the sūtras was approved by Sarasvatī and at her bidding it was called Śrī Bhāṣya. He installed the Viṣṇu deity at Melkote, in 1099 A D,³ settled disputes at Tirupati and arranged for the performance of festivals in several Viṣṇu shrines. He passed away after a life of 128 years in Durmatī 1137 A D.⁴

Apart from his works on philosophy,⁵ his literary merits are indicated in his GADYATRAYA viz Vaikunthagadya, Raghuvīragadya, Śaranāgaṭigadya.⁶

1 The formula is श्रीलङ्का, Śaka 939 (Kali 4118) Pingala, Cāṭra, Śukla 7th, Guru, Ārdra, Karkata (TC, XVIII, 6882).

2. "Ramanuja was taken close to the body to take a first and final look at the great master, when he saw three cut of the five fingers of the right hand folded. Struck with this, he enquired whether the defect was noticed in life and the answer came that the defect was not physical and was not noticed in life. On further enquiry Ramanuja was told that the master had three of his cherished objects unfulfilled, namely, an easily read and understood commentary upon the Brahmasūtra, the giving of the names of Parasara and Sathagopa to suitable persons that would make these names live among the people. Ramanuja promised to see these fulfilled and the fingers straightened." *Sri Ramanujacharya* by S. Krishnaswami Iyengar, page 8.

3 On this subject, see *Juṣṭadhārakrama*, a work preserved in the Yaṭirāja Mutt at Melkote, summarised by N. T. Narasimha Ayyangar, *JRAS*, (1915) 147.

4. His active life embraced the reigns of the Cola Rājās, Kulottunga I (1070-1118 A D), Vikrama (1118-1138 A D) and Kulottunga II. (1135-1146 A D).

5 See CG, I 521, II. 523.

6. Ed, Madras, Bombay.

On the life of Rāmānuja,¹ there are Rāmānujasucariṭaculakā by Rāmānujadāsa,² Yaṭīndracampū³ by Vakulābharana, son of Sathagōpa of Āṭreyagōṭṭra and disciple of Varada of Vāṭsya family, Rāmānujadiṇya-carīṭa,⁴ Rāmānujacarīṭa,⁵ Rāmānujavijaya by Annayācarya,⁶ Rāmānujīya,⁷ Śrībhāṇyakāracarīṭa by Kauṣīka Venkatesa,⁸ Śrīsaṅkalayalbhava by Nṛsimhasūri.⁹

His disciple Āndhrapūrṇa (Vaduhanambi) wrote Yatirājavalbhava

207. Kurattalvar or Śrīvatsāṅkamisra, son of Rāma Somayāji, was born at Kūram near Kāncī in Kali 4141 (1039 A.D.)¹⁰ He was a pupil of Rāmānuja. He belonged to a wealthy family but abandoned his riches and migrated to Śrīrangam to join Rāmānuja. There he became a mendicant and lived by alms. His memory was supernatural and it is said that when Rāmānuja was not permitted in Kashmir to make a copy of Bodhāyana's Vṛtti on Brahmasūtra, Kūresa could by a single reading of it repeat the work. Thus he helped Rāmānuja in his composition of Śrībhāṇya of which he was his amanuensis. When King Kulottungacola I summoned Rāmānuja to his presence to accept the Saiva faith, Kūresa personated Rāmānuja and when he attempted to argue the superiority of Vaiṣṇava faith the cruel king ordered his eyes to be put out. Kūresa is the founder of the family of the Bhattars of Śrīrangam.¹¹

He was a great poet and his verse combines in it the fluency of lay fancies and the sanctity of theological allusions. His *Vaikunṭha-stava* describes the glory of Viṣṇu in *Vaikuntha*, his *Aṭmānuṣaṭṭava*,¹² the great deeds of Viṣṇu in his incarnations, his *Sundarabāhusṭava*, the

1. See also *Life of Śrī Rāmānuja* by C. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Rāmānuja Grantha (Opp, II 4882)*, *Rāmānujavamśavall (CC, I 522)*. For *Stōtras* in his praise, see *TC, I 14, 595, 768, DC, XVIII, 6855, 6706, 6849, 6881, 6941, 6862, 6995, 6842, 6785, 6847*.

2. *TC, III 3581*.

3. *TC, IV 5210*.

4. *Opp II 3528*.

5. *TC, III 3051*.

6. *Rice, 240*.

7. *Opp, II, 1801, 7722*.

8. *Mys OML, 260*.

9. *Ibid, 260*.

10. *DC, XVII, 6882*. He was born in *Saumya, Makara, Kṛṣṇa śth, Puṣṭa, Haṣṭa*.

11. For a short account of his life, see *Saṅ XVII 45, 89, 113, 130*.

12. There is a commentary by Rāmānuja (*DC, XVIII, 6919*).

grace and purposes of idolic forms of Viṣṇu, his Varadīrāja-tīva the particular merit of Varadarāja of Kancī and Śrīstava, the qualities of Lakṣmī. These together go under the name of Pañcāstāvī.¹ I Kūresavijaya, probably by Kūranārāyaṇa,² relates his history.³

Śrīvāṭṣanka's son was Parāśāra Bhatta, born in Śaka 983 (1061 A.D.)⁴ He wrote Vīṇusahasranāma-Bhāṣya and Śrīranganārāṣṭava⁵ Śrīgunaratnakosa,⁶ Kṣamāsoḍaśī,⁷ Tanisloki and Aṣṭasloki.⁸ Doddācārya⁹ relates his history in his Pārāśāryavijaya.¹⁰

208 Vedāntadesika or Venkatanāṭha was the high priest of the Vadagalai Śrīvaiṣṇava sect. His life and works have been noticed in a previous Chapter.¹¹

209. Saumyajātarmuni (or Manavāla Mahāmuni)¹² was the high priest of the Tengalai Śrī Vaiṣṇava sect. He was born at Kuntī-nagara and was a desciple of Lokācārya.¹³ He lived in 1370-1444 A.D.¹⁴

1. *Elī Maṭras*, with the commentary of Śrīnivāsa, son of Rāmānuja of Aṭṭeṇa Goṭra.

2. Kūranārāyaṇa was the author of *Sūdarśanasataka* (Kāvyamālā, VIII).

3. *DO*, XVIII, 6958, *Opp* 5516, 7909, II 1052, 1280.

4. He was born in Subhakti, Vaiśākha, Śukla, 15, Anu.ādha and died in the year Jaya, Kārtika.

5. Printed, Madras. There are commentaries, one anonymous and another by Venkātācārya, *DO*, XVIII, 7118, 7119.

6. Printed, Madras. For commentary by Rāmānujācārya, see *DO*, XVIII 6884, by Veeraraghava (*Ibid*, 6866), by Venkatanivāsa (*Ibid*, 6889), and by Jagannātha (*TC*, II, 440).

7. Printed, Madras. *TC*, IV 4675.

8. Printed, Madras.

9. Doddācārya of Vādhulagoṭra.

10. He lived in the days of King Rāma Rāya of Vijayanagara. His other works are *Cāṇḍamāṛuṭa*, *Veḍāntavidyāvijaya* and *Saṅgīdyāvijaya*. He wrote *Veḍāntaśāstrakavāibhavaṇṭakāśikā* (*DO*, XIX 7677). See *SVH*, 202 and *CO*, I 263.

11. *Hice*, 154.

12. See para 120 *supra*.

13. He was also called Śrīśālīśa (see *Śrīśālīśaśataka* by Devācārya (*TC*, III, 4146)). For other *śloṭras* in his praise, see *DO*, XVIII 7301-10 and *TC*, IV, 5298, 5219, 5126. See also *Yatindrapravāgaṇṭampu* by Vakulābharaṇa (*Mys OML Sup.* 12).

14. He is known as Pillai Lokācārya. He lived for 28 years in 1365-1378 A.D. He composed *Śrīvāsanabhiṣṭuṭa* in Tamil of which there is a summary of Venkātācārya (*TC*, II 2019). He died at Jyotiṣkudi. He was a friend of Veḍāntadesika. (See extract from *Prapaṇnāmṛta*, *SVH*, 84).

15. He was born on 24.1.1370 A.D. in Śaka 1392, Śāḍharaṇi, Arpaṭa, 26, Guru, Śukla, Caṭurdaśi, Mula, 1.

He composed *Yatirājavimśaṭi*,¹ in praise of Rānānuja and *Kastūritakastava*.² In *Sucaritacaṇaka*, Raghavārya, son of Nṛsimha, describes the incidents of his life. Rāghava lived at Bhūsara or Irumalisai near Chingleput.³ His daughter's son Abhirāmavara or Varavaramuni or Saumyavara, son of Dīprasāyana,⁴ wrote *Nakṣatramālā*, a hymn in praise of Sathagopa.⁵

210 In the hierarchy of **Ahobalam Mutt** of which ADI VAN SAIHAGOPA Swāmi was the first pontiff, there were many poets of a high order.⁶ ADI VAN SAIHAGOPA swami of Irunārāyanapuram lived in 1379-1458 A.D. (Tirumalai Nambākam) NARAYANA was his successor (1458-1472). He is known to have written 60 works on various topics and in the field of poetry his *Nārāyanacanta* and commentary on *Ālavandarśoṭra* are known. (Vangipuram) PARANKUSA was 6th (1497-1511) and wrote *Narasimhaṣṭava*. SATHAGOPA was 7th (1512-1522) and wrote the play *Vāsanṭikāparipāya*.⁷ (Kalyāṇapuram Cakravartī) PARANKUSA RAMANUJA was 24th (1762-1774) and wrote *Śrīprapaṭṭi*, *Narasimhamangalāsāsana* etc. (Elanagar Gaḍādharaapuram) VIRARAGHAVA was 27th (1827-1830) and wrote *Kṛpāsāgarastava*, *Kṛīṇanadiṣṭava*, *Vihageśvaraṣṭava*, *Devarājastava*, *Lakṣmīnārasimhaṣṭava* and *Vaikunthaviṇaya* campū in answer to *Nīlakanṭhaviṇaya* (Attipattu Mādabūsi) SATHAGOPA RAMANUJA was 34th (1878-1881) and wrote *Kaviṛṇḍayaranjini* and *Veḍagiriṇvāna* (Tiragagaṭi) (Pillaiyakam Ilayavalli) VIRARAGHAVA (1897-1898) was 37th and wrote *Śrīrakasuprabhāṣa* and *Śrīgosthināṭhaṣṭava*.

211. Among the pontiffs of the **Parakala Mutt** of Mysore, Srinivasa was the 29th. He lived in 1802-1861 A.D. and wrote *Alankārasangraha*.⁸

Śrī Kṛṣṇa Brahmaṇṇa Parakālaswāmi was the 31st head of the Parakāla Mutt at Mysore. His original name was Kṛṣṇamācārya. He was the son of Tātācārya and Kṛṣṇāmbā of the village of Amrāḍella on

1. Printed, Madras. There is commentary on it (TC, II, 2490).

2. TC, IV, 4729; DC, XVIII, 6939, with commentary.

3. TC, III, 4127.

4. See TC, II, 2019 for this relationship.

5. TC, II, 2268, with commentary by Jagannāṭha.

6. See *Guruparamparā* of that Mutt published in Tamil at Madras. See the Ahobalam inscription of Śrīrangarāma dated Śaka 1506 (1584 B. A. D.) extracted in *SPH.*

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7. See Chapter on Sanskrit Drama, post. DC, XXI, 8500.

8. See *Guruparamparā* of that Mutt, published in Mysore.

the Pennar. He was born in 1839 and passed away about 1916 A.D. He was for some time in the courts of Vanaparti, Āṭmakūr and Ānagondi. He wrote 67 works on various branches of learning. Among campūs are Rangarājavilāsa, Kārtikoṭṣavadīpikā and Śrīnīvāsavilāsa. Among poems are Capetāhaṭiṣṭuṭi, Uṭṭararangamāhātmya, Rameśvara-vijaya, Nṛsimhaviḷāsa and Maṇḍangopālamāhātmya.¹ His Alankāramapīhāra is an elaborate work on rhetoric with illustrations in praise of the deity Śrīnīvāsa of Tirupati.²

212. Lakṣmīkumara Tatacarya of Śaṭṭhamaṣṇanagoṭṭra is a famous personage in South Indian Vaiṣṇava history. He was born at Kumbakonam in 1571 A.D. He was adopted by Venkatācārya, better known as Pancamaṭabhanjana.³ Tāṭaḍesika of Conjeevaram. He was preceptor and minister of Emperors Śrīranga and Venkatapaṭi of Vijayanagar and was practically the ruler of the empire in the later half of the 16th century. He was accorded the first honours in all the shrines of South India and was celebrated for his acts of charity. His titular name Kotikanyādāna indicates the marriages of several maidens performed at his instance. He passed away in 1631 A.D. His HANU-MADVIMSATI is engraved on the walls in Devarājsvāmī temple at Conjeeveram of which his descendants are still the trustees.⁴

The greatness of his line is described by Rāmanujāṣṭaka in Tāṭāryavaibhavaaprakāśa.⁵ His life is described by his descendant Ranganātha in the poem Lakṣmīkumārōdaya.⁶

SECTION 2

213. Sri Madhva Acarya or Anandatīrtha,⁷ was born in the village of Belle near Udipi in an orthodox brahmin family in the year Yuva, 4300 Kali or 1198 A.D.⁸ on the last day of Navarātri. That day is now known as Maḍhvanavamī. His mother was Veḍavallī. His original

1. For full account, see Guruparampara (Mysore).

2. *Iḍ. Mys.* series.

3. See para 124 *supra*. SVH, 352, where an extract from Prapñānakāṇṭhā is given.

4. *DC*, XIX, 7242.

5. Printed, Kumbakonam.

6. He is also known as Anantānandagiri, Ānandagiri, Ānandajñāna, Ānandajñānagiri, Jñānāṇḍa, Jñānānandagiri. (*CC*, I, 46). See Grierson, *EPIC*, VII, 239; Bhaskar, *VS*, 57 and *BR*, (1892-3), 207.

7. Q.M. Radhakrishnaiah in his *Life of Sri Madhva* discusses the question and fixes the year 1198 A.D. as the date of birth, so as to make the order. H. Krishna Sastri agrees with him. But the inscription at Śrīkṛṣṇa dated Śaka 1208 indicates the earlier date, (*EL*, III, 260-8). See Introduction to *Translation of Geetābhāṣya* by S. Subbatao and *A Sketch of the History of Madhva Acarya* by G. Venkatarao (14, XLIII, 239).

name was Vāsudeva. His early life displayed miracles of divine powers. By twenty five,¹ he became learned in all the sciences and Vedas. His knowledge was so profound that he was called Pūrnaprajña. At that age he renounced his family and became an ascetic on the initiation of Acyutaprakāśa under the name of Ānandātītha. In his tours throughout India he engaged himself in philosophical controversies and became the founder of the Advaita school of philosophy. He expounded his Dvaita doctrine in his Bhāṣyas on Vyāsa Sūtras, the Upanāisads, and the Gīṭa. He spent his last years at the Saridantaram, the duab between the rivers Netrāvati and Kumārādhāra in S. Canara and he lived for 79 years, 6 months and 20 days and disappeared in Pingala, 1278 A.D.²

Of his 37 works,³ many on philosophy, his mastery of the language is displayed in his poem YAMAKABHĀRATA, where he narrates the story of Mahābhārata in Yamaka verse.⁴ Among his sūtras are Āryāstōtra, Gurustōtra, Kṛṇastuti and Dvādasastōtra.⁵ Bhāgavatātīthiparvaninaya⁶ and Bhārataātīthiparyāyīnaya⁷ are learned critiques on Śrī Bhāgavata and Mahābhārata. Kṛṇakarnāmṛtamahābhārata,⁸ Śankaravijaya and Śankarācāryavaṭarākathā are also attributed to him.⁹

214 Trivikrama Among the immediate disciples of Śrī Maḍhva was Trivikrama,¹⁰ whom he converted to his faith after a long series of discussions. He wrote Uṣāharapakāvyā and Vījyastuṭi.¹¹

Trivikrama's son was Narayana. To him we owe the first account of Śrī Maḍhva's life in his poems Maḍhvavijaya,¹² Anumaḍhva-

1. Some say it was thirteen.

2. According to the other view this was on 11th January 1318 A.D. See B. Venkateswara, *Life of Śrī Vyāsa-dēva*, XXVIII Bangalore.

3. Guṇḍhamallikastōtra (TC, II, 2008) gives the list.

4. Printed Bombay and Madras. There are commentaries on it anonymous (DC, XX 7955) which refers to a prior commentary in verse (TC, II 1148).

5. Printed, Madras, Bombay.

6. Printed, Madras and Bombay with Śaṅkarācārīya's commentary. See TC, II 1161. For a short summary of it, see TC, II 1995.

7. See page 48 *supra*. For commentaries, see TC, II 1148; by Vīṭṭalācārya (TC, II, 1912), by Chetana Keri (TC, II 1549), by Lakṣmīśaṅkara (TC, II, 1409).

8. BTO, 107, *Rice*, 196.

9. CO, I 46.

10. Printed, Bombay with the commentary of Sumatīnḍra. Sumatīnḍra extolled King Shakaḥ of Tanjore in his Sumatīnḍrajayaghocēpa. *Tanj. Cat.* VII, 8284.

11. TC, II, 1141, 1907, with commentary (TC, II 1914) by Kaviḍarapaṇḍa Vedāngamuni.

12. Printed, Bombay, with commentary by Śrīācārya, TC, II 1159.

vijaya,¹ and Maṇḍanāraṇī.² His Pārīpāṭharāna is a Yāmaka poem.³ He wrote also Siva-śūta, Viṇaya-śūta, Nṛsiṃha-śūtra and Sangraha-Rūpā-jāṇa.⁴

215 Of Madhva's disciples, four succeeded as pontiffs, one after another, Padmanābha, Narahari, Mādhava and Akṣobhya. From Akṣobhya,⁵ Jayatīrtha got his initiation. He is said to have died in 1388 A.D. The life of Jayatīrtha is described in poems by Vyāsātīrtha in his Jayatīrthavijaya,⁶ by Kṛṣṇa in Jayatīrthavijayābhidhi,⁷ by Sankarānana in Jayatīrthavijaya,⁸ and by Karkohalli Śrīnivāsa in Jayāndrodaya.⁹

216 After Jayatīrtha, the most famous among the Madhva Aṇḍīyas was Vyāsārāya,¹⁰ He lived in 1447-1539 A.D. He was practically the moving influence in the Court of Vijayanagar from the days of Sālva Narasiṃha to Acyutadevarāya who ruled in 1486-1542 A.D.¹¹

The life of Vyāsārāya is described in the Vyāsayogicāritacampū by Somanātha,¹² which was continued by Śiṣyavyāsaśāstrī,¹³ and the poem Vyāsavijaya. Somanātha's prose is enchanting. The reader feels as if it is Kādambarī. He is reported to be the sister's son of Anantabhatta, author of Campūbhārata, who lived about 1500 A.D. Somanātha was introduced to his hero Vyāsārāya in the reign of King Acyutadevarāya and must have lived about 1535 A.D. Somanātha's grand-father Bhatta Gayamukṣi Bhāskara, known as Kāla-meghādharaṇi, was a great poet.¹⁴

1. There is a commentary by Venkatabhatta, *TC*, II, 1665.

2. Printed, Bombay with Subrahmanya's commentary. There are commentaries by Anantācārya (*DC*, XX, 7946), by Jammu Bhāvanāśyācārya (*TC*, II, 7946) and by Vittalācārya (*TC*, II, 2003).

3. Printed, Poona *DC*, XX, 7986.

4. Printed, Bombay and Belgaum. In *DC*, XV, 7976, there is an anonymous commentary.

5. Akṣobhya, Vyāsaśāstrī, Vedānta Dāśaka and Jayatīrtha were contemporaries.

6. Printed, Mysore.

7. *Mys OML Sup* 10.

8. Printed, Belgaum.

9. *Mys OML, Sup* 10.

10. He was disciple of Brahmanyaśiṣi whose life is described in Brahmanyaśiṣi-vijaya (See B. Venkoba Rao's *Int. to Br. Vyāsayogicāritacampū*, I, XXXII). Brahmanyaśiṣi died about 1528 A.D.

11. See para 124 *supra*.

12. Ed. Bangalore with a long introduction dealing with the contemporary history of Kingdom of Vijayanagar by B. Venkoba Rao.

13. *Op cit* lxxii.

14. See B. Venkoba Rao, *op cit* lili ix.

217 Purandaradāsa, the distinguished author of Kanarese devotional songs, was Vyāsarāya's disciple. So was **Vadīraja**. Vādīraja is said to have opened an old treasury at a crisis, for King Acyutadevarāya. He rebuilt the temple at Udipi, but before the golden dome was erected the Kingdom of Vijayanagar was subverted by defeat at the battle of Talikota.¹ He was a great poet and among his poems are Rukminīśa-vijaya,² Sarasabhārati-vilāsa,³ Tīrthaprabandha,⁴ Ekībhāvastotra,⁵ and Dāśāvaṭārasaṭuṭi.⁶ His life is described in Vādīrājavṛttaratnasangraha by Raghunātha.⁷

Saṭyanātha-tīrtha's original name was Raghunāthācārya. He died in 1674 A.D.⁸ His life is depicted in Saṭyanāthamāhātmyaratnākara,⁹ in Saṭyanāthābhyaṅga¹⁰ by Sankarāna, son of Seṣācārya, and in Saṭyanāthavilāsa by Śrīnivāsa.¹¹

There are poems on the lives of Dvaita Ācāryas.¹² Viśvapriyaguṇā-vilāsa by Seṭumādhava,¹³ Raghavendraviṅaya by Nārāyaṇa,¹⁴ and Saṭyanīdhivilāsa by Śrīnivāsa,¹⁵ Seturāyaviṅaya,¹⁶ Saṭyabodhaviṅaya,¹⁷ by Kṛṣṇa.¹⁸

SECTION 3

218 Basava, the founder of the Veerasaiva cult of the Lingāyats, was the prime minister of the Kalacuri King Bhijjala who came to the throne at Kalyan in 1156 A.D.¹⁹ The tradition is that the sect was founded by five ascetics—Ekorāma, Panditārādhyā, Revāṇa, Marula,

1 See B Venkoba Rao, *op cit* OLXXIII.

2 CC, I 562

3. Printed, Belgaum.

4. Printed, Calcutta.

5. Printed, Bombay.

6 Printed, Belgaum.

7 CAL, II 25.

8. CC, I, 638.

9 CC, I, 639

10 Mys OML. Sup. II; Tanj. Cat., VI. 2676.

11 Tanj. Cat., VI 2676, 2680.

12 On the history of Maḍhva Acaryas, see IA, XLIII, 233, 262.

13 Mys OMS Sup 11

14. SVH, 252. Raghavendra was contemporary of Yagannārāyaṇa Dīkṣita. (See para 150 *supra*).

15. Mys OMS, Sup, 11.

16. CAL, II, 16

17. Ibid,

18 Mys OML, Sup, 11,

19. See IA, V, 175.

Viśvārādhya—who are held to have sprung from the five heads of Śiva, incarnate age after age. These are regarded as very ancient, and Basava is said to have been but the reviver of the faith.¹ Yet the early literature shows that the five were all his contemporaries, some older, some younger.² In the poem *Basaveśaviyaya*,³ Sankarārādhya describes his life, and so does Somanātha in his *Basavapurāṇa*,⁴ and Basavanagaḍya. Somanātha also wrote a poem *Panditārādhya-carita* on the life of Panditārādhya, the Lingayat Guru. Somanātha (Palkurki), of Bhṅgīrītagotra and son of Gurulinga, lived in the time of King Prāṭāparudra I (1140-1196 A D).⁵

SECTION 4

219 Sri Gaurāṅga, whose original name was Nīmai, was born of Jagannātha and Sacī at Nadia in Phalgun, of Saka 1407 (1486 A D) on the banks of the Bhāgīrathī. His childhood foretold his future greatness. He married Viśṇupriyā, daughter of Sanātanamisra. He was called Gaurāṅga or Gour for his fair complexion. When he became inspired and an ascetic, he took the name Sri Kṛṣṇa Carṇanya. He sang the glories of Sri Kṛṣṇa and became the founder of the school of Bhakti or devotion. He passed away in 1527 A D.⁶ Among his poems are *Gopālacaritra*,⁷ *Premāṃṛta*,⁸ *Sankṣepabhāgavatāṃṛta*,⁹ *Harināmakavaca*,¹⁰ *Dānakelucintāmaṇi*.¹¹

220 Rupa¹² was born in 1490 A D. He was a scion of the Goswāmi line and Kumāra was his father. Vallabha and Sanātāna were his brothers. His sixth ancestor Anurūḍha was a Raja of Karnat about

1. On Lingayat legends and literature, see *IA*, IV, 17, 211, V 188.

2. Farquhar, *ORL*, 260. For bibliography, see *Ibid*, 387.

3. Printed, Mysore.

4. *Mys O'WL* 548; *Ibid*, *Sup.* 84.

5. See Veerasalingam's Works, X 220.

6. For an account of his life, see S. K. Ghose, *Lord Gaurāṅga*, Calcutta; R. B. Dineschandra Sen, *Chaitanya and his age* and *Chaitanya and his companions*; M. T. Kennedy, *Chaitanya and his movement*, Y. Sircar, *Chaitanya's pilgrimages and teachings*, Farquhar, *ORL*, 476.

7. *CC*, I 161.

8. *OSC*, (1907), No. 54; (1908) No. 67, with commentary by Vithala.

9. *CC*, I, 384.

10. *CC*, I, 758.

11. *OSC*, (1908) 67.

12. For an account, see D. C. Sen's *History of Bengal's Literature* (Calcutta), 503, Introduction to *Ujvalanilamāṇi* (Kavyamāla), Introduction to *Chaitanyacandrodaya* (Kavyamāla).

Śaka 1338. His family was immensely rich Rūpa and Sanāṭana were made the prime ministers of Hosen Sahara, Emperor of Gauda¹ By nature, of a religious disposition, they were attracted by the teachings of the reformer Caṭanya,² and gave up home to become ascetics. Their greatness as religious teachers is described in the Vaiṣṇava literature of Bengal³ Rūpa passed away in 1563 A.D.⁴

As a poet and rhetorician, Rūpa is of a high order⁵ The poetic instinct saturated with bhakti or love for Kṛṣṇa manifested itself in several forms of composition, always with the life of Kṛṣṇa as its theme. *Vidagdhamādhava*, and *Lalīṭamādhava*⁶ are dramas in seven acts describing the loves of Kṛṣṇa, and Rādhā as related in the *Bhāgavata*, *Ḍānakelīkaumudī*⁷ and is a bhāṇa with its hero, Kṛṣṇa *Hamadūta* and *Uddhavasandeha* are poems of message,⁸ on the model of *Meghadūta* *Padyāvalī* is an anthology and names the authors it quotes⁹

Among his other works,¹⁰ are *Ujvalacandrikā* (a dialogue between Caṭanyacandra's sister Rādhā and her friend about Kṛṣṇa), *Yamunā-śloṭra*, *Gaṇḍharvaprārthanāśloṭra*, *Gaurāṅgaśavakalpaṭaru*, *Kusumāśabaka*, *Mukundamuktāvalī*, *Cātupuspānjaliśava*, *Utkalīkāvallarī*, *Laghu-Bhāgavataṃṣṭa*, *Ānandamahodadhī*, and *Mathurāmahimā*¹¹ By far his greatest work is the *Ujvalanīlamanī*¹² As a treatise on poetics it describes classes, and condition of lovers and the several stages and modes of their affection and is profusely illustrated with verses, all

1 Rupa is mentioned by Rājasekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāṃsa* *Rupadeva* mentioned in *Skw*, and *Padyavali* and *Rupadeva*, author of commentary on *Gitagovinda*, are different poets.

2. Sanāṭana lived between 1484—1558 A.D.

3 For a fuller account, see Narahari Chakravartī's *Bhakturaṇākara*.

4. Printed *Kāvyamāla*, Bombay. There is a commentary on it by Cakravartī. It is in fact *Gitagovinda* dramatised "The piece is also in its different portions supposed to be applicable to the different seasons of the year, at which the chief festivals in honour of Kṛṣṇa are held, or the festival of Spring in Chaitra of Vaisakha, that of the birth of Kṛṣṇa in Śravana of the rains, and the Rāsayātra or dance of Kṛṣṇa with the Gopis in the autumn." Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 698.

5 For a list of his works, see *CC*, I 588.

6 *IO*, VII 4179, *CC*, I 542, III 115, also note a commentary by Nārāyaṇa.

7. *DC*, XI 8406 There are commentaries on it by Jivāgresaṛi and Raghunātha dāsa See *Vaiṣṇavaḍharmapṛakāśikā* (Murshidabad), Parts I to VI

8 There is a commentary on *Ḍāmasūta* by Mādhavanīśa *allas* *Puruṣoṭtama*

9 See Thomas, *Kav* 11

10. *CC*, I 588, III 118, *TC*, IV R. No. 8050

11 *CC*, I, 68. Composed in 1560 A.D.

12. Ed. *Kāvyamāla*, Bombay, 95.

devoted to Kṛṣṇa There are commentaries on it by Jīvagoswāmī,² by Viṣvanāthacakravartin,³ and three anonymous.⁴ His Nāṭakacandrikā⁵ is a treatise on drama based on the Nāṭyasastra and he refers to the views of Viṣvanātha as opposed to Bharata

221 Rūpa had two brothers Vallabha and Sanātana Sanātana commented on Rūpa's Ujvalanīlamanī and wrote among other works,⁶ Haribhaktivilāsa⁷ and Bhāgavatāmṛta⁸ He lived in 1484-1558 A D

Rūpa's disciple RAGHUNATHADASA wrote the short but beautiful poem the Mukṛtācarīṇī,⁹ a funny tale in which Kṛṣṇa told Saṅgyabhāma that pearls could be grown as a crop and demonstrated it by sowing a pearl and watering it with milk Then the Gopīs sowed all the pearls they had, but no plants came out After repeated entreaties, Kṛṣṇa relented and returned the pearls

222 Jiva Goswāmī was the son of Vallabha, Rūpa's younger brother He was born in Śaka 1445 (1435 ?) at Rāmakeli near Fatehbad He became an ascetic when he was twenty and was head of a Goswāmī mutt at Bṛndāvana, until his demise in Saka 1540 (1618 A.D) Among his works¹⁰ are Gopālacampū, Mādhavamahoṣṭava, Bhakṛasāmṛtasindhu, Govindabirudāvalī and Jāhnavyastaka¹¹

223 Kavikarnapura was the son of Śivānanda Sena of Kancanapalli near Nadia His father was the purveyor of the Bengali followers of Caitanya to Puri, so long as Caitanya lived, at the cost of Vasudevaḍaṭṭa, a millionaire¹² He was born in 1524 A.D. He was educated at Kumārahatta, modern Hailasar, north of Calcutta. He was a pupil probably of Jīvagoswāmī. In his Gaurāṅgaganoddeśadīpikā,¹³ composed in Saka 1498 (1577 A.D) he traces Caitanya's followers to their prior births; for instance, Caitanya's father Jagannātha is traced to Nandā, the father of Kṛṣṇa, and to Dasaṛaṭha, the father of Rāma Every follower of Caitanya is traced to one of the Gopikas or

1 Ed Bombay Composed in 1580 A D.

2 Ed Bombay Composed in 1695 A D He wrote a commentary on Bhāgavata in Kavikarnapura's Alankāraustubha

3 CC, I, 62, OSC, XI, 8.

4. Ed Kasimbazar. DC, XXIII. 8669.

5 See CC I 698.

6 See CC, I 768 There is another work of this name by Gopāla Bhatta Ibid.

7 See CC, I 403 4

8 TC, IV, 4880 2.

9 For a complete list of his works, see Int. to Ujvalanīlamanī, loc cit

10 TC, IV 4471 4.

11 See OSC, (1909), No 86.

12. OSC, (1907), 45, HPR, II, (for an account).

milkmaids in the Kṛṣṇa incarnation and to one of the monkeys in the Rāma incarnation

In his play *Caṭanyaandroḍaya*,¹ composed in 1543 A.D., he depicted the life of Caṭanya. Besides *Alankāraustubha*,² on rhetoric, he wrote *Camaṭkāracandrikā*,³ and *Ānandaḥṛṇḍāvanacampū*,⁴ on the loves of Śrī Kṛṣṇa

224 Among the great men of Goswami's order, Śrīdāsa wrote *Rādhakundaśṭava*, Raghunāṭha wrote *Vilāpakusumāñalistava*, and Kṛṇakavīrāja wrote *Rāḍhāśṭaka*,⁵ and Govindadāsa (1537-1612 A.D.) wrote *Saṅgītamadhava* and *Karnāmṛta*.⁶ In his *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu*, Saṇāṭana describes the four varieties of Bhakti to Lord Kṛṣṇa and develops the sentiment according to the theories of rhetoric.⁷

Raghunāṭha's desciple Kṛṣṇadāsa wrote the poems *Govindalīlāmṛta*,⁸ and *Kṛṣṇalīlāśṭava*.⁹

SECTION 5

225 Vallabha Acarya, the famous religious teacher, was the son of Lakṣmaṇa Bhatta and Guru of Puruṣoṭama. He lived in 1478-1530 A.D. He commented on Vyāsa's *Brahmasūtras*. The followers of Vallabha school, like Caṭanya's, worship Kṛṣṇa as the supreme being. Among his works¹⁰ in poetry are *Premāmṛta*,¹¹ *Maṭhurāmābhāṣṭmya*,¹² *Maṭhurāśṭaka*, *Yamunāśṭava*, besides discourses on Śrī Bhāgavata

1. Printed Calcutta and Bombay

2. Ed. partly by Sivaprasad Bhaṭṭācārya; *Op.* 209. There are commentaries by Lokanāṭha (*CC*, I, 81) and by Bṛṇḍāvanacandṛa (*IO*, 240).

3. *IO*, 1463, *Mitra*, VI, 212 and 2150

4. *IO*, 492, 645. There is another of that name by Paramānandadāsa (printed Benares) and another by Keśava (*N.P.*, X, 16).

5. See *TC*, IV, No. 3050 & Yadunandana wrote *Vilāpakusumāñjali*, *OSC*, (1907) No. 59

6. See D. C. Sen, *History of Bengali Literature*, 547.

7. In *CC*, I, 990. Aufrecht gives it as the work of Saṇāṭana composed in 1542 A.D. (*IO*, 820). But in *TC*, VI, 4484, it is cited as the work of Rūpagoswāmī.

8. This poem is described as the work of (i) Raghunāṭhadāsa (*IO*, VII, 3875); (ii) Raghunāṭhabhatta (*Mitra*, II, 571). But the real author of Kṛṣṇadāsa (*Uḍhar*, 38). See article by C. Chakravarti (*IA*, LVII, 208)

9. See *TC*, IV, R. No. 3053

10. For list of his works see *CC*, I, 555 C, *Ind Rev* (1918), 648. For *Śloṭras*, see Vallabhācāryāśṭutratnāvalī by Gokulācāhīś, (Printed, Bombay). For *Vallabhācārya-vamśāvalī*, see *Ibid.*, 556. Bhandarkar, *VS*, 76 and *History of Vallabhācārya in Western India* (London); Grouse, *Mathura*, Farquhar, *ORI*, 377.

11. *BR*, IV, 70 with commentary by Vithhala

12. *BR*, II, 46.

His life is described by Gopālaḍāsa in Vallabhākhyānaka,¹ by Babu Sītārama Sāstrī in Vallabhadīgviyaya.²

Vallabha's sons were Gopināṭha and Viṭhala. Viṭhala was born in 1515 A.D. and was as great a writer as his father. Among his poems,³ are Kṛṣṇapremāmṛta,⁴ Yamunāstapadī,⁵ Rasasarvasva,⁶ and commentary on Giṭagovindā. Viṭhala's sons were Guridhara and Raghunāṭha. They wrote verses in praise of Kṛṣṇa.⁷

Vallabha's brother Rāmacandra, born about 1484 A.D., wrote the poems Kṛṣṇakuṭūhala, Gopālālīla, Rasikarānjana and Romāvalīsataka.⁸

226 Devarāja and Gangarao describe the life of Guru Nānak in Nānakcaṇḍroḍaya.⁹

SECTION 6.

227 Ravisena Acarya composed his Padmapurāṇa in Nirvāṇa Samvat 1205 (678 A.D.). Jināsena in his Harivamsapurāṇa says

कृतपद्मोदयोद्योता प्रत्यहं परिवर्तिता ।

मूर्तिं काव्यमयी लोके रवेरिव रवे प्रिया ॥

"Padmapurāṇa is the earliest complete Jain version of the Rāmāyana unless the Prakrit work Paumachariya of Vimala Suri and another work of the same name by Svayambhudeva which are said to bear on the same subject, really prove to be works of an earlier date, as is alleged. Later writers have all based their works dealing with this subject, on the book of Ravisenacharya. The incidents related in Padma-purana are said to have occurred during the period (Tirtha) of Santinatha, the 16th Tirthamkara. The story of Rama as narrated here differs in many material points from that of the Ramayana of Valmiki. Rama and Ravana are both claimed here to have followed Jain religion. Lakshmana is stated not to have been a full brother of Sarugha, but son of a fourth wife of Dasaratha, Suprabha by name. Sita was born from the human womb of the queen of Videha, Dasaratha did not die

1 Printed, Bombay

2 Printed, Benares

3 For his works, see *GO*, I, 572

4 *Hall*, 151,

5 *Hall*, 152,

6 *GO*, I 496

7, *Hall*, 146, 152

8 Printed *Pandit*, VI, 108 and *Kāvyamūla*, Bombay. Rasikarānjana was composed at Ayodhya in 1534 A.D.

9. Printed, Bombay *GO*, I, 285.

on account of the banishment of Rama, he is represented to have become disgusted with the ways of the world and he retired to the forest to practise penance. Bali, Sugriva and Hanuman were not of any monkey race, but were powerful rulers of the forest regions. Rama never killed Bali. The latter of his free will relinquished the throne in favour of his younger brother Sugriva and himself became an ascetic. Ravana was not a Brahmana, but a Kshatriya, and met his death not at the hands of Rama but those of his younger brother Lakshmana. The latter recovered from the effects of Ravana's Sakti not by life giving drug but by the presence of a virtuous lady Visalya, who afterwards became his wife. These are some of the points of difference. A comparative and critical study of the whole will be interesting."¹

228 To **Jinasena** are attributed² *Harivamśapurāṇa*³ and *Adi-purāṇa*⁴. The former was written in Saka 705 (783 A.D.) "when Indra Sri Vallabh the son of Krishna was reigning in the South, Vatsaraja at Avanti (Ujjain) and Varaha Vira in Saurya mandala. In the *Mangala-charana*, which Dr. Peterson has omitted to quote in full, Jinasena pays his tribute to Samantabhadra (the author of *Jivasiddhi* and *Yuktyanu-sasana*), Siddhaseana, Indra, Chandra, Arka and Deva (Devanandi) the grammarians, Vajra Suri, Mahasena (the author of *Sulochana-katha*), Ravishena (the author of *Padma-purana*), Varangachanta, Kumarasena, Virasena and Jinasena. The mention of the last two names has given rise to a controversy as to the relation between Jinasena, author of *Harivamśapurana*, and Jinasena, author of *Adipurana*. It has been suggested that the reference above is to the author of *Harivamśapurana* and hence he is one with the author of *Adipurana*. But the difference in the dates of composition of the two works is at least 50 years which makes their authorship by the same person very improbable. Again, the genealogies of the two authors are different. The author of *Harivamśa-purana* was the pupil of Kirtisena who belonged to Punnatagan, while the author of *Adi-purana* was the pupil of Virasena who belonged to the Senagana. Also the manner in which Jinasena has been referred to in *Harivamśa-purana* shows that the author is referring to a person other than himself. The verse is:—

यामितांशुदये तस्य जिनेन्द्रगुणसेस्तुतिः ।

स्वामिनो जिनसेनस्य कीर्तिस्तद्धीतव्यसौ ॥

1. Hiralal's, *Cat O P.*, Int., xxi.

2. See *para 5 supra*.

3. For an analysis and extract, see *Mitra*, VI, 74 *PR*, IV, 167 7.

4. For an analysis, see *BR*, (1893-4).

An author indulging in these terms in regard to himself would certainly be accused of being over presumptuous. But there arises another complication when we prove the two authors to be different. If we accept the date of the completion of the work as given by the author, the mention of Virasena and Jinasena cannot refer to the authors of Jayadhavala-līka and Adī-purāna respectively, for they are known to have lived after the date of Harivamsa-purāna. To obviate this difficulty we must suppose that two other Acharyas of those names lived before the composition of Harivamsa-purāna."¹

Ādīpurāna was left unfinished by Jinasena and was completed by his pupil Gunabhadra,² under the name of Uttarapurāna. Guṇabhadra also wrote Jinadattacarita.³ Among poets praised in Ādī-purāna is Kavīparamesvara.

229 Jinaprabha was the pupil of Jinasimha of Laghukha-rataragaccha. He was honoured by Emperor Sahī Muhammad at Delhi. He was very prolix in poetry and there was no day where he did not compose new śloṭras, of which there are now 700, such as Gauṭamasloṭra, Pārsvanāthastava, Śrīvīrastava, Śāradāstotra, etc.⁴ His Dyaśrayakāvya, like the one of that name of Hemacandra, describes the life of Śrenika. It was composed in Sam 1356 (1300 A.D.)⁵

KIRTIRAJA in his poem Nemināṭhamahākāvya in 12 cantos narrates the life of Nemināṭha who was a Bālabrahmacārī,⁶ with exquisite descriptions of the seasons, marriage, etc. Kīrtirāja wrote the Praśasti engraved in Parāvajmālāya in Jessalnūr Mandir in Sam 1473 (1417 A.D.)⁷

SOMAKIRTI of Nandīṭaṭagaccha was pupil of Bhīmasena. He wrote Saptavyasanacarita and Pradyumnacarita in 1474 A.D. and Yasodhara-carita in 1476 A.D.⁸

1 See Hiralal, *loc. cit.* xxii

2 He is different from Guṇabhadra, author of Dhanyakumāracarita, *Cat. CP.* 1655

3 *Cat. CP.* 648. From the legend of Prince Jayakumāra in this work, Brahmacāmarāja wrote Jayakumāracarita (*Ibid.* 1 c)

4 Printed, Kāvya-māla, VII, Bombay

5 See *Jss. Cat.*, 58, Hiralal, *loc. cit.* xxiv.

6 Printed, Bhojnagar, from a manuscript dated Sam. 1495 and written at Śrīyoginipura (Delhi)

7 This Praśasti is printed in *Jss. Cat.*, 64-5

8 See Hiralal, *Cat. C.P. Int.* xxxvii.

Padmasāgaragaṇi describes the life of his Guru Hīrāvijayasūri in his poem Jagadgurukāvya. It was composed in Sam 1633 (1577 A D) ¹

Raṭnacandra's Pradyumnacarita, a poem in 18 cantos, describes as a Jain version the story of Pradyumna and ends with the ascent of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma to heaven and salvation of Nemi. It was composed in Sam 1674 (1618 A D) ²

230 Subhacandra was the pupil of Vijayakīrti of Mūlasaṅgha. Besides PANDAVAPURANA also called Bhārata composed in Sam 1608, (1552 A D) he says he wrote Candranāthacarita, Padmanāthacarita, Manmathamahimā or Pradyumnacarita, Jivakacarita and Nandīśvarakāthā, etc. ³

231 Padmasundara was the pupil of Padmameru of the Tāpagaccha ⁴. He was successful in a literary contest at the Court of Akbar and was honoured with gifts of villages, etc. ⁵ He wrote his Rāyamallābhhyudaya in Sam 1615, (1559 A D) describing the lives of 24 Tirthankaras ending with Royamalla of the Agrīkha, ⁶ class. Same year later he wrote his Pārsvanatha Kavya ⁷

Śrīvallabha Pathaka in Vijayadeva Māhātmya describes the life of Śrī Vijayadevasūri of Tāpagaccha in 21 cantos. He was born in Sam 1634, and was honoured by Emperor Jahangir ⁸

232 Sakalakīrti was a Bhattāraka of the Jain religion. His Dhanyakumāracarita, ⁹ a poem in seven Adhikaras, describes the life of Dhanyakumāra, son of Dhanapala, a Vaiśya of Ujjain, who by his devotion was regarded as a Saint. He wrote poems Sudarsanacarita, ¹⁰ Śrīpālacarita, ¹¹ and Vṛsabhānucarita ¹². Mahāvīrapurāṇa is an extensive work ¹³

1. Printed, Benares. Hīrāvijaya was born in Sam, 1588. PR, IV, 26

2. Bh. ORI, 92. The epilogue mentions Jain priests honored by Emperor Akbar. See Mod. Rev. VII

3. PR, (1882-4), 118. PR, IV, 143, 149, 156. PR, V, list of authors.

4. PR, IV, lxxv.

5. BR, (1882-3), 43.

6. PR, III, 255

7. Bod. Cat, 892

8. Printed Jama-Sahitya-Samśīdhaka-Granthamālā, Ahmedabad.

9. DO, XXI, 8128-

10. Printed, Bombay.

11. Mys. OML, 260,

12. DO, XX, 8103, PR, IV, 138

13. Printed, Bombay.

233 Vadirajasuri *alias* Sanmukha, a Jaina ascetic, was called Dvādaśavidyāpati, probably on account of his proficiency in twelve arts. His Yasodharacarita is a poem narrating the life of Yasodhara, son of Yasodhara and Candrāvaṭi of Ujjain, a saintly King of Jaina sect.¹ He also composed Pārsvanāthacarita.²

234 Somacaritragani's Gurugunaraṭnākara describes the life of Lakṣmīsaragani of Ṭapāgaccha. It was written in 1485 A.D. and is of great value of Gujrat history.³

235 Other Jain poems are here collected

Prthvīcandracarita of Śāntisūri (*Sam* 1225),⁴ Nemināthacarita of Ratnaprabha, pupil of Vāḍideva (*Sam* 1233),⁵ Kuvalayamālākathā of Ratnaprabha, pupil of Paramānanda,⁶ Puṇyasārahakathā of Vivekasamudragani, pupil of Jīvesvara (*Sam* 1334),⁷ Vijayacandracarita of Candraprabha (*Sam* 1127),⁸ Harivikramacarita of Jayatilaka, (about *Sam* 1350),⁹ Ādināthacarita of Vardhamānācārya, (about *Sam* 1330),¹⁰ Vāsūpūjyacarita of Vardhamāna, pupil of Vijayasimha,¹¹ Prthvīcandracarita of Saṭyarājagani,¹² Prthvīcandracarita of Jayasāgara, pupil of Jinarāja (*Sam* 1503),¹³ Paramahamsacarita by Nayaranga, pupil of Guṇasekhara (*Sam* 1624).¹⁴

Abhayakumāracarita of Candratilaka, pupil of Jīvesvara (*Sam* 1312),¹⁵ Prabhāvakacarita of Prabhācandra (*Sam* 1334),¹⁶ Kāvyaamanohara

1 Printed, Bombay DC, XXI 8136. There is a commentary on it by Lakṣmana. There is another poem of the same name by Kṣamākalyāṇa, printed in Bombay and composed in *Sam* 1889 (1788 A.D.) See *Jes. Cat* 42, *PR*, IV 162

2 Printed, Bombay

3 Printed, Benares *Mys Arch Rep* (1924), 13 It mentions the Pragyāta dynasty

4 *Jes Cat*, 67 This was composed at Kumārapāla's Court

5 *Jes. Cat*, 40,

6 Printed Bombay. This is a Sanskrit rendering of Dākṣiṇyacaritaśūri's prakṛt work (*Jes Cat*, 48) composed about the middle of the 18th century A.D. He calls it a *campu*. He mentions earlier poets (now unknown) Pāṣalīpta, Saṭparṇaka, Vimalānka, Devagupṭa, Prabhanjana. In *PR*, II 28, Haribhadra is wrongly named as the author of this poem

7 *Jes Cat*, 56

8 *PR*, VI List of authors

9 *Ibid.*, 1

10 *Ibid.*, 42

11 *Ibid.*, 24 The manuscript was written in *Sam*. 1327

12 *Ibid.*, 47. This contains many styles of poetry and prose

13 *Ibid.*, 56

14 *Ibid.*, 57.

15 Printed Bhojnagar, *Jes Cat*, 4.

16 Printed Bombay There is another work of the same name by Candraprabhā (Printed Bombay)

of Mahesvara (*Sam* 1504),¹ Vardhamānacarita of Asaga, pupil of Nāgānandin (*Sam* 1679),² Uktirāṇākara of Sādhūśundara *alias* Sādhurāṇa, pupil of Devasundara,³ Pārśvanāthacarita of Bhāvadēva,⁴ Jambūśvāmicarita of Jinādāsa,⁵ Pārśvaśaṭavana of Padmaprabhadeva,⁶ Mallīcarita of Vinayacandra,⁷ Minaketūliya of Devanātha, Jagadgurucarita of Suvarpānarda, Santināthacarita of Munisundara and another of Bhāvacandra, Candraprabhāśvāmicarita of Devendra,⁸ Amāmaswāmicarita of Munirāṇasūri,⁹ Upamitibhāvaprapancakathā of Siddharṣi,¹⁰ Sumitracarita of Harṣakunjaropādhyāya,¹¹ Pārśvacarita of Devabhadrā,¹² Sāntinātamahākāvya of Munibhadra¹³

Virollūsa of Bhrusundi, and Nāgākumārakāvya of Mallisena,¹⁴ Munisuvrāṇakāvya of Arhatdāsa,¹⁵ Pradyumnacarita (i) of Mahāsenācārya *alias* Pappadaguru, pupil of Cārukīrti,¹⁶ and (ii) of Vasodhara,¹⁷ Bhadrābhūcarita of Ratnanandi,¹⁸ Candraprabhaviṇaya of Ravigupta,¹⁹ Nemirvāṇa of Vāgbhaṭa²⁰

[Kumārasambhava of Jayaśekhara, Pārśvanāthacarita of Bhāvadēva, Dhānyacarita of Jinakīrti, Prabhāvakacarita of Candraprabha, Bhaktāmarakathā of Roṃamalla, Malayasundarikathā of Mānikyasundara

1 Int to Apabhramśakāvyaṭrayī (*GOS*), 85

2 *PR*, IV 168; *DC*, XXI 8188

3 He was author also of Yājñakalpavṛtti written in *Sam*. 1455. See *PR*, IV, V xxvii, Klatt, *IA*, XI, 255

4 Printed Bombay Probably composed at Avanti in *Sam* 1412 (*PR*, IV 108 XV Last of authors) He was also the author of Kalikācāryakathānakā (*PR*, I *Ap* 30)

5 *Mys*, *OML* 246, *PR*, V

6 *PR*, III *Ap* 212, with commentary by Munīśekhara

7. *PR*, IV 144 His pupil Dharmadāsa was also a poet He lived about *Sam*. 1288

8. *Gough*, 87, 95, 96, 106.

9 *PR*, III 87-89

10 *PR*, III 42, 41 and *App* 168, IV 129 gives the year 962.

11 *Jes Cat* 54.

12 *Ibid*, 87

13 Printed, Benares

14 *Mys* *OML*, 247 251 This latter work throws light on Nāga history See *Mys Arch Rep* (1924), 10

15 *Ibid*, 251 *OAL*, II 278 with commentary

16 Printed, Bhowanagar *TC*, IV 5398 The same story is told in the play *Arjha-panoaka* (*DC*, XXI, 88877) of unknown authorship

17 *DC*, XX 793

18 *TC*, XX 7940

19 *PR*, IV. civ *PR*, I *App* 68.

CHAPTER X

Mahakavyas (contd)

SECTION 1

236 Caturbhujā's Haricantakāvya is a poem in 13 cantos on the adventures of Kṛṣṇa composed on 1493 A.D. at Rāmakeli, a suburb of the Gauda capital of Bengal, then under the rule of Khojas and Habsis. As soon as he was born his father wrote some verse on his tongue with a golden pen tipped in honey and he became a poet. His son Kamalākara wrote a commentary on Lolambarāja's Harivilāsa-kāvya¹ and Ghatakarpara².

237 Divakara was son of Vaidyeśvara and Mukṭāmbā of Bhāradvāja Gotra. He was in the court of King Kṛṣṇadevarāja of Vijayanagar (1509-1529 A.D.)³. From King Rudra he says he got the title Kavicanḍrarāja. His brother Maḍhusūdana wrote Dhūrṭacarita-bhāṣa⁴. Besides the play Pārijāta-harana, Rasamanjarī, and Devīstūṭi, he wrote the poem Bhārataṁṛta in more than 40 cantos on the story of Mahābhārata⁵.

238. Ekamranatha was born in Kondavidu. He came to the Court of Immadi Ankusa of Rāna family, of 16-17th century A.D. In his two poems, Jāmbavatīpariṇaya and Satyāpariṇaya, he gives the genealogy of Ankusa and a running history of his patron and his ancestors which furnishes valuable history. He also wrote the poem Vīrabhaḍra-vijaya⁶. At the beginning of the poems,⁷ as usual the poet gives a lengthy account of the family of his patrons. "Among the members of the fourth caste (Sudras) was a family which became famous as the Rana vamsa. In that family was born Imma who married Mallamma. Their descendants are represented in the following genealogical table!—

1. BKR, 17. CC, III, 156.

2. PR, III Ap, 896.

3. ICC, 2525.

4. See para 182 *supra*.

5. It is apparently different from Dhūrṭacaritaprahasana mentioned in Sāhitya-darpaṇa, 536.

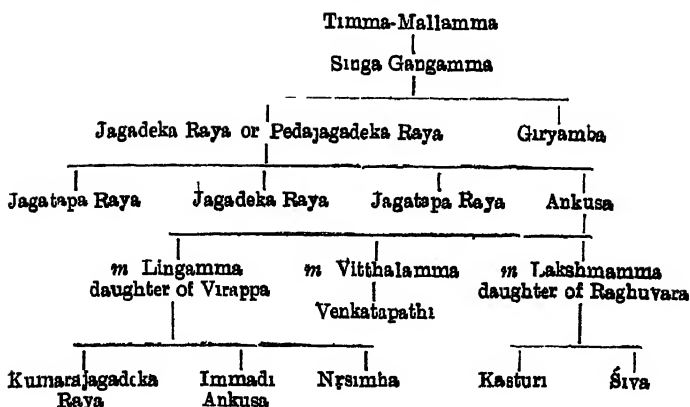
6. TC, IV, 4908, 5502. The last verse now available is

चक्रे च तथा पृथगुक्तानां सद्रौणिशिविरं श्वैकशेषम् ।

पारावतपञ्चरान्तराले संविष्टो मथितं यथा बिडालः ॥

7. *Ibid*, 242 where another poem of this name by Mukṭeśvara is mentioned.

8. DC, XX, 7732, 7739.



Of these chiefs Jagadeka Raya or Pedda Jagadeka Raya is said to have fought with the ruler of Burana Nagari (the City of Burhan, Nizam Shah and defeating him, to have captured innumerable horses and elephants. Of his sons Jagadeka Raya was the most famous. In a battle he is said to have captured as prisoner a Muhammadan chief Chittakhan, defeated the troops of Nuru Khan and Murtiya Khan and killed the chief Sujata Khan "1

239. Venkatesa was the son of Śrīnivasa of Āṇṇṇyaṅgaṇa. Born near Kānci in 1595 A.D., he lived for more than fifty years. His Rāmacandrodāya is a long poem of thirty cantos describing the history Rāma and was composed at Benares in 1635 A.D. So is his Vama-kāṇṇava composed in 1656 A.D. 4

240. Utpreksavallabha, whose real name appears to be Gokula, was a votary of Śiva and was also known as Śivabhaktidāsa. He lived in Malabar about the 16th Century A.D. His BHIKṢĀTANAKAVYA, 5 in 40 Paḍḍhaṭis, is a fine poem describing "how Śiva went about as a mendicant for alms from Rājāśāha Cola King to test his liberality and how the appearance of Śiva influenced the women of the City." The poem is replete with descriptions of high fancy, interspersed with didactic matter. He wrote Sundarīśaṭaka 6 at the request of King Maḍana

1 SVH, 227 86

2. Tanj. Cat., VII. xxxi

3. Tanj. Cat., VI. 2658.

4. Ibid., 2881.

5. Printed, Kāvyaśālā, Bombay

6. Printed, Kāvyaśālā Bombay. From this poem, it appears that Gokula was called Utpreksavallabha.

241 Venkatekr̥ṣṇayajan was the son of Venkatādri of Vādhūlagotra and wrote at the instance of King Gopāla, son of Dādāji and grandson of Bālāji, brahmin of Vasisthagotra and Metukāri family King Gopāla ruled as a feudatory of Sivacchatrapati near Chidambaram in 17th century A D His *NATISAIJAYA*¹ in 7 cantos describes the story of the vanquishment of Kali at Cidambaram by Siva by his cosmic dance

242 Srinivasa, son of Varada of Viravalli family and Kaundinyagotra, lived at Śrīmuṣṇam early in the 17th century A D In his poem *BHUVARAHARIJAYA*,² in eight cantos, he describes the Varāha incarnation, the sacrifice performed at Śrīmuṣṇam, the destruction of demon, Dandaka's father, and Bhūvaraha's marriage with Lakṣmī He wrote several other works, of which Ambujavallīlīlāṇḍaka, Śrīvarāha-cūrṇikā, Dhyānacūrṇikā, and Śrīrangadandaka are in prose Among his poems are Ambujavallīparinaya, Varāhavijaya, Varabacampū, Vākulamālinīgītāparinaya, Sītādivyacaritra, and commentaries on Māgha, Raghuvamśa, Naiadha, and Amaruka.

His son Varadaḍesika was equally great Besides Lakṣmīnārāyaṇacaritra, Raghuvavijaya, Rāmāyaṇasaṅgraha, Ambujavallībhāṭaka, and Śrīvarāhasataka, he wrote Gadyarāmāyana, narrating in prose the story of the Rāmāyaṇa Varadaḍesika's son was Appalācārya and the latter's son Venkatavarada wrote the drama Kṛṣṇavijaya³ and in the prologue the works of many of his ancestors are described

243 Gangadasa was son of Gopālaḍasa of Vaidya caste In six chapters, he describes in his *Chandomanjari*,⁴ the varieties of metres and illustrates them by verses in praise of Kṛṣṇa He also wrote *ĀCYUTACĀRITA*, a poem in 16 cantos and *DINAKARITA* in praise of the Sun His father wrote a play *Parijāṭaharana*⁵

244 Abhinava Ramanujacarya bore the title of Māyavāḍi-maḍagaja-Kaṇṭhīravācārya He was the son of Venkatārāya of Nāḍhruvakīśyapagotra of the family of Vāḍibhakesarin. He was probably a contemporary of Iṁmaṇagapāṭi (of Karvetnagar) of the 19th century His *ŚRINIVASAGUNAKARA* is a poem in seven cantos describing the greatness of Śrī Venkatesa of Tirupati He wrote his own

1. DC, XX 7747.

2. DC, XX 7708

3. DC, XXI 8569-74

4. Ed. everywhere with commentary, 100, 305.

5. CC, I, 395

commentary on the first 8 cantos and his brother's son Varadarāja wrote a commentary on the rest of the poem ¹

245 Kṛṣṇanāma was a professor in Āyurveda in Jaipur State about 1900 A.D. In his Kacchavamsa and Jayapuravilāsa, he described the greatness of the rulers of Jaipur. Among many poems he wrote are Āryāṅkārāsāṭika, Palāṇḍusaṭika, Mukṭaka, Mukṭāvali, Holamahotsava and Sārasāṭika, a poetical epitome of several important Sanskrit works. In metrics he wrote Chandaschatāmardina ²

246 Lakṣmanasuri was the son of Muthusubba Iyer of Punalveli near Srīvalliputtūr, in Rāmnād. He lived between 1859-1919 A.D. He was well-versed in all the Śāstras and was given the title Mahāmahōpādhyāya. He was Professor of Sanskrit in the Pachayappa's College, Madras. His KṚṢṆALILAMṚTA is a long poem on the story of Kṛṣṇa. Among his minor poems are Viprasandēśa, Mānasasandēśa and Venkatesastava. His play Delhi-Sāmrajya represents the story of Durbar of King George V at Delhi and Paulastyaavadha the story of Rāmāyaṇa. His commentaries on Anargarāghava, Uṭṭarāmacariṭa, Mahāvīracariṭa, Velāsamhāra, Bālarāmāyaṇa and Rāṭnāvali are well-known. He revised the broken fragments of Madana's Pānjātamanjari.

In the field of simple prose he has set an example. His BHĪṢMA-VIJAYA narrates the life of Bhīṣma, the great Kaurava warrior and imports the ideal of virtue and discipline. His Bhāratasaṅgraha and Rāmāyaṇasaṅgraha are easy epitomes of Mahābharata and Rāmāyaṇa ³

247 Ganapati Sastri was the son of Ramasubba Iyer. He was born at Taruvai, in Tinnevely district in 1860 A.D. He attained high proficiency Sanskrit study very early and in his seventeenth year wrote a drama Mādhavīvasanta. He was principal of the Sanskrit College, Trivandrum and latterly Curator of Sanskrit publications, in Trivandrum, under the patronage of the Maharajah of Travancore. The title of Mahāmahōpādhyāya was conferred on him. He passed away a few years ago. His name has been known to the world as the discoverer of Bhāsa's lost dramas. His researches in literary history are of high merit and they are embodied in the introduction to ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~series~~ ^{the} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~works~~ ^{works} in the series. His original works are many. He has commented on the plays of Bhāsa and edited them himself.

¹ TC, III, 2919.

² See Śivadatta's Introduction to Naisadha. Another work on Jaipur is Jayanagatapancaranga of Mallabhatta. Harivallabha (Printed, Bombay).

³ Some of his works have been printed in Madras.

Among his poems are Śrīmūlacariṭa, a history of Kings of Travancore, Bhārataṭavarnana, a description of India, Tulāpuruṣadānakāvya, on the Tulābhāra ceremony in the palace, Aparnāṣṭava in praise of Pārvatī, and Cakravartīnigūṇamanimālā, on the greatness of Queen Victoria. His Arṭhacītramanimālā is a rhetorical work with illustrations in praise of King Viśākha Rāma Varma, Mahārāja of Travancore.

By far the most appreciable of his works is SEIUVATRAṆIṬARNANA, a romance in learned but easy sanskrit prose with its theme the description of a pilgrimage to Rameṣvaram. It describes and decries many of the social evils of the day and impresses on the reader's mind, the sanctity and utility of Hindu ideals.¹

248 Nilakantha Sarma is the son of Punnasserī Nambī Nārāyaṇa Sarma. He was born in 1858 and is one of the famous living authors of Malabar. He maintains the Sanskrit College at Pattāmbi and edits a journal in Sanskrit Vijnāna-Cintāmaṇi. Besides works on astrology, he wrote poems, Paṭṭabhīsekaprabandha, Sailabdhīśaṣṭaka and Āryāśaṭaka.

249 Vidhusakhara Bhattachārya of Santiniketan, Bengal, is a great Sanskrit and Bengali scholar. Besides works in Pālī, he wrote poems in Sanskrit, Yauvanavilāsa, Umāparinaya, Hariscandracariṭa and Cīṭṭavilāsa and romance Candraprabhā. He is the editor of Miṭra-goṣṭhī, a Sanskrit Journal in Benares.

SECTION 2

250 Poems on the story of Mahabharata are Pāṇḍavābhyaṣaya (R No 391), Taruṇabhārata (TC, IV 5116), Abhinavabhārata of Narasappamanṭrin (DC, XX 7690), Pāṇḍavavijaya by Hemacandraṛāya Kavibhūṣana (Printed, Patna), Pāṇḍavacariṭa by Lakṣmidatta (CC, I 537), Vikramabhārata by Śrīśvar Vidyālakāra (Printed, Calcutta), Bhārataodyoṭa of Citrabhānu.²

251. Poems on Sri Kṛṣṇa are Rādhāvinoda by Rāmācandra, son of Janārdana (PR, II 396, Tanj Cat., VII 2829) with commentary by Trilokaṇātha (CC, I 505) and by Bhatta Nārāyaṇa (Mitra, IV 299), Kṛṣṇābhyaṣaya (a) by Flayavallī Śrīnivasaśāghava, son of Venkatācārya of Kausikagoṭra (TC, IV 5962, Mys OML 244), and (u) by Varadaśika, son of Appāyārya of Ātreyaḡoṭra (DC, XX 7726), Kṛ. nārjunīya (Ibid 7731), Yadunāthacariṭa (Ibid 7795), Kṛṣṇabhakticandrikā of

1. The manuscripts of these works are now in the author's home.

2. The manuscript is with M. Ramakrishna Kavi, M. A., Madras.

Anantadeva (*PR*, II 23, 103) Kṛṣṇacarita (*TC*, IV 5893), Kṛṣṇavinoda by Moturāma (*Oudh*, IV. 9), Kṛṣṇakṛīḍita by Kesavārka (*Olf* [3+1], Kṛṣṇabhāvanāmṛta (*CC*, I 121), Kṛṣṇacarita by Mānaveda² (*TC*, III 4032), Kṛṣṇalīlā by Madana (*CC* I 123), Kṛṣṇalīlābhūṣana and Kṛṣṇalīlāsāra (*Opp* II 3329, 4538), Kṛṣṇavilāsa (i) by Prabhākara (*Opp* 1427, 2590), and (ii) by Śeṣadīkṣita (*Rice*, 230), Kṛṣṇavilāśacarita-mahārṇava (*Opp* II 4539), Kṛṣṇacandrodaya by Govinda, son of Śrīnivāsa of Ātreya-gotra (*TC*, IV 5677)

Govindalīlā by Rāmacandra (*Printed*, Benares), Aṣṭvāryakādambinī by Vidyābhūṣana (*CC*, I 76), Kṛṣṇacarita-mṛta and Kṛṣṇabhāvanāmṛta [*CSC*, (1907), 17], Kṛṣṇāmṛtamahārṇava (*Opp* II 65), and Vrajavilāsa [*CSC* (1908), 76], Vīṭṭapakusumāñjali of Yadunandanadāsa [*CSC* (1908), 72], Kṛṣṇabhaktikāvya of Anantadeva (*PR*, III App 394), Bhāgavatodyota of Citrabhānu,³ [Kṛṣṇalīlābhūṣana of Daṭṭātreya, Kṛṣṇavilāsa of Puṇyakoti, Kṛṣṇābhūdya of Tīmāyajan and of Varadarājayaajan, Bālabhāgavata, and Bhāgavata-mṛta, Mukundavilāsa of Nīlakantha, Govindacarita] (*CAL*, II 4, 510, 66)

Premendusāgara by Rūpagoswāmī (*CC*, I 36), Premoktyudaya (*CC*, I 365), Premāṃṇacampū by Candradāsa (*CC*, I 365), Rādhāsudhākara (*Opp* 6165), Rādhāmāṇaṭarangiṇī (composed in *Sam* 1696) by Nandakumārasarma in the reign of King Candra of Navadvīpa and Rādhārasamanjari by Caṭṭanyacandra (*CC*, I 504), Rādhārasasudhānīḍhi by Hita Harivamsa Goswāmī with commentary by Narottama (*IO*, 146), Rādhārahasya by Kṛṣṇaḍatta (*PR*, III 362), Rādhāvinoda by Dīnēśa and with commentary by Nārāyaṇa, son of Rangānāṭha (*CC*, I 505), Rādhāvilāsa (*CC*, I 505), Rādhāsandaryamanjari by Subalacandrācārya (*CC*, I 505), Kṛṣṇavijaya by Rāmacandra (*CC*, I 511), Gopālalīla by Rāmacandra (*Printed*, Bombay) and Bṛndāvanamanjari by Mānasimha (*CC*, I 899), Bṛndāvanavinoda by Rudraṇyāyavācāspati (*CC*, I, 599), Vrajavīhāra by Śrīdharaswāmī (*Printed*, Haberlin), Vrajendracarita by Sadānanda (*Bih*, 249), Kṛṣṇābhūdya by Varadarājayaajan (*CAL*, II 4), Mukundavilāsa by Raghūṭṭamatīrṭha (*CC*, II 106), Harilīlā by Bopadeva (*CC*, I. 760, *OR*, III. 390), Harikelilīlāvati by Kavikesari (*HPR*, I 421), Harivilāsa by Kavisekhara, son of Yaśodhacandra (*IO*, 1177), Kṛṣṇalīlā by Kṛṣṇamīśra (*HPR*, II 41), Kṛṣṇabhāvanāmṛtā (*IO*, 1180), Kṛṣṇalīlā by Madana, son of Kṛṣṇa (*IO*, 2538), Kṛṣṇalīlā-

1 See para 176 supra

2. The manuscript is with M. Ramakrishna Kavi, M A, Tirupati, more than 400 years old. See Citrabhānu's commentary on Bhāṭavi (*TSS* Trivandrum)

ṭarangīṃ by Nārāyaṇatīrtha (CC, III 27), Gopālacarita by Padmanābha Bhatta (CC, III 35), Gopālaviṇeka (PR, VI 333), Madhukelivallī by Govardhana (Uheq, 1066), Camaṭkāracandrikā by Kavikarṇapūra (IO, 1177), Rāsakaipalatā by Mohanānanda (HPR, II 176), Rāsakaipa-sārataṭṭva by Brindāvanadāsa (HPR, I 307), Rāsakṛṣṇamādhhuṇi by Aṇṇyaḍāsasvāmī (CC, III 105), Rāsarasodaya (O.S.B, 164)

Vāsudevacarita by Veḍidatta, son of Jagjirāma (IOC, 584-1459);¹ Harivamsakāvya (CC, I 750), Bālaharivamsa by Sankara Nārāyaṇa (Mys OML 250), Kamsanidhana by Rāma (PR, III 393), Sri-kṛṣṇacarita (TC, IV 5406), Gopikonnāda (TC, IV 5616), Kṛṣṇāmṛtāṭa-rāṅgikā by Venkateṣa (Printed, Bombay), Gopālaviyaya by Girisundara-ḍāsa (HR, II No 1155), Kṛṣṇodanṭa by Bhāskara (CAL, II 5), Sundaradāmodara by Lolambarāja (CIL, II 16), Kṛṣṇabhāvānāmṛta by Viṣvaṇātha [Printed, Brindaban, Mitha, VI 269 Composed in 1786 A D], Kṛṣṇaviyaya by Sankarācārya (Oph 3715)

KṛṣṇAYANA is a work on the life of Kṛṣṇa in imitation of Rāmāyaṇa. As the latter was called Ādikāvya, this is called Anantarakāvya. The style is charming, but the manuscript breaks off in the 7th canto. It is stated to have been related by Bharadvāja, and must have been a production of the 12th or 13th century by a follower of Rāmānuja cult. He says he describes the origin of the world according to Purāṇas, Smṛtis and Rāmānuja (IO, XX 7729)

252 Poems on Ramayana are Rāmavilāsa, Rāmācarita of Raghunātha, Udārarāghava of Candīśūryakavi, Kalyāṇarāmāyaṇa of Śeṣakavi, Bhadrāḍṛi-Rāmāyaṇa of Vīrarāghava, Rāmakathāsudhodaya of Śrīpāla Śrīnivāsa, Rāmāmṛta of Venkatarangī, and Yūlavārāghaviya of Narahara (Mys OML 253-5); Raghuvīravāryacarita of Tīrimalakoṇa-yārya (Ibid Sup 11), Paṣaṇanavādha by Yogīndranātha (Printed, Calcutta), Raghuvīracarita by Sukumāra (Trav Cat, 86)

Sītārāmavihāra by Lakṣmanasomayaṇi, son of Organti Śankara (IO, 1481), Rāmāgunākara by Rāmadeva [Mitha, (1872) 315, CC, I. 510], Rāmakheta-kāvya by Padmanābha (CASB, 163, composed 1839 A D), Rāmavilāsa by (1) Rāmācarana and (2) Harinātha (O., 132, 214)

Rāmācandra-kāvya of Saṃbhu Kālīḍāsa (Tanj Cat, VI 283), Udārarāghava (DC, XX 7094), Prasannarāmāyaṇa of Devaradikṣita, son of Śrīpāla (DC, XII 7780), Rāmācandrodaya of Kavivallabha (Ibid, 7844), Rāmācarita of Viṣṇvakṣena (Ibid 7846), Rāghavollāsa (1) by

Advaita Rāma Bhikṣu (*CC*, I 500, *IO*, 1138, 1479) and (ii) by Pūjyapāda Devānanda (*CC*, I 500), Āścaryarāmāyana (*Opp*, II 3108), Bālarāghaviya by Sāthagopācārya (*Opp*, II 590), Sītārāghaviya (*CC*, I 485), Ramañīva-
rāghava by Brahmadaṭṭa (*Rice*, 240), Abhirāmākāvya by Rāmanātha (*CC*, I 26), Rāmakuṭūhala by Rāmesvara, son of Govinda (composed in 1680 A.D. *Opp*, 198), Rāmakaṭuka by Kamalākara, son of Rāmākṣṇa, (*IO*, 107, 1487), Rāmakaṭhāmṛta by Giridharadāsa (*VII*, 456, 488), Rāmaguṇākara by Rāmadeva Nyāyālankāra (*CC*, I 510), Rāma-
vilāsakāvya by Rāmacaraṇa Tarkavāgīśa¹ and by Harinātha (*CC*, I 179, 518), Rāmacarita (i) by Kāśinātha and (ii) by Mohanaswāmī (*IO*, 978, 1184), Rāmālilodaya by Rāmākānta, son of Bāṇesvara (*CC*, I 518), Rāmābhiseka by Kesava (*BTC*, 161), Rāmākāvya by Rāmānanda-
tīrtha (*CC*, I 507), Rāmābhyaṣa by Venkatesa² (*BTC*, 161, 214) Rāmābhyaṣayatilaka (*Opp*, 1555), Sītikantharāmāyana by Sītikantha (*Opp*, 6683)

Sītārāmāyana (*Opp* 6695), Raghuvīravilāsa by Lakṣmaṇa, son of Dāmodara of Bhāradvājaśāstra (*TC*, IV 5460), Raghupati-vijaya by Gopinātha (*CC*, III 104), Rāmacarita by Mohanaswāmī³ (*IO*, 978, 1481), Rāmacandrodaya (i) by Puruṣoṭṭamamīśra (*Opp*, II 3780, *TC*, IV. 4805), (ii) by Rāmadāsa (*TC*, II 2513), Rāmacandramahodaya by Saccidanānda (*CC*, I 587), Rāmākāvya by Bālakṣṇa (*CC*, III 108), Rāmaratnākara by Madhuvraṭa (*Oudh*, V 6), Rāmarasāmṛta by Śrīdhara (*CC*, I 512), Rāmacandrodaya by Kavivallabha (*Trav Cat* 156)

Rāghunāṇḍanavilāsa (i) by Venkātācārya (*CAL*, II 12) and (ii) by Pātācārya son of Sāthagopa Tātācārya, probably of Kumbakonam (*TC*, III 2931), Vikramarāghava by Natanakālīdāsa (*CAL*, II 15, Sītāpati-
vijaya, *Ibid*, 16), Paulastyarāghaviya by Rāmacandra of Pulveḍa family (*TC*, II 2410), Sītārāmāyana by a pupil of Aruṇācalaśāstra (*TC*, IV. 5140), Uṭṭarārāghaviya (*DC*, XX 7694), Rāghuśikā-
guṇodaya by Navyaṇḍisāhāya (*SKC*, 71, composed in 1570 A.D.), Bālarāmārasāyana by Kṛṣṇa Śāstri (*CAL*, II 8), Rāmāyaṇasārasaṅgraha by Isvaraśikṣiṣa (*CAL*, II 14), Lalitārāghava by Śrīnivāsa Rāṭh, Jānakyānāṇḍabodha by Śrīpati Govinda (*Mitra*, II. 193, *IO*, 1489), Rāmalingāmṛta by Advaita, son of Bāyabhatta of Benares, composed in

1. He wrote his Sāhityaśarpaṇī in 1701 A.D. (*IO* 813)

2. He also wrote poems Venkatesvaravijaya and Kṛṣṇarājavijaya (*Opp* 8852, 8858) and plays Uṇṇītaprāhasana and Bhānuṇḍabandhaprāhasana and Rāghavā-
nāṇḍanāṭaka (*BTC*, 172)

3. It was probably he that wrote Mohanasaptasūti (*CC*, I 468)

Saka 1530 (IO, 1483), Sītārāmaṇihāra by Lakṣmana, son of Sankara of Organlu family (TC, III 3215 IOC, 3918-19)

253 Miscellaneous Poems on Weddings are here collected Padmīnīparinaya by Vedāntācārya and Malayajāparinaya (CAL, II 8), Pārvaṭīparinaya by Īśvarasuraṭi (BTC, 159), Jnānamudrāparinaya (Opp, II 3648), Sāvitrīparinaya by Varadācārya (Ru, 244), Sundarīsvayamvara (Opp, 3077), Rukmīnīparinaya by Govinda, son of Lakṣmaṇa (CC, II 34), Saṭīparinaya by Candrakānta Tarkṭilankāra (Printed, Dacca), Maḍrakanyāparinaya (Mys OMI, 251), Patātakāparinaya of Sankarasubrahmaṇya (Ibid, 247, TC, IV 5466), Rukmīnīpānigrahaṇa by Govindāntarvānī (Printed, Bombay), Saugandhikāparinaya (Gough, 187), Sītāparinaya by Sūryanarāyaṇādhvarin (DC, XX 7904, TC, II 1206, 1603), Sītākalyāṇa (Opp 2487, 6692), Gaurikalyāṇa by Govindanātha (TC, IV. 420+8), Sītāsvayamvara by Kāmarāja (Printed, Bombay, see also OAL, 16 where author's name is not given), Vaidēhīparinaya by Kāśinātha (CC, I 660), Saṭyabhāmāparinaya by Rāmācārya (Rice 244) and by Kṛṣṇa (OAL, II. 141), Ramesvaravivāha by Raghunāṭha of the Court of Mūthurāmaṅga Seṭupatī of Rāmnād (TC, II. 1805), Hemodvāha by Śrīśvar Viḍyāṅkara (Printed, Calcutta), Ambikāparinaya (BTC, 156), Vakulamālmīparinaya (TC, IV 4675), Veḍavullīparinaya by Rāmānuja (OAL, II 141)

Lakṣmīkāvyā of Uttamarāṭa Īrumalādhīsa in 18 cantos describes the marriage of Lakṣmī, daughter of a Cola king, with God Ranganātha of Śrīrangam and a festival relating to it.¹

254. Miscellaneous Poems on Puranic Themes Kāmākṣīvilāsa (Opp, II 8832), Indirābhyaḍaya by Raghavācārya (Ru, 226) and Raghunātha (OAL, II 136), Cakrapāṇikāvyā by Lakṣmidhara (CC, I 175), Pāncatantraśatkaḍya by Dharmapandita (NP, IX 14), Sisupālakathā (Opp, 7420), Draupadyupatī (Rice, 230), Draupadivastṛāharāṇa by Govardhana (PR, III 394), Tārakāsuraṇātha (Opp, 5986), Candraprabhavijaya by Ravigupṭa (CC, I 180), Candraprabhiya by Dhananjaya (Opp, II 434), Cīṭrabhānukāvyā by Harihara (CC, I 762), Mīnaketūdaya by Devanāṭha (CC, I 453), Yakṣadigvijaya (CC, I 469), Kakusṭhavijaya (CC, I 550), Syamaṇṭakaprabandha (Opp, 6292), Usāharana by Harṣanāṭha (CC, I 764), Haihayendrakāvyā by Hari (CC, I 769), Kumārīvilāṣa by Sudarṣana on the story of Kanyākumārī (TC, IV 5638), Vajreśvarīkāvyā by Jagannāṭha (Radh, 22), Rukmāṅgaḍiya by Padmanābha (CC, I 527);

¹ TC, II 1768 The preface gives the names of Śrī Vaiṣṇava teachers of Śrīrangam

ġagannāthaviyaya (i) by Rudrabhatta (CC, I 528), and (ii) by Venkāmātya (Mys, OML, 633), Karpūramanjari by Rajanivallabha (CC, I 82), Cakrapāṇaviyaya (CC, I 125), Candikāṇṭamahākāvya (CC, I 176), Prahlādaviyaya by Kathanāṭha (Mys OML 634), Kumāraviyaya by Rāmasūri (Mys OML, 9), Kārtikeyaviyaya by Girvanendra (Ibid, 2+3), Kharanidhana (DC, XX 7816), Kīrāṭaprabandha on the story of Kīrāṭārjuniya (DC, XX 7913), Kārtavīryodaya by Candracūda [Mitra Bk series, 296, CSC, (1904) 13], Bīnaviyaya by Sīvarāma (CC, III 78), Narakāsuraaviyaya by Mādhavāmātya (Tanj Cat IV 2772), Devāvaṭarana by Sīvarāma on the myths of the shrine at Tirukkandiyur (Tanj Cat VI 2778), Śāradātūlaka by Śeṣagiri describing the festival at Śrīrangapatam (Mys Library)

Lingalīlāvilāsacarita by Mahālinga (Rice, 322), Dhruvacarita, Prahlādacarita, Vāmanacītracarita, Govardhanadhṛṭakṛṣṇacarita, and Ajāmīlopākhyāna by Jayakṛṣṇa (CC, I 199), Hariscandracarita (CC, I 761), Candracūḍacarita by Umāpatidhara (CC, I 180), Varasāvitricarita (Opp, 7392), Haradaṭṭacaritra (Opp 3896), Kalyāṇarājacarita by Madana (Oxf, 127), Kārtavīryacarita, Nandicarita and Prajāpati-carita by Kṛṣṇa (NW, 442, 478), Uśācarita, Kuberacarita, Gauricarita, Valmīkicarita, Sāmbacarita, Mārkaṇḍeyacarita by Brīṇḍāvana Sukla (NW, 440), Paḍmapāḍacarita, Manikyavākyacarita, Viḍyārāṭhyacarita, Sudāma-carita by Śrīmvāsa (CAL, II 25), Śivabhakṭacarita (HR, III 2189), Vāncipurānāṭhacarita by Navanīṭakavi (Ibid 2186), Ambarīṣacarita (Mys OML Sup 91), Śivacarita by Kaviśāstrīśekhara (HR, II 1094); Uḍḍhavadacarita by Raghunāṇḍana (IO, 823), Candravamsa by Candrakānta Tarkālankāra (Printed, Calcutta), Kṛṣṇārjuniya (DC, XX 7731), Candrāṅgaḍacarita by Śāṅkarakavi,¹ and Surendracarita on the story of Indra and Abalyā (DC, XX 7905), Sīvamālā by Rājānaka Gopala (CC, I 651), Gangāvaṭāra by Śāṅkara (IO, 119), Maṭṣyaprabandha (TC, IV. 4436)

Sāmbhuvīlāsa by Viśvanātha (IO, 1148); Gangādharaaviyaya by Venkatasubba (CAL, II 8), Vikramāṅkacarita by Hamsakavi; Hariscandroḍaya by Anantāsūri, Markandeyodaya by Venkatasūri, Sudarsanaaviyaya by Sundarabāhu, Ambarīṣacarita, Kucelavṛṭṭa by Bhatta Nārāyaṇa, Kārtikeyaviyaya by Girvanendraśaṅkara, Kumāraviyaya by Śivacaraṭṭareṇu, Śrīnivasakāvya by Ṭṛyambaka, son of Śrīḍhara, Guruvamśakāvya by Lakṣmaṇasūri, Virollāsa by Bhṛṣundi, Viśvaḍeśika-

1 This poet is not the same as author of Kṛṣṇavīlāsakāvya (See para supra) He died 4 years ago Manuscript is with Bhāṅkura Śāstrī of Adoni.

254-A Navilpakam Rāmānujacarya (Caṭurvedi Saṣakraṭu) wrote Padmanābhakhadga and Rāmānujakhadga. He passed away about 1935. His son Sundarācārya wrote Hanumadvilāsa, Astaprāsa, and Komalām-bākucasāṭaka.

Valathur Varada Viṣṇu Ācārya lived near Ayyampet, Tanjore and wrote Bhāraṭakhadga.¹

Mahāmahopādhyāya Kamalakṣṣṇa Smṛtīrṭha was born in March 1870 in a family of Pandits at *Bhatpara* near Calcutta and died on January 25, 1934. He edited several smṛti texts and composed poetry mostly of panegyric and topical character.²

254 B Kesavasuri, popularly known R. Kesava Aiyangar, M A, B L, is the son of Rājam Aiyangar of Bhāradvājagoṭra. He was born in Nandana (1892-1893) at Chakravalanallur near Devipatnam in Rāmnad District, (Madras). He is an Advocate of the Madras High Court. His heritage of poetry has manifested itself in a series of devotional poems, which in point of grace, piety or eloquence vie with similar eulogues of our great religious teachers. Among his ṣṭoṭras are Śrīkeṣavaśṭava, Śrīsatyādrināṭhastava, Śrīlakṣmīnarasimhaśṭava.³

254 C RAMAKRNASARMAN known as Kuppusāmi Ayya (Nāga-pūdi) was born about 1854. He has now retired from practice as a lawyer and lives at Tirupatī. His Ṣṭavaraṭnāvalī, a lyric in praise of various deities, exhibits an ardent devotion.⁴

254-D. SOMAKAVI (Allamrāju) is son of Siṭārāmayya and lives at Chebrole near Pittapuram. He wrote Cātudhārā, Camasākarasarani and Ādityakarnāṃṭa.

254 E VARADACARYA is son of Nārāyaṇa of Śrīvatsagoṭra. He was born in Ḍurmukhi (1896) and lives at Tanapalli near Tirupatī. He wrote Karpabhāskarasamvāḍa, Bhagavaddhyānasopāna, and Sāyant ṭanisagaravelā and has translated Tagore's *Renunciation* into Sanskrit verse.

254 F Vijayaraghava Acarya (Vīravallī) is the son of Varadārya of Kaundinyagōṭra. He was born at Maīyūr near Kāncī in 1884.

1 Printed Vanivilas Press, Smṛrangam

2 *Ind Rev* (1934), 517

3 Printed, Madras,

4 Printed, Madras by his son, N. Candrasekhara Iyer, now District Judge, Madura

254 G Sadaksara was the son of Mahādeva and Gangādevī. He was born at Yalandur in Mysore State in Śaka 1536 (1614 A.D.). He was one of the famous galaxy of poets who graced the Court of Kārṇāṭa King Cīkadevarāja. Blessed with a divine poesy by birth his name soon became glorious. Sadaksara bore the title of Kavikunja. Besides several poems in Canarese he wrote in Sanskrit a major poem Rasārṇava or Kavikarnārasāvana (24 cantos) and minor poems Ratnāvahī, Kavikotī, Ambāstaka, and Bhadrastava. He passed away in his 22nd year in Śaka 1556. He studied under Vasavarāja and admired Vāsavarāja's Kāvya-mīmāṃsā on which Padmakavi wrote a commentary.²

254 H Banēsvara Vidyelankara (Sobhākara) was the son of Rāmadeva, the great extempore poet. He lived at Guṭṭapallī in Hughli about the end of the 18th century. His Cītracampū was composed in 1744. His Kālidāsastava is printed in Śyāmākālpalaṭikā. His verses are often quoted in Bengal.²

254-I Yagnasubrahmanya or Swāmī Dīkṣita was the son of Annā Dīkṣita and Valliyambā of Kaundinyagoṭṭra. He lived in about 1832-1879. He was born at Ettiyapuram, Tinnevely District and with a high proficiency in all the Sāstras and in poetry, he was the State Pandit in the Ettiyapuram Samsthānam and was called Kavikesarīn. Besides works on other topics he wrote poetic descriptions of the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi of 1875 and of the visit of the Prince of Wales in that year and a campū Vallīparinaya which is (in 12 ṭarāṅgas) quite familiar in South India. There is a commentary on it by Iṭhūr Sundararāja Aiyangar.²

254 J Candamaruta Acarya was son of Paṇḍitarāṅga of Vatsagoṭṭra. He was born at Alisur near Kāncī. He studied under his father and visited various States and received honours. He was patronised particularly by Ravivarma, Chief of Itabalapuri on whose poem

1 This information is from an article by Gaurisankara Sarma in Śāraṅga, I 29. See para 521 post.

2 See para 546 and S B J1. Here is a verse of his

लज्जा मानमुता ममाद्यवनिता शिक्षा परा दैन्यजा
तातैश्वर्यविगर्विता बलवती शिक्षा प्रगल्भामवत् ।
सा लज्जानिहता तयैव तनयाशोकेन मानो मृत
शिक्षा दैन्यमुता चिरात्परिचिता नाद्यापि मां युचति ॥

3 These works are printed and the unprinted works are with his nephew Mr V Subrahmanya Iyer, M.A., Principal, Rameswaram Devasthanam Sanskrit College, Madurai.

Vidhuravilāpa he wrote a commentary ¹ He was lastly Professor of Sanskrit in San Thome, Madras Besides writing Laghurasakusumāvali on poetics, he answered Jagannātha's critique on Citramīmāṃsā in a work named Citramīmāṃsoddhāra His poem Alinirājīkathā was left incomplete in 6 cantos He passed away in 1900 ²

Candamāruta had a literary rival Venkatavarada Ācārya of Alavoor (near Kāncī) of Śrīvatsagotra He was born in 1879 and lives at Kāncī He wrote under the name KOMALAMARUTA and his poems and stray verses appeared in Manjubhāsinī and Vijnāntīntīmanī Journals

254-K Srinivasa Sastrin was of Kaundinyagotra His brother Nārāyaṇasāstrin is a renowned writer whose works will be noticed (in para 727 post) He studied under the famous Mahāmahopādhyāya Ṭyāgarāja Śāstrin (Rājū Śāstrin) of Mannargudi (Tanjore District) He upheld the doctrine of Sivadvaṛta propounded by Appayya Dīkṣita by commenting on all the Upanisads His erudition in Sāṣṭras was unique and he edited a Journal Brahmavidyā His works were many and his titles were equally so, marks of honour bestowed on him everywhere Among his minor poems are Vijnaptisatika, Yogibhogi-samvādaśataka, Śārādāśataka, Mahābhairavasataka, Hetirājasataka, Śrīgurusandaryasāgarasasahatrikā etc, and a play SAUMYASOMAM He is known to have written a several poems and plays, but information is not available He passed away about 1900 ³

254-L Ambikadatta Vyasa was the son of Durgādatta, a Gauda brahmin of Bhanapura in Jaipur State He was born in 1859. He was an extempore poet and his proficiency in avadhānam was unique He was awarded several titles, Vyāsa, Sāhityācārya, Ghatikāśāṭa, Bhāratābhāskara etc He was for some time Professor of Sanskrit in Bhagalpur Among his several works on Śivarājaviṇaya, a long work in prose on the life of Emperor Śivāji, and minor poems Ratnāṣṭaka, Prasthāradīpikā, Ganesaśataka and Sivavivāha He passed away in 1901 ⁴

254-M Venkataraghava Acarya (Setlur) was son of Ranganātha of Kausikagotra and lived at Srirangam in 1849-1906 He was head Sanskrit Pandit in S P G College, Trichinopoly Besides the

1 Printed Conjeevaram

2 For a short account see Samskr̥ṣṭa-Candrikā, Vol. VIII,

3 For a short account of his life and works, see Samskr̥ṣṭa Candrikā, Vol IX X

4 For a short account see Samskr̥ṣṭa Candrikā Vol. VIII Śivarājaviṇaya is printed in that Journal.

poems Rāmāstaprasamanjari, Ranganāthāstaprasa, Srīranganāyikā-nakṣatramālikā and Āryāsaptati, he wrote the plays Manmaṭhaviṇaya ¹

254-N Ganapati Sastrin was the son of Subrahmaṇya and Sitālakṣmī of Moudgalyagotra of the village of Painganādu in Tanjore District and lived in 1871-1913. He was the chief Pandit of the Advaita-Sabhā of Kumbhakonam and latterly of the Sankara Mutt there. He bore the titles Mahāmahopādhyaya and Vedāntakesari. Learned in all the Sāstras, he has had illustrious pupils among whom is Kadalan-gudi Natesa Sāstri, whose labours in connection with Sanskrit Literature are now well known. Besides several works on other topics, he wrote the poems Katākṣasataka, Ānyāpadesa, Ītātākāparinaya, Dhruva-carīṭa, Rasikabhūṣana, Gururājasaptati and some stūṭis (mentioned in the Index) and Vṛṭṭamanimālā on prosody.

Pancapagesa Sastrin (Kaviratna) is his brother. He was born in 1874. Like his brother he was chief pandit at Sankara mutt in Kumbhakonam for about 20 years and is now retired and lives in Tyagarajanagar, Madras. Besides works on Sāstras he wrote campūs Hariscandraviṇaya and Tātankapraṭisthāmahoṭsava and the poems Kāvyaśatāhara, Gaurīcarāṇasaptati, Vyāsa-pūjāmahoṭsava, Śankara-gurucariṭasangraha and several stūṭis which are mentioned in the Index.

254 O Srisvara Vidyālakṣa was the son of Kṣīṭisvara Bhattācārya of Rangpur, Bengal, of Vāṭsyagotra and a poet of Bengal of great renown. He passed away in 1905. His poem Vijayinīkāvyā (in 12 cantos) describes the life of Queen Victoria and Delhi-Mahoṭsava (in 5 cantos) describes the Delhi Darbar of 1901 and Śakṣīśatāka is in praise of Durgā.

Srīśvara's son is KOKILESVARA ŚĀSTRIN (now Professor of Sanskrit in the Calcutta University) was born in 1871 and was greatly honoured by the Maharaja of Cooch Behar, in whose College he was Professor of Sanskrit for a number of years, and he delivered Sree Gopal Basu Mullick's Fellowship Lectures in 1930-31. His exposition of the philosophy of the Upanishads has had a wide appreciation ².

254-P Gopalasastrin (Nadiminty) was the son of Bhagavat Paṭanjali Śāstri and Kāmākṣī of Kaundinyagotra. He was born at Nāgūr Agraharam near Pārvaṭīpuram, Vizagapatam District. He lived

1. The drama is printed in Bombay and the poems are with his son V. Raja gopalasarma B.A., West Chitra Sheet, Srirangam.

2. He has recently published *A History of Sanskrit Literature*.

in 1853-1928 Like his father and grandfather he was initiated in Śrīvidyā and he wrote the poems Śiragaurīparinaya and Sītārāmābhūdaya His father Bhagavat Patañjali Śāstri was a State Pandit in Nepal and was the recipient of agraharams from Kurupam Samsathanam His poem Paramapurupādhyānam is now available in part Patañjali's father was Sarvamangalesvara Śāstrin (1759-1839) He went to Benares and became famous enough to be called Abhinavakālidāsa His poetry was oft times satirical and had full vent in the Court of Mahārāja Anandagajapati of Vizianagaram Besides works on the Śāstras, his poems Laṭṭāstaka, Suryāstaka and Jagannāṭhastaka are now available and many stray verses of extempore variety are now preserved and are of a high order¹

254 Q Ramavatara Sarma was the son of Devanārāyaṇa Pandeya and Govindaḍevī of Bhāradvājagoṭra He was born at Chapra (U P) in 1878 and passed away in 1929 Having studied at Benares he became Professor of the Hindu College, Benares and was later on in the College at Patna He was a literary prodigy and his contributions to literary and historical criticism are well-known and unique Besides several works on darsanas, he wrote poems Māruti-śaḍakam, Mudgaradūta and a play Harsa-Narasabhiyam His Bhāratiyamitivr̥ttam is a small literary history of India written in Anustubh metre "It reads like the Kashmir Rājataranginī It forms a very small part of a huge work, the history of the whole world Had this huge work been published, it would have been a Mahābhārata of these days." Above all he prepared a gigantic lexicon Visvakosa which awaits an editor²

254-R. Mahesacandra Tarkacudamani lived a few years ago at Rājārāmpuram, Dinajpur, Bengal Among modern poets and rhetoricians he is one of the foremost Besides several minor poems like Kāvyaetikā on various topics, he wrote Dinājpurarājavamsa (in 17 cantos) and Bhūdevacaritra (in 24 cantos) and an elegy on the late Mahārāja of Darbhānga and a poetic criticism Kāvya-tatvāvalī³

1. His Samāsakusumāñjali is printed His Vibhaktivilāsam and the rest are with his grandson Mr N Patañjali Śāstri, B A B L., Parvatipur, Vizianagaram District

2. Except the play the poems have been printed The manuscripts of his unprinted works are with his son N V Sarma, Exhibition Road, Patna to whom I am indebted for this information

3. Many of his minor poems are printed in Samskr̥ta Candrikā and Mitragoṣṭhī Journals Dinājpurarājavamsa has illustrations of several poetic Bandhas in exquisite form

MAHESACANDRA NYAYARATNA who wrote a gloss of Kāvyaaprakāśa was son of Hannārayaṇa of Nānṭa village, Havida, Bengal and lived in 1836-1906¹

254 S **Srī Kalkisimha** or Srī Kalki (T Narasimha (Aiyangar) Ācārya) was the son of Prajivādibhayankara Tondanur Singalācārya of Śrīvatsagotra. He was born at Melkote in 1867 A D. He was Sanskrit Professor in the Central College, Bangalore for 23 years. He received Inspiration Divine from Heaven through his Yogic meditation² early in 1915 and along with his brother Mr T Narayana Aiyangar devoted himself to literary service. He was versed in all branches of Sanskrit learning and besides his works which are still in several volumes of manuscript in Vedanta Book Depot, 17 East Park Road, Mallesvaram, the Sanskrit rendering is Tīruvoymulī (printed at Bombay) and Gānā-mṛtaṅgaranginī (variety of songs) are classical. His several disciples revered him as Kalki-avaṭāra and he was conscious of that divine inspiration. He passed away in 1935.

254 T **Annadacarana** was the son of Kalikinkara Thakura, a strottriya Brahmin of Radhyasrenī of Bengal. He was born at Sompada, Noakhali, Bengal in 1862 A D (1268 B S) in the family of the well known Tāntrika Saint Sarvānandasarvavidyā (who lived about 1426 A D). Educated at Calcutta and Benares, his erudition was great and he was Tarkacūdamaṇi, Mahāmahopādhyāya etc. He commenced a Tol (now a Sanskrit College) at Noakhali and later became Professor of Mīmāṃsa, Sāṅkhya and Yoga in the Benares Hindu University. He was editor of Suprabhāṭa, Benares. His writings began when he was yet young. Besides several works on different Śāstras, he wrote the poems, Rāmabhyudaya and Mahāprasthāna (mahākāvya), Sumanonjalī and R̥ṣucitra and Kāvyaandrikā on a poetics. A combination of attainments in Śāstras and poetry is rare and in his retirement he pursues his service to Sarasvatī, being an agnihoṭri in true orthodoxy³.

254 U **Ganganatha Jha** (Mahāmahopādhyāya M.A.) is the son of Tīrthanāṭha Jhā and Indumaṭī Dēvi of Vāṣagoṭra. He was born in 1871. A unique scholar in Sanskrit, he has been connected with various educational institutions as a Librarian of Darbhanga Raj, as Principal, Sanskrit College, Rewa, and as Vice-Chancellor of Allahabad

1 See para 864. He wrote an essay in Sanskrit on the authorship of Mṛtcha-kabha [MG J. III 28]

2 For his stray verses and poems such as Praṇatīkāvyā, Prārthanākāvya, Āśā, Atmanvedana, see Journals Vidyodaya and Samakṣacandrikā

University for a full decade from 1923-1932 His commentary on Prasannanaraghava is a lucid exposition and his various other writings on other branches of Sanskrit learning are still appearing in press

254 V Batuknatha Sarma is the son of Īsvariṇprasāda Mīśra of Bhāradvājagoṭra Born in Benares in 1895 and educated there, he is now Professor of Sanskrit in the Benares Hindu University Besides editing Bharata's Nāṭyasāstra and Bhāmaha's Kāvyalankāra and other rare works, he wrote the poems Vallavadūtam, Satakasaptakam, Kālika-saṭakam, Ātmanivedanasaṭakam and Śiṣāswayamvaram (mahākāvya) and a play (Prahasana) Pāndityatāṇḍavita¹ which displays an elegance of diction in a vein of the ardent faith and devotion

254 W Guruprasanna Bhattacarya was born in 1882 He is the son of Rakhaladāsa Bhattācārya and Kṛṣṇasakhī Devī of Maudgalyagoṭra of Bengal and a descendant of the renowned Kāsīrāmavācaspati a very respected author on Śmṛtis Educated at Bhāitpara, the famous seat of learning, he studied in the Calcutta University and after a period of service in the Benares Hindu University, he has been since 1921 Professor of Sanskrit in Dacca University Among his several works, are the poems Śrī-Rāsamahākāvya and Māthuram and Varūṭhūnicampū, and plays Nībhāgacanta (6 acts), Maḍālaya-Kuvalayāśva (7 acts) and Bhāminīvilāsa (6 acts) and these contain poetry of exquisite grace and varying interest *

254 X Pramathanatha Tarkabhusana (Māhāmāhopādhyāya) was the son of Tārācandra and Rāmaranginī Devī He was born at Bhaṭpara, Bengal in 1866 in a Pāścātya Vedic Brahmin family of Vāsiṣṭhagoṭra He studied under the great veterans of Sanskrit learning like Rakhaladas Nyāyaraṇa, Śilācandra, Sārvabhauma and Kailāsa-candrasarma He became Professor of Vedānta in Sanskrit College, Calcutta and is now the Principal of the College of Oriental Learning in the Benares Hindu University Besides several works on Sāstras he wrote the poems (printed), Kokiladūta, Rāsarasoḍaya and Vijayaprakāśa His father Tārācandra was the State Pandit of Benares Raj Among his poems are Kānanasataka, Rāmājanmabhāna and Śṛṅgāra-ratnākara

1 Two Acts have been published in the Vallari His several essays on literary topics are appearing in Oriental Journals His unprinted manuscripts are with him at K 81-50, Kal Bhairava, Benares City

2 The manuscripts are with him at Dacca or at his residence at No 6, Rama-krishna Das Lane, Calcutta.

254-Y Ranganatha Tatacarya of Royadurga was born in 1894. He is the son of Raghunātha of Śathamarṣanagotra. He is the senior Pandit of Sarasvatī Mahal Library, Tanjore. Besides Śukasandesa¹ and Hanumaṭprasādasataka² and Vākyaṛaṇāvalī (a book on Sanskrit idioms), he wrote short plays Nyāyasabhā and Kutsīṭakusīda³ and prose stories Kaniyan-Grāmaṇī, Jaratī-Nagarapālanasabhā-ca and Navinajāmātā⁴.

254 Z Tirumalai (Srisaila) Tatacarya was the son of Desikācārya of Sathamarṣanagotra. He was born in 1872. After service in the Sanskrit College at Tiruvadi, Tanjore, he is now Principal, Sanskrit College, Tirupati. His critiques on Alankāra and Mīmāṃsā have got him a wide recognition at Pandītaraja etc. Besides his commentary on Bhāmabālankāra and Śleṣaparisuddhi (on śleṣa) he wrote the poem Drutacarita and the novel Menakā⁵.

255 A Venkatacalamayya is otherwise known as Chelamayya ṣāstrin (Pārupūdi). He was born at Magām village near Mukṣesvaram in East Godavari. He was honoured by several States in and about Nizam's dominions and he is proficient in several languages. Besides some minor poems, his play Gopīcandracarita in 7 acts is a quasi-philosophical work on the plan of Jain poems in which ethics are well combined with humour and poetry⁶.

255-B Srinivasa Acarya (Mudumbai) is the son of Rāghavācārya of Śrīvaṣṭagotra. He was born in 1887-8 at Agaram near Kāncī and was educated at Bhūṭapurī. Besides summaries of the epics and Bhāgavaṭa and some minor poems, his Manimekhalā and Pravālavallī are romances based on the Tamil Tales and Kāvyaṇī is a prose narrative of the theological traditions of the Deity at Triplicane, Madras⁷.

255-C Raja Kṛtindra Deb Rai Mahasay of Bansberia Raj (Vamsavati), Bengal, was born in 1876. He was the eldest son of Raja Pūrṇendra Deb and Sacalā Debī of Kāśyapagotra. Kṛtindra is among the foremost of Bengali noblemen, whose houses have devoted their

1 See para 328 *supra*

2 Printed JSSP, Calcutta

3 Ibid

4, *Manjusa Journal*

1 He is the editor of the Journal Uḍyānapatrikā

1 The manuscript is with the author's son P. Subbarao, Sanskrit Pandit, Cocanada

1 See para 378 *supra*, note.

all to the good of society The first ancestor of his family was Devāditya who was a contemporary of Ballala Sen whose cult of Kulinism he opposed The seat of the Raj was moved from Patuli to Bansberia¹ by Rāmesvar Deb about 1680 Rāmesvar was a patron of letters and he brought in scholars renowned in different branches of Sanskrit learning from Benares and elsewhere and founded several Tols or Sanskrit Colleges JAGANNATHA PANCANANA (the famous scholar of Bengal) was one of its first pupils Puruṣendu, father of Kṣitindra, was a worthy scion of this house and he maintained and improved the Tols and had the Sanskrit work Kālyāraṇāvidhī composed by eminent pandits on the ritual of Kālī worship SURINDRA MOHANA DEVA SARMA and DHARMADITYA DHARMACĀRYA wrote panegyrics on the greatness of this ancient house along with the Mughal Emperors who have honoured them from time to time Kṣitindra is a poet and has composed minor poems He is known as the Grandfather of the Library Movement in India He ran the first Bengali Journal Pūrnimā True to the lineage he is devoutly attached to Kālī, and he lives near the temple of Kālī in Kalighat, Calcutta Hamsevari temple renowned in Bengal for its architecture was built by Rāpi Sankari in 1614

255-D Tiruvenkata Tatadesika was son of Singarācārya of Śāthamarṣanagotra He was born in 1892 and lives at Tekkallapadu, Nellore District True to his traditions, he is an authority on Mantrasaṣṭra and wrote the poems Nakharasataka, Nṛsimhasataka and Śṭupī-mālīkā, all printed at Ongole

255-E Ramanatha Sastrin (S) is the son of Kṛṣṇa Bhattar of Kāusikagoṭra He was born in Palghat and became well versed in all the Śāstras. In Mīmāṃsā, his learning is unique and that has been recognised by the several titles conferred on him and he is now Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Madras Besides works on other subjects, his drama Manumanjūsa in 7 acts contains exquisite poetry and is interspersed with songs

255 F Vidyadhara Sastri is the son of Vidyāvācaspati Deviprasāda Śāstrin and grandson of Bhāṣyācārya Harināmaḍaṭṭa Śāstrin of

1. On Bansberia Raj, see W K Triminger, *Note on Bansberia, its Raj, its temples, its missions and schools*, in *Bengal past and present*, Journal of Calcutta Historical His society, 1908, *Imperial Gazetteer* Hughly, B V Roy—Links with Calcutta, Shambhoo Chandra Dey, *Hoogly Past and Present*, Rao Bahadur B A Gupta, *Ethnology in Ancient Historical Records*, Calcutta Original Sanad granted by Emperor Aurangzeb in 1678 is exhibited in the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta

Bhāraḍvājagotra He was born in an illustrious house of scholars at Churu (Bikanir State) in 1901 and is now Professor of Sanskrit in the College at Bikanir. His father was proficient in all the Śāstras and his extensive work *Satcandīvidhāna* is an authority on ritual and his great work *Gangāśimha-Kalpadruma* still unprinted is lying in the private library of Maharāja Ganga Singh Jee of Bikanir. *Vidyādhara* bears a number of erudite titles and among his poems are *Śivapuṣpāñjali*, *Sūryaprārthanā*, *Vidyadharasaṭaka* (on *nīti*) and an original drama, *PUṆNAMALLAM*.

255-G Paramananda Sarma (Kavindra) belongs to Rṣikula Lakshmanagadh, Jaipur. Besides the poem *Karnārjuniya* he has retold the story of Rāmāyana in separate poems, *Manṭharādurvilasita* *Ḍasarathavilāpa*, *Māricavaḍha*, *Meghanāḍavadha* and *Rāvanavadha* ¹

255-H Kṣitisacandra Cattopadhyaya is the son of Śaraṭcandra and Gīrbālā Devī of Kāśyapagoṭra. He was born in 1896 in Calcutta. He is now Professor of Sanskrit in the Calcutta University and edits two Journals *Manjuṣā* (in Sanskrit) and *Calcutta Oriental Journal* (in English) which are well known. Besides various essays on topical subjects his sixty stories (*Saṣṭiṇṭram*) original and translated exhibit a graceful style which in his own words 'don't smack of the midnight all but are all palpitating with life'. For instance, they are *Rasamayī*, *Vāyuparivartanam*, *Mṛdusarvatrabāḍhyate*, *Dimbhasyaduscetiṭam* ²

255-I Vidyusekhara Bhattacharya was the son of Trailokyānāṭha. He was born at Harischandrapura, Malda, Bengal in 1179. After spending some years at Śaṅṭniketan he is now Professor of Sanskrit in the Calcutta University. He has been honoured by various titles for his versatile learning. His Sanskrit renderings of *Milinda-prasna* is a splendid performance. He was the Editor of *Mitragosthī Journal*. There and in the *Samskṛta-Candrikā* his several minor poems, songs and his prose essays on Sanskrit poets appeared from time to time. Besides the poems mentioned in para 249 supra, he wrote *Nagilā*, *Baddhavihaga* and *Kṣtrakathā* (Buddhist stores) and *Bharata-cariṭra* (in prose) and *Ḍurgāsaptasaṭi* in praise of Kālī.

255-J Ratni Devī is a young girl of 13 years of Hatharsa (Hathras). Her prose narrative of *Raghuvamsa* is remarkable (*Sury JI IX 286*)

1 See *JSSP*, Calcutta, *Sāraḍa JI*, *Sury. JI*

1. Published in *JSSP* and *Manjuṣā Journal*, Calcutta

CHAPTER XI

Laghukavya

SECTION I

255 Laghu Kavya or Minor Poem is one that is not a Mahākāvya in the sense described, viz, "a writing of considerable length, varying descriptions and elaborate construction, embracing a narrative theological or historical, divided into cantos for convenience of narration" In theme, many minor poems are narratives of lesser length, such as Nalodaya, and in sentiment they are erotic, religious, gnomic or didactic

256 Niti or the ethical or didactic poem has a very ancient origin. Long before the composition of Mahābhārata, which is a mine of such literature, there was aphoristic ethical poetry of which only relics have come down to us¹

The philosophical turn of the Indian mind developed the science of ethics from the earliest times and the keynote of all didactic poetry in *nīti*, *śānti*, *virakṣi*, i.e. the vanity of earthly pleasures. To attain a mind tranquil, to get out of the trammels of birth and living, to discard pleasure and pain, to discriminate virtue and vice, to discover the Truth and the Divine and to imbibe the love of tolerance and brotherhood, these are the ends of Indian ethical poetry "Scattered throughout the most various departments of Sanskrit literature," says Macdonell, "are innumerable apophthegms in which wise and noble, striking and original thoughts often appear in a highly finished and poetical garb. These are plentiful in the law books, in the epic and the drama they are frequently on the lips of heroes, sages and gods, and fables are constantly uttered by tigers, jackals, cats and other animals. Above all, the Mahabharata, which to the pious Hindu constitutes a moral encyclopædia, is an inexhaustible mine of proverbial philosophy. It is however natural that ethical maxims should be introduced in great abundance into works which, like the Panchatantra and Hitopadesa, were intended to be handbooks of practical moral philosophy."²

257. Stotra Religious poetry in India is as old as Indian thought. Samhitas of the Vedas, particularly of Atharvan, contain

¹ See Benfey's critical edition in *Indische Sprüche* and Aufrecht's *ZDVG*, XVII. 1. See also J. E. Mill, *De Tricenis Chandabye Senties* and Muir's *Religious and Moral Sentiments from Sanskrit Writers*.

² *SL*, 377

eulogistic invocations of various deities and these eulogies abound in the literature of Upaniṣads, Epics and Purāṇas. They are known as Stotra. They are either epithets, descriptive of the powers and greatness of the deity addressed, or collections of names, at times strung into verses. They are called nāmasṭōtras or nāmāvalis. The number of the epithets are generally 108, 1000 or 1008, *aṣṭōṭṭaraśaṣṭa* or *śaṣaṣṭa* or *aṣṭōṭṭaraśaṣaṣṭa* or shortly called *aṣṭōṭṭara*. There are also prayers in amulet form which to this day are believed to be very efficacious. They are raised to the status of maṭras and some of them are prefaced by the mention of *ṛchi*, *chandas* and *devatā* and followed by the benefits of recitation.

Many of these stōtras are treasures of lyrical beauty and poetic imagery. For instance, there are these lines in *Lalitāsahasranāma* ¹

श्रीमाता श्रीमहाराज्ञी श्रीमत्सिंहासनेश्वरी । चिदग्निकुण्डसम्भूता देवकार्यसमुद्यता ॥
 उद्यद्वातुसहस्राभा चतुर्बाहुसमन्विता । रागस्वरूपपाशाढ्या क्रोधाकारोद्भूतशोण्डवला ॥
 मनोरूपेक्षुकोदण्डा पञ्चतन्मात्रसायका । निजारुणप्रभापूरमञ्जदश्रवण्डमण्डला ॥
 क्षम्पकाशोकपुनागसौगन्धिकलसत्कचा । कुरुविन्दमणिश्रेणीकनक्तोटीरमण्डिता ॥
 अष्टमीचन्द्रविभ्राजदलिकस्थलशोमिता । मुखचन्द्रकळङ्काममृगनामिविशेषका ॥
 वदनस्मरमाङ्गल्यगृहतोरणचिल्लिका । वक्त्रलक्ष्मीपरिवाहचलन्मीनामलोचना ॥
 नवक्षम्पकपुष्पामनासादण्डविराजिता । ताराकान्तितिरस्कारिनासामरणमासुरा ॥
 कदम्बमञ्जरील्लसकर्णपूरमनोहरा । ताटङ्कयुगळीभूततपनोदुपमण्डला ॥
 पद्मरागशिलादर्शपरिभाविकपोलभू । नवविद्रुमबिम्बश्रीन्यकारिरदनच्छदा ॥
 शुद्धविद्याङ्कुराकारद्विजपङ्क्तिद्वयोज्ज्वला । कर्पूरवीटिकामोदसमार्कषद्विगन्तरा ॥
 निजसङ्घापमाधुर्यविनिर्मलितकच्छपी । मन्दस्मितप्रभापूरमञ्जत्कामेशमानसा ॥
 अनाकलितसादृश्यशुद्धकर्मविराजता । कामेशबद्धमाङ्गल्यसूत्रशोभितकन्धरा ॥
 कनकाङ्गदकेयूरकमनीयभुजान्विता । रत्नप्रैवैयचिन्ताकलोलमुक्ताफलान्विता ॥
 कामेश्वरप्रेमरत्नमणिपीतारुणस्तनी । नाभ्यालवालरोमाळिलताफलकुचद्वयी ॥
 लक्ष्यरोमलताधारतासमुन्नेयमध्यमा । स्तनमारदलन्मध्यपट्टबन्धवालितया ॥
 अरुणारुणकौसुमवक्त्रमास्त्रकटीतटी । रत्नकिङ्किणिकारम्यरक्षणादामभूषिता ॥
 कामेशहस्तसौभाग्यमार्दवोद्वयान्विता । माणिक्यमकुटाकारजातुद्वयविराजिता ॥
 इन्द्रगोपपरिक्षिप्तस्मरतूणामजङ्घिका । गूढशुभा कूर्मपृष्ठजयिष्णुप्रपदान्विता ॥
 नखदीधितिसञ्जनमञ्जनतमोगुणा । पदद्वयप्रभाजालपराकृतसरोरुहा ॥
 शिञ्जानमणिमञ्जीरमण्डितश्रीपदाम्बुजा । मरालीमन्दगमना महालावण्यशेवधि ॥

1 Ed everywhere, and with English translation of Bhāskararāya's commentary by R. Anantakrishnaśastry, Madras. Bhāskararāya or Bhāsurāṇaṇḍa was son of Gambhīrāya Dikṣita of Benares and lived about 1629 A.D. In CC, I, 411, his other works are enumerated.

Later literature abounds in short pieces of eulogical poetry, also known as *stōṭras*. Their number is a legion. There are several collections printed everywhere according to the taste and persuasion of the editor. There are, for instance, *Brhatsṭotraraṭṇākara* (Madras) *Stotraraṭṇākara* (Bombay), *Stavāvalī* (Calcutta) and *Stotrāguccha* (Bangalore).¹ They are saturated with expressions of devotion and philosophy, often illustrated by allusions to tales of theology and are none the less fine specimens of melodious poetry.²

258 Sṛṅgara or erotic poem is amorous. 'Amorous' in its widest sense is the innate and ultimate idea and whatever contributes to the story of love, its origination, dissimulation and culmination is a necessary adjunct to the poetic description. Nature therefore plays a prominent part. "Various birds" says Macdonell "to which poetic myths are attached are frequently introduced as furnishing analogies to human life and love. The Chataka which would rather die of thirst than drink aught but the raindrops from cloud, affords an illustration of pride. The Chakora supposed to imbibe the rays of the moon, affords a parallel to the lover who with his eyes drinks in the beams of his beloved face. The Chakravaka which, fabled to be condemned to nocturnal separation from his mate, calls to her with plaintive cry during the watches of the night, serves as an emblem of conjugal fidelity. In all this lyric poetry the bright eyes and beauty of Indian girls find a setting in scenes brilliant with blossoming trees, fragrant with flowers, gay with the plumage and vocal with the song of birds, diversified with lotus ponds steeped in tropical sunshine and with large-eyed gazelles reclining in the shade."³

SECTION II.

Niti

259 Sundarapandya (Ācārya) belonged apparently to Madura, the capital of the Pāndyas. His *Nīṭidviṣastikā*⁴ is quoted in *Panca-tantra*, in *Jānāsrayī* and by *Kṛṣṇalīlasuka*. *Sundarapāndya* is mentioned as an ancestor of *Arikēsarīn* in an inscription of about 750 A.D.,⁵

1. For collections of *stōṭras*, see *DO*, XVIII to XIX and *Cat. Mys*, 35, 133, *Mys OML* and *CAL* 17, 24.

2. See also *Stotra Literature in Old India* by Śivaprasāda Bhaṭṭācārya, Paper read at the Or. Conference, 1924.

3. *SL*, 848.

4. Ed. by Maṇḍanāyasastrī, Madras, with prefaces by M. R. Kavi and by Prabhakara Sastrī.

5. Madras M. P. Rep 1930,

and must have flourished earlier than 5th century A.D. The verses in Ārvā metre are pretty.¹ The poet says that it received unique honors

इमा काञ्चनपीठस्था समेत्य कवयो भुवि ।
आर्या सुन्दरपाण्ड्यस्य रत्नापयन्ति वधुमिव ॥

230 Candragomin or **Candra**² was the celebrated author of the grammatical treatise *Candra-Vyākaraṇa*. This treatise was used profusely by Jayāditya in *Kāśikā*. He was a Buddhist. Vasurāṭa, the preceptor of Bharṭṭhari, was his pupil. According to Belvalkar, Candra refers to Hūnas, probably to their expulsion by Yaśodharman in 544 A.D. and he fixes the date of Candragomin as about 470 A.D. But it is probable that he lived far earlier.³ Like his predecessors in grammatical literature he was also a poet of no mean merit. He fell into disfavour at the court of a prince Ratnakīrti and seeing the prince infatuated by wealth and power, he addressed him a letter in the form of a poem *Satyalekhādharmakāvya*⁴ on the evanescence of worldly treasures and made him forsake the world. "It is a poem of 114 verses. After an introduction of 18 verses in praise of the three jewels, the author begins by saying 'entering this ill smelling abode of birth which is filled with heaps of impurity, is very narrow and is pervaded by dense darkness as into some hell, he has to endure great misery with crushed limbs.' Then follow verses about the miseries of age when man will repent what he did or did not do, for 'then messengers of Yama will take him by the hair and carrying before the Judge.' The tortures of *pratas* and the river *vaitaraṇi* are described. Then comes the admonition. Thus ends the poem. "To exert oneself in the interest of others is the true way of salvation, for those that are overcome by thirst in the desert be thou a tree, a cloud, a pond." A prayer follows that all the world may obtain omniscience.⁵ Five stray verses are given in Vallabhadeva's

1. For instance,

सहवसताम्यसतां नलरुहजलवद्भ्रमसंक्षेप ।

दूरेऽपि सता वसतां प्रीतिः कुसुदेन्दुवद्वति ॥—107.

2. There are variations as Candragomin, Candrayogin, Candra, the dramatist in different person.

3. *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, 58

4. Published in the memoirs of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society, IV. 1189, Keith (*SL*, 74) mentions *Subhlekha* of Nāgārjuna [Tr. H. Wenzel, *JPTS.* (1886), 1], see *Vidyābhūṣaṇa*, *JASB.*, (1907), No 2, Winterhitz, *IL*, II, 1, 259.

5. See *JLAS.* (1889) 1183

Subhāsitāvalī These are probably found in that poem¹ He also wrote Tārāsādhanaśataka²

261. Bhartṛhari is by tradition known to be the son of a Brahmin, Candragupta, by his Sūdra wife Sindhumatī His step-brothers were Vikramārka and Bhaṭṭa Bhaṭṭa is said to be a practised form of Bhartṛ and Bhaṭṭa and Bhartṛ have been sometimes considered to be identical³ Their proficiency in grammar is probably a cause of the identity Bhartṛhari's grammatical treatise Vākya-padīya is well-known⁴ ITSing says that Bhartṛhari became an ascetic and for a long time wavered between the world and its renunciation,⁵ and passed away in 600 A.D.⁶ though it is probable he lived earlier⁷ He has been called a Buddhist, a Brahmin and a Saivite,⁸ as the reviewer pleases

262 His **Subhasitas** or Śatakatraya on Nīti, Sṅgara or Vaiśyā are a specimen of sententious poetry, enveloping lofty ideas for the guidance of mankind⁹ They have suffered from interpolations and the editions of the work differ therefore to some extent in the contents¹⁰

1. विषयस्य विषयाणां च दूरमत्यन्तमन्तरम् ।
उपभुक्तं विषं हान्ति विषयाः स्मरणादपि ॥
केचित् भयेन हि भजन्ति विनीतभावमन्ये जना विमर्शलोमकृतप्रयत्ना ।
केचिच्च साधुजनसंसदि कीर्तिलोभात् सद्भाववाञ्छजगति कोऽपि न साधुरस्ति ॥

2. Farquhar, *ORL*, 399, Winternitz, *IL*, II 1. 260

3. For these stories, see para 42 *supra*

4. See *IA*, III 285

5. See A. B. Keith, *SL*, 176

6. *Records of Buddhist Religion*, 178, Max Muller's *Indica*, 347, Belvalkar, *SSG*, 40, Macdonell, *SL*, 340.

7. Telang (*Int to Śatakas*) places him in 1-2 Century A.D

8. See Keith, *SL*, 178, K. B. Pathak, *Was Bhartṛhari a Buddhist?* *JBRAS*, XVIII 341 On Bhartṛhari, see Keith, *IA*, XII. 226.

9. *CC*, I 396, II. 90, III 86. Ed Bombay by Gopinath with an analysis of Bhartṛharinirveḍa Ed Madras with notes and English translation by M. C. Alasingaracarya, Ed Bombay with commentary by M. R. Kale, Ed by P. Bohlen, Berlin, Ed. *BSS*, Bombay by Telang, Ed Bombay with notes and English translation, (See *Cat of Or Book Agency*, Poona, 108) Tr into English verse by Tawney (Calcutta) and with introduction and translation by B. H. Wartham (*Trubner Or Series*, London)

10. For instance, in *Vaiyagyaśataka*, Telang's edition contains 113 verses, while Bohlen's 100 verses only.

It has been thought sometimes that all the verses in these Sātakas are not the work of Bhartṛhari, and that they include verses of other authors chosen by Bhartṛhari. Opinions are various and A. B. Keith, for instance, says that "it seems unnecessary to exclude the probability that in his collections Bhartṛhari may have included work not his own, as well as verses compiled by himself," but he thinks that Śṛṅgārasātaka is the work of a single author, for "unquestionably there is a definite structure which may be, of course, the work of a skilled compiler, but which more naturally suggests the product of a creative mind." Bhartṛhari's Subhāṣitās have been held in high esteem for several centuries,¹ and Indian tradition accepts these Sātakas as Bhartṛhari's own. There are in the modern recensions and editions verses included in the Sātakas that are attributed in the anthologies to other authors, but these must only be interpolations, which are easily made when the verses are isolated in ideas and each verse expresses by itself a moral or a sentiment.²

There are commentaries on Nīṭisātaka by Mahābala³ and all the Sātakas by Avanci Rāmacandra son of Kundopandita of Sāndilya gotra,⁴ by Dhanaśāra,⁵ by Rāmaru,⁶ by Guṇavinaya,⁷ by Mīnanātha,⁸ by Indrajit,⁹ and two anonymous,¹⁰ and on Nīṭi and Vairāgya by M. R. Kale.¹¹

There is a fourth Paddhati called Śāntipaddhati with a Guzzati introduction printed in Bombay.

1. For a good appreciation, See A. B. Keith, *SL*, 178-183.

2. Peterson collects verses of Bhartṛhari in Subhāṣitāvali (*Int.* 74) and details the ascriptions. He says "Of the 110 verses given in Telang's edition of Nīṭisātaka 8 are in our book expressly assigned to Bhartṛhari, 32 are given anonymously and 13 are expressly assigned to other authors. Of the 118 verses given in Telang's edition of Vairāgyasātaka, 11 are in one book expressly assigned to Bhartṛhari, 11 are given anonymously and 6 are expressly assigned to other authors. Of the 100 verses given in Böhlen's edition of Vairāgyasātaka only one is one book ascribed to Bhartṛhari, 17 are given anonymously and 8 are expressly ascribed to other authors."

3. Printed, Bombay.

4. *DO*, XX, 8078.

5. *Maab*, 102.

6. *CC*, 397, *PR*, IV, 30; *IO*, 2555.

7. *IO*, 1564.

8. *CC*, II, 90.

9. *PR*, V, 387, *CC*, III, 86.

10. *DO*, XX, 8083, 8084, *Opp.* 2924.

11. Printed, Bombay.

Vitavṛtta¹ is a small poem describing the conduct of licentious people Mādhava attributed it to Bhartṛhari in his Jadavṛtta which in four chapters is a similar work on mad lovers and fools ²

263 Harihara's Bhartṛharinirveda³ is a play which is "in great part a glorification of the Yoga philosophy which teaches that the summum bonum is the discrimination and separation of soul from matter, thus leading through renunciation of the world to isolation of the ego" It has *śānta* for its sentiment The leading man is the famous ascetic Gorakṣanātha or Goraknath (regarded as the incarnation of Śiva), the founder of the Śaiva sect of Kanfat Yogis in the early part of the 15th century A D His chief temple is at Gorakpur, less than 300 miles from the house of Harihara ⁴ It is said that Bhartṛhari became upset by the sudden demise of his consort, on hearing a false news of his death. He was consoled by a Yogin and he attained such a condition of renunciation, that even when his dead wife was recalled to life, he had lost his attraction for the world ⁵

Harihara is mentioned as the author of the play *Prabhāvatīparinaya*,⁶

264. Bhallata' was a poet of the Court of King Śāṅkaravarman of Kāśmīr (884-902 A D)⁷ His *Śaṭaka*⁸ is a hard but pleasant poem on morals and quotations by Abhinavagupta, by Kṣemendra and Mammata attest the appreciation Bhallata's other verses are quoted in the anthologies ¹⁰

1 *DC*, XX 8010

2 *DC*, XX 8000.

3. Ed. Kāvyamāla Bombay. Translated into English by L. H Gray (*JAOS*, XXV 197 280). Keith, *SL*, 248

4 See Goldstucker *Lit Remains*, I. 161, Wilson, *Sects* 218, M Williams, *Buddhism*, 198. Farquhar (*ORL*, 847) gives 1200 A D

5 *Mitra*, VII. No, 2895, *Levi*, II 77, 88, *CC*, I 854, 762

6 *CC* I 354

7 In some editions of *Śaṅgaḍharapaḍḍhaṭī* the name is given as Mallabhāṭṭa and Bhāṭṭamalla

8 *Raj* V 128. There is a Kavibhallata referred to in Nannaya's *Āṇḍhraśabḍacintāmaṇi*

9 Ed. Kāvyamāla, Bombay. *DC*, XX. 8085 See *PR*, III. 895, *SR*, I 7, 91.

10 *ZDMG*, LVI. 405, Keith, *SL*, 281; Peterson, *Subh.* 75-77

There is another Bhallata, of a later date. His Śaṭaka in praise of the Devi (Perundevi) of Conjeevaram shows dexterous poetry.¹

265 Silhana is a poet of Kāśmīr. He often imitates Bharṭṛhari. His Śāntiśaṭaka is quoted in Saduktikarmāmṛta composed in 1205 A.D.²

266 Dhanadaraja, son of Dehala, wrote three Śaṭakas like Bharṭṛhari in 1434 A.D.³ Jagannāṭha (Panditarāja) has four chapters on Prāśṭāvika, Śṛṅgāra, Karuṇa and Śānta in his poem Bhāminivilāsa.⁴ So does Caṭurvargaśīra of Rādhāmangalam Nārāyaṇasāstri.⁵

267 Somaprabha was desciple of Vajrasimbhācārya, the Jain ascetic.⁶ In his Sindūraprakara he describes the good and bad qualities mostly according to the tenets of the Jain religion. He wrote also Śṛṅgāravaragyaṭarangiṇī.⁷ Nārābharaṇa is a collection of moral and wise sayings and states what are the ornamental qualities of men.⁸

268. Among other didactic poems are —Śāntiśaṭaka by Silhanamīra (*Printed*, Calcutta) with commentaries (CC, I 641), Śāntivilāsa (i) by Subrahmanya (ii) by Haridāsa (*Mus. OMI*, 259) (iii) by Nīlakanṭha (*Printed*, Bombay), Varāgyasaṭaka (i) by Padmā-

1 The manuscript is said to be in the village of Navilpakkam near Conjeevaram. Here are some verses

इति किल दर्शनरीतिः कार्यमुपादाय कारणं भिन्नम् ।
 देवि तव स्तनकलशौ चक्रामिश्रौ कथं नु दृश्येते ॥
 सामानाधिकरण्यं तेजस्तमसोर्नहीति वाङ्मन्यथा ।
 त्वन्मूर्ध्नि हेमभूषा तेजश्चिकुरान्धकारयोस्मिन्स्थिता ॥
 उत्पादयति हि दण्डं कलशं बहुशश्रुतं च दृष्टं च ।
 त्वत्कुचकुम्भद्वितयं जनयति मुरवैरिमानदण्डमहो ॥
 हारिद्रखण्डजातेः हरिदयिते त्वच्छरीरमारब्धम् ।
 अधरे सुधानुषङ्गादजनिं ततो देवि शोणिमा काञ्चि ॥
 देवि तव स्तनयुगलं वेधा निर्माय कमलमुकुलाभ्याम् ।
 तदुपरि विकासमीत्या विदधे वदनच्छलेन विधुभिम्बम् ॥

2 CC, I 647 Ed. by Schonfield, Leipzig. See Keith, *ST*, 2312 and *JRAS*, (1911) 257

3 Printed, Bombay

4. Printed, Bombay, DC, 8085. On the author, see chapter on Alankara post.

5. He was born in 1884 A.D. He wrote also *Fuṣṭapūjaramahākāvya*, printed partly in S. India

6. DC, XX 8095.

7. Printed, Bombay.

8. DC, XX 8085.

nanda (ii) by Appayadīkṣiṭa (iii) by Janārdana (iv) by Somanāṭha (*Printed*, Bombay) (v) by Sankarācārya (*Opp* 4954), (vi) by Nilakantha (*Opp*, 4629), Panchanāṅtrasangraha (*Mys OML*, 248), Nīṭimāla of Sadānanda (*Printed*, Calcutta), Nīṭmanjarī (i) by Sambhurāja (*BTC*, 141), and (ii) Dyādviveda (*IOC*, 960)², Nīṭisaṭaka (i) by Venkatarāya (*Mys OML*, 248) (ii) of Śrīnivasācārya (*DC*, XX 8038) and (iii) anonymous (*Ibid* 2057), Nīṭisāra of Ghatakarpāra, Nīṭisāra and Nīṭisāstrasamuccaya (*Ibid* 8059-61), [Nīṭicandrikā of Swāmī Dayānanda, Nīṭisatāka of Sundarācārya, Nīṭivākyaṃṛta of Somadevasūri]³, Nīṭivilāsa of Vrajārāja Sukla (*NW*, 604), Nīṭirāṭna attributed to Vararuci and Nīṭipradīpa attributed to Vetālabhatta⁴, Nīṭisumāvalī of Appā Vājapeyīn (*Opp* 4803), Nīṭikalpalatā by Sāhubrāma (*SKC*, 93), Kavikanthābharaṇa (*Mys OML*, 243), Mugdhopadesa of Jalhapa (*Printed*, Bombay), Āryāmanjarī by Devarāja (*CC*, I 54), Āryāvignapṭi (i) by Rāmacandra and (ii) by Viśvanāṭha and by Siṭārāma (*CC*, I 54)

269 Anyapadesa is a peculiar class of poems where some moral is preached by an indirect appreciation or condemnation of the natural qualities of particular objects⁴

There are the following —Anyoktīmālā (i) by Accāndikṣiṭa⁵ and

1 With commentary by Devarāja *NW*, 16, *CC*, I 293.

2 Printed. See Cat Or Bk Agency, Poona, 108.

3 Printed, Haberin, 502.

4 For instance :

विद्यावतां दातरि दीनता चेत् किं भारतीविभ्रमकैतवेन ।
 दैन्यं यदि प्रेयसि सुन्दरीणा धिग्जीवितं तत्कुसुमायुधस्य ॥
 उत्तसीकरणधिया कैतकनिकटं न यावदातोऽहम् ।
 शिव शिव तावत्कठिनैः कण्टकपटलैरतीव भिन्नोऽस्मि ॥
 केलीलोलभराळक मधुरसास्वादोन्मदेन्दीवर
 सञ्जलादुजल विकासिकमल सम्प्रीणन प्राणिनाम् ।
 कासार बत कासर परिपतन्नाकस्मिक दुर्मग-
 शिञ्जलाञ्ज कलुषाम्बु वीताविहग शून्य चकार क्षणात् ॥
 लोकानन्दनिदानमम्बुजमय द्वेष्टि स्वयं चन्द्रमा.
 देव किं घुरघासन. कलयते गर्भेन तत्तावता ।
 द्वैराज्यं कविकुञ्जरैर्मृगदृशां वक्त्रैर्न किं नीयते
 रुढायामवनीपते. पुनरियं वस्तुष्वसारज्ञता ॥

5. *DO*, XX, 8220. He was of the family of Appaya Dīkṣiṭa.

(ii) by Lakṣmīnarasimha,¹ Anyoktisatāka (i) by Somanātha² and (ii) by Bhatta Vīra,³ and (iii) by Darsana Vijayagaṇi,⁴ Anyoktikāvyā,⁵ Anyoktimuktālātā by Śrīmibhu,⁶ Anyoktikanthābhārava by Candracūda, son of Puruṣoṭṭama⁷ Anyoktisangrahādhya by Harikṛṣṇa,⁸ Anyāpadesasatāka (i) by Nilakantha,⁹ (ii) by Jagannātha¹⁰ (iii) by Ganapati Sāstri¹¹ (iv) by Ghanasyāma,¹² (v) Anonymous,¹³ (vi) by Madhusūdana,¹⁴ (vii) Kānāṭha Kāsyapa,¹⁵ and (viii) by Gīrvānendra, son of Nilakantha,¹⁶ Bhāvavilāsa by Nyāyavācaspati Rudrakavi, son of Vidyāvilāsa.¹⁷

SECTION III

Stotra

270 Sankara¹⁸ was the son of Sivaguru and Āryāmbū, of the family of Vidyādhirāja. According to tradition he was born at Kāladi on the banks of the Alvon (Cūrni) river in Kerala (Malabar) in the year of Kali 2593 (509 B.C.) Before he passed his eighth year, he was proficient in all Indian Literature and he had begun to perceive the unity of absolute existence on which the philosophy of the advaita school is based. Not heeding the protests of his parents, he got himself initiated as an ascetic by Govinda Bhagavatpāda and soon began to wander through the cities of northern India with a band of devout pupils preaching his new doctrines. He founded five Peethas or Mutts in different parts of India, as centres of propagation of his tenets and to this day these Mutts are held in veneration.¹⁹ He wrote his

1 DC, XX 8021. It is also called Kavikaumudī. It contains fancies on 32 objects including birds, beasts, etc.

2 CC, I 20.

3 Printed, Bombay

4 Printed, Bombay

5 CC I 20

6 Printed Bombay PR, I 118

7 Printed Bombay. *Ulwār*, 891.

8 Printed, Bombay

9 Printed, Bombay and Srirangam.

10 Printed Bombay. This was composed at the instance of King Bhāvasimha of Jaipur in the beginning of the 17th century A.D.

11 His horoscope says तुङ्गस्ये सूर्ये कुजे रविमुते च गुरौ च केन्द्रे

12 There are " (1) the Śārada Pīṭha at Dvārakā established on Māgha Sukla Saptamī of the year Sadharana in the year 2611 of the Kaliyuga corresponding to the year 2649 of Yudhisṭhīrasaka (420 B.C.) with Sri Brahma Svarupacharya (Viśvarupa), the brother of the famous Sureswaracharya (Mandanamīra) as its first Acharya (2) the Jyotiṛ Matha at Badarikasrama established on Pausa Sukla Purnima of the year Rakshasa in the year 2616 K. Y. corresponding to 2654 Y. S. (485 B.C.) with Totaka-

10 Printed, Bombay and Madras

11 CAL, II 2.

12 *Tanī Oat*, VII 2900.

13 *Tanj. Cat* VII. 2901, 2903, 2906, 1907

14 Printed, Bombay

15 CC, II 4

16 DC, XX 8019

commentaries on Prasthānatraya, viz, Brahmasūtras, Gīṭa and Upanisads. Tradition gives us fabulous accounts of many miracles performed by him and of his practical experiences in transmigration. He returned to his native village in time to have a last look at the face of his revered mother and to set fire to her funeral pile, and to this day that place of cremation is remembered and visited by devotees.¹ Great men are short-lived and so was Sankara. He lived only 32 years and died in Kali 2625 (477 B C).²

271 Much has been said on the date of Śankara but with no unanimity of ideas and the dates given by them range as wide as in the case of Kālīdāsa, over a space of 14 centuries.³

charya (Anandagiri) as its first Acharya, (8) the Govardhana Matha at Jagannatha, established on Vaisakha Sukla Dasami of the year Nala in 2617 K Y corresponding to 2655 Y. S (484 B C) with Padmapalācharya (Sanandana) as its first Acharya, (4) the Sarada Matha at Sringeri, established on Pausa Sukla Purnima of the year Pingala in 2018 K Y corresponding to 2656 Y S (488 B C) with Hastamalakaacharya (Prithvidhara) as its first Acharya and (5) the Kamakoti Pitha at Kanchoi established on Vaisakha Sukla Purnima of the year Siddhartha in 2620 K. Y corresponding to 2658 Y. S (481 B C) with Sri Sankara Bhagavatpada himself as its first Acharya.”

For the Ācāryas in Sringeri Mutt, see Lakṣmaṇa Śastri's Guruvamśamahākāvya written during the days of Somaśekhara II (1714-1780 A D) of Kāladi. (For a full account, see *Mys Arch Rep* (1928) 15. This work mentions the foundation of Vijayanagar by Viḍyāranya as in Śaka 128 (nāga-isu arka), Dhātṛ, Vaisakha, Sudḍha, 7th Sunday

1 In this locality, there is now a large Agraharam with a fine temple, and a bathing ghat in the river Alwala a few miles from Kaladi Road Railway Station in the Cochin State Railway. This act of devotion was due to the perseverance of Mr Ramachandra Iyer, the ex judge of the Chief Court of Mysore and to the munificence of Sri Śankarācārya of Sringeri.

2 This is according to Kamakotipitha (Kumbakonam). According to Dvāraka Mutt, Śankara lived in 2631-2663 Yuḍhisthira Śika. According to Sringeri Mutt, Śankara was born in Sam 14 (42 B C). But this list gives Sureśvara the first head, 800 years, this is easily explained because Sringeri Mutt ceased to exist until it was revived by Viḍyāranya. According to Saḍānanda's Śankarahjaya he was born in धर्मे द्वाविंशतिशके सत्ताशद्विंसहस्रके

Mādhava's Śankaraviḷaya gives the date of death as शरेक्षणचवनयन meaning Kali 2625 (477 B C). The anniversary is on Meṣa Sukla Āruḍrā.

3 THELIE (*Outline of the History of Ancient Religions*, 140) and MAX MULLER (*India*, 360) and M. Barth (*The Religions of India*, 89), have accepted the date 788 A D. K. T. TRIANG (*IA*, XI 174, 268, XIII 95, XIV 64, 185, XVI 42, 160) places Śankara not later than 590 A D. (See also *JBRAS*, XVIII 82, 218, 237). FLEET (*IA*, XII 850, XIII 412 and XIV 350) says that Nepālavamśāvali (Wright's *History of Nepal*, 118 128) mentions Śankara as having visited Nepal in the reign of Vṛṣaḍeva (680-655 A D) whose son Śankaraḍeva was named after Śankara. But B. INDRAJI (*IA*, XIII. 412) says that Vṛṣaḍeva lived about 260 A.D. BHANDARKAR

Among modern scholars, many are almost certain that Śankara flourished in the 7th or 8th century A D. The real foundation of this opinion is traceable to the confusion that has been introduced in the Sankaravijayas or Sanskrit accounts of the life of Sankara, which written, as they are, far later than the times to which they relate, mixed up the accounts of more than one personage of the name of Sankara¹. Of the

(*Rep* 1882 8, 15) fixes the date at the end of the 6th century A D. W. LOGAN (*IA*, XVI 160) criticises the statement in the *Keralopatti* that Śankara lived about 487 A D. during the reign of Cheraman Perumal and fixes his own date to the first quarter of the 9th century A D. (see also *IA*, XL, 116). M. DUBEY and K. B. PATHAK (*IA*, XI 174, *JBRAS*, XVIII 216) rely on the chronogram अचार्यं वाराभेय found in Ārya-viḍyāsūdhākara of Yagneshvara and give the dates 788-825 A D. See *Bhūraṣ* (1925), 150. The *DABISTAN* (II 141) brings down the date to 1849 A D. RAMACANDRAVI (*Lives of Eminent Hindu Authors*) places him in 610 B C. BURNELL (*Elements of South Indian Philosophy*, 83) follows Taranath's *History of Buddhism* and fixes 650-700 A D. See also *Peter's Int. to Subh* 126, Windischmann's *Sankara WEBER*, II, 51, and MACDONNELL, *SL*, 242. Kavalī Ramasami (*Deccan Poets*, 6), COWELL (Preface to *Śarvadarśana-saṅgraha*, viii) and GOUON (Preface to *Philosophy of the Upanishads*, viii) and Jacob (*Tr. of Vedāntasāra*, 23) fix 8th century, A D. M. WILLIAMS (*IW*, 48) gives 650-740 A D. WILSON (*Preface to Sanskrit Dictionary*, xvii and *Essays* I 194) says 8th or 9th century A D. RICE (*Mysore Gazetteer*, I 377) says Śankara was born in 677 or 787 A D. at Oranganore. R. MITRA (*Notices*, VII 17) accepts 8th century A D. T. FOULKES (*JRAS*, XVII, NS 196) gives 650-670 A D. N. BHASRYAACHARYA (*Age of Sankara*, Adyar) reviews the dates and fixes end of 5th century or between the middle of the 4th and 6th century A D. COLEBROOKES gives 1000 years ago. TAYLOR gives 900 years ago, in *Dedication to the translation of the Prabodha-śāndrōdaya*. See also Buchanan's *Mysore* (III 80, 74, Wilks's *History of Mysore*, I. *Ap v Madras Lit Soc*, II XXIV 6 and 65, Mackenzie's *Collection*, II 78, 8 V Venkatesvara (*JRAS*, (1916), 151) reviews some of these dates and says Śankara's age was 85 years and he lived in 805-89 A.D.)

1. On the life of Śankara, there are the following poems.—

- (1) Brhāt Śankaravijaya of Ūṣukhācārya, a direct disciple of Śankara
- (2) Prāśina-Śankaravijaya of Anandagiri. *Ed Bib Ind. TC*, II 1479. *IA*, V. 28.
- (3) Śankaravijaya of Viḍyāśankara or Śankarānanda
- (4) Keralīya Śankaravijaya or Ācāryavijaya of Govindanātha (*SK*, II 101)
- (5) Guruvijaya of Anantānandagiri (*DC*, XXI. 8386 *TC*, II. 1470)
- (6) Śankarābhyaṅga of Rājānandamaṇi Dikṣita.
- (7) Śankaravijaya of Vallisāhāya (*DC*, XXI 8807).
- (8) Śankaravijayāsāra of Śaḍānanda, disciple of Śankara
- (9) Śankaravijayavilāsa of Cidvilāsa (*DC*, XXI 8145)
- (10) Śankṣipta Śankaravijaya of Mādhava (Viḍyāraṇya) *Ed with commentary by Dhanapatiśuri*, Bombay *DC*, XXI 8146.

See Burnell's Pref. to *Vamsabrahmaṇa*, xii and Wilson's *Works*, I 261n. and T. S. Narayana Sastri's *Age of Sankara*, Part I, 99. N. K. Venkatesan, *Śankarācharya and Kamakoti Peetha* (Kumbakonam). K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, *Sri Śankaracārya*, Madras *CC*, I 625 6, II. 149, III. 130.

successors of Ādi Sankara there were some who were equally great in the propagation of the doctrines Kṛpāsankara, the 9th (27-68 A D), Ujjavalasankara, the 16th (328-366 A D), Arbhakasankara, the 20th (396-436 A D), and Acidānandaghanendra, the 32nd (667-671 A D), Dhīrasankara the 38th (801-839 A D)

272 Dhīrasankara of Abinavasankara was a miraculous personality. He was born at Cidambaram in the year of Kali 3889 (787 A D) as a posthumous child, the son of Viśvajit and Viśvāṣṭa. He was 30 months in the womb of his mother and fearing the calumny of relatives on the suspected guilt of conception during widowhood, the innocent mother left the infant on a green leaf in the forest and went away. Picked up by the women of the hermitage of sage Vyāghrapāda, the child grew up and was initiated by the sage in the sacred lore. He was on the Komakoti Peetha for 38 years (801-839 A D). He went to Kashmir and after vanquishing various scholars like Udbhata ascended the Sarvagnapeetha. He ascended to heaven with his carnal frame by entering the Ḍaṭṭātreya cave in his 32nd year.

The following verses Saḍgurusantānaparimāla are interesting

क्षीरस्नामिमनोरथेशचटकश्रीसन्धिमच्छङ्खक-
 श्रीदामोदरढक्यवामनमहापोध्यायमुत्थ्यान् कवीन् ।
 अष्टावप्यभिभूय दुर्जयतया मद्योद्धट प्रत्यह
 यो दीनारकलक्षवेतनवह. कोऽस्याम्रतस्सोऽप्यभूत् ॥
 देदेप्यच्छुक्रदन्तोद्धटनवमिपटाबुद्धबुद्धाध्वमुध्वा-
 स्ताद्रोदस्तवेदादतिरथसजयापीडसम्राडपि द्राक् ।
 यद्वायुदभूतबोधश्श्रुतिमयवपुष शारदाया पुरस्तात्
 पीठे सर्वज्ञयोग्ये निदधदधिपदच्छायमार्चयिषमर्च्यः

273 Among "Sankaras" works are Stōtras : राजेभुजङ्ग उन्नहाण्यभुजङ्ग विष्णुभुजङ्ग शिवभुजङ्ग दत्तात्रेयभुजङ्ग हनुमदभुजङ्ग देवीभुजङ्ग नवरत्नमालिका मवानिमानस हरिमीडोकनकधारा द्वादशमञ्जरी देवीपञ्चरत्नमाला त्रिपुरसुन्दरी पुष्पवीरामञ्जलि राजराजेश्वर, विट्ठल चन्द्रमोलीश्वर लक्ष्मीनृसिंह नारायण अक्षपूर्णा त्रिवीणी दद्यावतार शारदा काशी. विश्वनाथ अर्धनारी नटेश्वर रामलक्ष्मण ललिता श्रीचक्रस्तवराज अपराधशतक कृष्णताण्डवस्तोत्र पञ्चरत्न शिवस्तोत्र विष्णुस्तोत्र विष्णुपादादिकेशान्तवर्णन शिवपादादिकेशान्तवर्णन कल्याणवृष्टि ॥

and Aṣṭakas on अम्बा पाण्डुरङ्ग शिवनामावलि कालभैरव अच्युत कृष्ण जगन्नाथ यमुना गङ्गा धन्या मणिकर्णिका शिवराम भैरव कामाक्षी साँव भ्रमरान्बा.

1. For a collection of these works, See DG, XVIII and XIX CG, I III, Bhārat (1925), 156, SR II 92-97, SKO, 883-4 Ed. Srirangam, Madras and elsewhere Sankarasatrasangraha, Poona.

274 To the 20th Ācārya, Mūkārbhaka Sankara (396-436 A D)¹ is attributed Pancasatī, known as Mūkapancaśatī. He is praised by Rāmila in Manuprabhā and by Mentha in Hayagrīvavadha, who, it is said, were his pupils. He was contemporary of Mātṛgupta. He was born dumb and when he was restored to speech by a hypnotic bath by the grace of sage Vidyāghana. He praised Kāmākṣī in his Pancasatī, in five sections, Āryastuti, Pādāravinda, Katāka and Mandasmitā, where he poured forth his heart in melodious strains of liquid poetry.²

275 Samantabhadra was a very early Jain poet and probably lived about the beginning of the Christian era. "In the Viravamsavali of the Śvetambaras he is entered as the 16th Pontiff who lived in 889 after Nīrvāṇa. In the Book of Stories, Ārādhana-Kaṭhā-Kosa of Prabhācandra, there is this traditional account. He was a resident of Kanchi, a sage of might. Coming to suffer from an abdominal disease, he roamed all the way from Kanchi to Paundrapura, Darurupa and Benares. At the latter place he performed a miracle, by manifesting an image of Parsvanatha out of an image of Siva."³

He wrote Devāgamastotra and Svayambhūstotra

In Ādipurāṇa he is thus praised

नमस्तमन्तमद्राय महते कविवेधसे । यद्वचोवज्रपातेन निर्भिन्नः कुमतादय ॥

कवीनां गमकानां च वादीनां वाग्मिनामपि । यद्यस्सामन्तमद्रीय मूर्ध्नि चूडामणीयते ॥

276. "Siddhasena Divakara, author of Nyayavatara, is mentioned along with Samantabhadra. They are both recognised by the two sections of the Jains, both were great logicians, both lived probably in the early centuries of the Christian era and the tradition of converting a king by manifesting an image of a Tīrthankara out of an image of Siva, is reported about both. These coincidences have led some to entertain a belief that the two persons were identical. But since they are separately mentioned by such early writers as Haribhadra Suri and Jināsena, the theory is untenable."⁴ His mother was Devāsikā and father a Purohit of King Vikrama of Ujjain. This led S. C. Vidy-

1 See Gururāṭnamalikā, verses 40-50 and commentary.

2. Printed, Bombay.

3 For the same account, see Malliṣanaprasaṅgi (LI, III). Samantabhadra's other name was Sāntivarma, see Rieu's Int to the inscription of Sravasti Belgola. See Hirai's Introduction to Cat of Sanskrit Mes. of CP. and Berar, ix xii. His works have been printed.

4 See Hirai, loc. cit.

bhūṣaṇa to identify him with the Kṣapanaka, one of the nine gems of Vikramāditya's Court. After he met Vṛiddha Vādiguru he became his desciple and was given the name Kumudacandra. When later he became a Sūri he assumed the name of Siddhasena Divākara. "Once he presumptuously declared in the presence of his guru that he would turn the whole sacred lore from Prakṛit into saṁskṛit. To the explanation of the sin committed by this sacreligious utterance, he was administered by his guru the 'Parāṇhika Prayaschitta' which required him to remain dumb for twelve years and visit sacred places. In observance of this vow, he once went to Ujjain and lodged in the temple of Mahakālī. Here he incurred the displeasure of the priests for not making obeisance to the god Śiva. They called the king Vikramāditya who compelled Siddhasena to bow before the god. Siddhasena did this reciting the KALYANAMANDIRA¹ ode which had the effect of splitting the image of Śiva in twain and manifesting out of it an image of a Jain Tirthankara. Being impressed with his power King Vikramāditya and many others become converted to Jainism"² Jinasena in Ādīpūraṇa praises him thus

प्रवादिकरियूथाना केसरी नयकेसरी ।

सिद्धसेनविर्जीयात् विकल्पनग्वराङ्कुर ॥

277 Asvaghosa On the identity of Asvaghosa with Mātṛceta and Āryasūra, opinion is divided. Many works are attributed to them under these different names and all are alike in the merit of their poetry. There are Asvaghosa's Gandiṣṭoṭra, Āryasūra's Jāṭhakamālā, Mātṛceta's Śaṭapancasatkastotra, Ekottāṅkastotra, Triratnamangalaṣṭotra, Triratnaṣṭotra, Mīrākastotra, Sugatapancatratnaṣṭotra.³

278 Kulasekhara, King of Kerala, was a saint among Śrī Vaiṣṇavas. According to the tradition he was the son of Drdhavraṭa and was born as an incarnation of Viṣṇu's Kausṭubha in Kali year 27 in 3075 B.C., Prabhava, Māgha, Suddha, Dvādasi, Guruvāra and Punarvasu at Tīruvanjikkulam.⁴ He gave up his throne and became a

1. Printed Bombay Ed. and tranas *ISi*, XIV 326

2. Hiralal, *l. c.* xiii

3. For a full collection with references, see F.W. Thomas, *Int. to Kav.* 25-29, *Album Kern* (Leiden), *IA* (1908), 845-60, *Kesth*, *SL*, 67

4. For an account by P. Kṛṣṇasmurṭi, see Bhāraṭi (1980), 947. In his introduction to *Tapaśisamvarana* (*TSS*), Ganapati Sastri gives dates as Kali 1680 (1422 B.C.). See *Bhaktavaibhavadīpikā* of Venkaṭeśa (*TU*, II 2010), and para 205 *supra*.

recluse and composed the divine lyric *Mukundamāla*¹. In the history of Kerala, there are several kings bearing the name Kulasekhara and in the appellations of the present Maharajas of Travancore this is one. Stories current in Malabar says that Kṛṣṇalīlāsuka, author or Kṛṣṇakarnāṁṭṭṛ, was a contemporary of a Kulasekhara and Vāsudeva in his *Yudhisthiravijaya*² mentions Kulasekhara. But the earlier Kulasekhara, the Ālvar, has been wrongly identified with later kings of that name, and has been assigned to the 9th century A D. It is not possible to arrive at any definite conclusion on these identities, beyond saying that the author of *Mukundamāla* lived for earlier than the author of the dramas, *Āpatīsamvarana* and *Subhadrārdhanamjaya*, and Vāsudeva and Līlāsuka were in the courts of some later Kulasekhara of about the 9-10 century A D.³

*Mukundamāla*⁴ is very popular lyric often repeated and inculcates the merit of Bhakti or devotion as a means of salvation. There are commentaries on it by Venkaṭṣa and Ānandarāghava, pupil of Kṛṣṇānanda.⁵

1. So it says राज्ञा कृताकृतिरियं कुलशेखरेण

2. तस्य वसुधामवत काले कुलशेखरेस्य वसुधामवतः

3. K. R. Isharoti says that these two authors came one after another and Kulasekhara the Ālvar lived in 8-9th century A D and the dramatists in 8-9th century A D and that the later was the patron of Vāsudeva and Līlāsuka (*IBQ*, V 558). A. S. Ramanatha Iyer in [*JRAS*, (1925), 268 *Authorship of Nalodaya*] says that Vāsudeva the real author of *Nalodaya*, *Yudhisthiravijaya* etc., lived under king Kulasekhara of the 9th century A D. Some modern scholars (see *Vaiṣṇavism, Saivism and minor religions* by R. G. Bhandarkar and *Early History of Sri Vaisnavism in South India* by S. Krishnasami Ayyangar) identify the Ālvar with the author of the dramas on the ground that they are described as kings in the same locality and to bring down the date of the Ālvar also to 12th century A D. Keralapattai give the date of the death of Kulasekhara as 338 A D. See *Trav State Manual*, I 223.

In *Gururajnamālīka* of Mahadevendrasirajvati it is said that Kulasekhara, the royal poet, was taught poetry by Ujjvalasankara, the 16th in succession (329-367 A D).
कुलशेखरसाहितीप्रणेतृ वलदासेतुहिमाद्रिविज्ञनेत्रे

4. Printed everywhere, *Haberlin*, 515 and *Kavyamāla*, Bombay. DC, XVIII, 7086

5. TC, II 2026, IV 4383. So says Ānandarāghava

शुक्तिरेव मुक्तिसाधिकेति सैवाभ्यर्थनीया मुमुक्षुभिरित्यतस्तदुपायित्वेन श्रीनारदानुगृहीत
मौकुन्दाष्टादशाक्षरीमन्त्र मुकुन्दचरणशब्दात्प्रत्यभिज्ञानमत्र प्रमाणयन् मुकुन्दमालाख्य
स्तावरेलमकरोत् ।

279 Mayura, says tradition, was a friend and father-in-law of Bāna¹ Bāna and Mayūra were rivals in poetry in the court of King Harṣavarḍhana of Kanauj,² and were equally honoured by the King³ Mayūra became glorious, very Sarasvaṭī incarnate So says Jayamangala

Mādhava in his Sanksepa-Sankaraviṇaya says that Śankara defeated Bāna and Mayūra in philosophical controversy and this Śankara was apparently a later ācārya of that name⁴

In Bhojaprabandha, Mayūra is mentioned as a poet of Bhoja's Court, but that work is a fictitious compilation Bhoja lived far later than Mayūra

An anonymous Jain commentator has the following story of Bāna and Mayūra. The Jain priests were anxious that the King should not consider them and their religion inferior and in order to convince the King that their holy men could work greater miracles, they got Mānaṭungasūri tied up by 42 iron fetters and when he sang Bhaktāmara-śloṭṭra, the chains came off and he was free⁵

1. See Maḍhusūdana's commentary on Suryaśaṭka. Quackenbos, *Sanskrit Poems of Mayura (Col Un Series)*, Int. 21. Keith, *SL*, 211.

2. For instance, Paḍmaguṇṭha says

सचित्रवर्णविष्मिच्छिहारिणोरवनीश्वरः ।

श्रीहर्ष इवसङ्घट्ट चक्रे बाणमयूरयो ॥

3 So Jalhapa in his Sukṭimuktāvalī (*JBRAS*, XVII 607) quotes a verse of Rājasekhara

अहो प्रभावो वाग्देव्या यन्मातङ्गदिवाकर ।

श्रीहर्षस्याभवत्सम्य समो बाणमयूरयो ॥

Divākara is mentioned as a poet there in verse 80, l c. मासो रामिलसौमिलौ (*ZDMG*, XXVII 77) This verse is found in Śaṅgaḍharapaḍḍhaṭi also The identification Māṅga Divākara, with Mānaṭunga (the Jain poet) by Hall (Int. to *Vasavadatta*, 21) and Max Muller (*India*, 380) is wrong

Jayamangala, a commentator, also says

भक्तमयूरवक्त्राञ्जपदविन्यासशालिनी ।

नर्तकीव नरीनार्ति समामध्ये सरस्वती ॥

4. See Quackenbos, l c. 14 15,

सकथाभिरवन्तिषु प्रसिद्धान् विबुधान् बाणमयूरदण्डिमुख्यान् ।

शिथिलीकृतदुर्मताभिमानान् निजभाष्यश्रवणोत्सुकाश्चकार ॥

5. Taken from Quackenbos, l c. 21 22 For variations in Jaina tales, see l c. 25 et seq. See also Prabandhaṇṭāmaṇi of Meruṭunga (Tawney's Trans, 64, 66).

280. Suryasataka is a centum of verses in praise of the Sun and invokes the grace and succour of Sūrya, his rays, disc, chariot and other accompaniments Sūrya is described as supreme in the universe and identical with the greatest deities of the Hindu pantheon.¹ Sūryasāṭaka has been held in high esteem by rhetoricians and has been quoted by Abhinavagupta and Mammata

There are commentaries on Sūryasatīka by Tribhuvanapāla,² Ṭaṅnesvara,³ [Madhusūdana, Vallabhadeva, Jayamangala],⁴ Śrīrangadeva,⁵ [Gangādhara, Bālabhāta, Harivamsa],⁶ Gopīnātha,⁷ [Jagan-nātha, Rāmabhāta, Anvayamukha],⁸ Rāmacandra,⁹ and some anonymous.¹⁰

Besides verses quoted in the anthologies, Mayūra wrote Mayūra-staka,¹¹ eight verses, describing the charms of a woman, said by some to be Mayūra's daughter herself.¹²

There are other Sūryasāṭakas by Gopālasarman,¹³ Śrīśvara Vidyā-lankāra,¹⁴ by Raghavendra Sarasvatī,¹⁵ Lingakavi,¹⁶ and by Kodanda-rāmaya,¹⁷ and Sūryasṭava by Hanūmān and by Upamanyu.¹⁸

281 Among Stotraṣ of Sūrya (Sun) SAMBAPANCAŚIKĀ ranks supreme Its diction, devotion and melody have led to the attribution of its authorship to Sāmbha, the very son of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, but this Sāmbha is a different poet He often imitates if not borrows the style and ex-

1 For a fine analysis, see Quackenbos, *l c* 89 *et seq* Keith, *SL*, 201, 212 Ed. by Quackenbos (*Col. Un. Series*) with an elaborate introduction and English translation. Translated into Italian by Berheimer, Livorno.

2 Printed, Kāvya-mālā, Bombay

3 Ed. by the author (See *IA*, I 115) mentioned in the Kāvya-mālā edition

4 *CC*, I 792.

5 *TC*, III. 732, *Trav. Cat* 67, 68

6 Hall's *Pref* to *Vāsavaḍaṭṭa*

7 *DC*, XIX 7625

8 *CC*, III 150.

9 *DC*, XII. 7621

10 *DC*, XIX 7626, *TC*, I 226, *TC*, III 2811.

11 These are collected by Quackenbos and translated *l c* 229.

12 Ed by Quackenbos, with English translation, *l c et seq*.

13. *Opp*, II 8421 Ed Calcutta (1871) He was the First Master of Sanskrit in Jaynarain College, Benares.

14. *CC*, I 732 Śrīśvara was alive in 1884 See *Mitra*, VII. 113

15 *Uttar*, 2438

16. *DC*, XIX 7624

17. *TC*, IV. 4956

18. *Trav Cat*, 64

pressions of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti and must have lived about the 9th century A D

There is a commentary on it by Kṣemarāja (Rājānaka), pupil of Abhinavagupta, who lived about the beginning of the 11th century A D¹ Kṣemarāja wrote also Śivasūtra, Bhairavānukarana Śūtra, and commented on Paramesvarastotrāvali and Nārāyaṇa's Śṭavacintāmaṇi²

282. Bana's Candisataka is a poem in praise of Pārvaṭī in the form of Candī or Mahiṣāsūramardinī It describes Candī's combat with Mahiṣa and his destruction by the goddess's kick The verses have a mājestic gait in Sārdūlavikrīḍita metre³

There are commentaries by DHANESVARA, son of Someśvara,⁴ and two anonymous⁵

On Candī, there are Candīkucapancāsikā by Lakṣmaṇācārya,⁶ Candīcaritanāṭaka by Rudra Tripathin,⁷ Candīcarīṭacandrikā, by Bhairavānandī,⁸ Candīkucasaptatī,⁹ Candīkacarīṭa by Candasiṃha,¹⁰ Candī-kāṇḍasūtra by Kālidāsa¹¹

283 Manatunga¹² was minister of King Vairasiṃha (825-900 A D) of the Calukya dynasty of Malwa¹³ He visited the court of Harṣa

1 Ed Kāvyaṃālā, Bombay and TSS with introduction by K. Satubasava Sastry, PR, I 121

2 CC, I 134, 326 In BTC, 203 there is a Sāmbamuktāvalistotra In CC, I. 711, there is also a Suryasaptāryā by Sāmbā Sāmba, author of Anuruddhacampū, is a different author (CC, I 711)

3. Ed Kāvyaṃālā, Bombay and by Quackenbos, *lc* with introduction and English translation

4. Ed Bombay

5 BR, II, 82, KR, (1880 1), 84, IO, IV 2588, 2625, CC, I 177.

6 CC, I. 176 Printed Kāvyaṃālā, Bombay Keth, SL, 210

7 Hail Pref to Dasarupa, 80, SKC 77.

8 CC, I 176

9 Opp, II. 401

10 Quoted by Guṇavijayagaṇi in his commentary on Nalacampū

11. CC, I. 176.

12 Mānaṅga, the author of Śiṣṭhajayantīcarīṭa (PR, III. 4p 87) was a different person He was a pupil of Śīlagāṇa of the Vṛṇḍha Gaocha and lived about Sam 1270 (1204 A D) See Klatt (IA, XI 258), BR, (1883-4), 147, PR, IV, xciii. There is a commentary on it by his pupil Malayaprabha written in Sam. 1261

13 Vairasiṃha was the successor of Upendra or Kṣṇarāja, the founder of the Paramāra Dynasty of Mālwa The Pattāvali of Vṛṇḍha Gaocha says so Klatt, IA, XI 252; Princeps, *Useful Tables*, 251, Weber, *IS*, II 932 note. PR, IV. ixcii; Buhler, IA, I 111, Jacobi, *Ind. St.* XIV 359 (It is here said that according to some Jain Therevalis Mānaṅga lived in 3rd century A D).

Śilāditya and in a controversy with Bāna and Mayūra at Benares,² he overcame the evil effects of their sorceries that had tormented the King, by the composition³ and recitation of the Bhaktāmarastotra,⁴ and convinced Nāgarāja by that of Bhayāharanastavana.⁵

284 **Lokesvarasataka** is a famous encomium of Bodhisattva Lokesvara or Avalokitesvara, composed in the 9th century A.D., if not earlier.⁶ "Each of the verses, in *Śṛāgāhara* metre, is in the form of an *āśīrṃvāda* or blessing. The description of the Bodhisattva commences, according to the rule regarding divine beings, with his feet, or, rather, in this case, with the light of his toe-nails. The toe-nails themselves emerge for a moment in verses 16 and 18, and in verse 26 the feet come into play, to accompany us as far as verse 45. Then, more dispersedly we treat of the lotus in Lokesvara's hand, his Amītibha bearing crest, his compassion, his name, his qualities, his worship, love of him, meditation upon him, his praise, his kindness, his grace, the remembrance of him, his action, his universality, his titles, his constancy, his protection, teaching, and so on, as far as verse 83. Then we come to his hand with its lotus, his arm, his dress, his face, his tresses. It is not easy through this thorny track to maintain the freshness of our receptivity, but we acknowledge the thrill which the author has reserved for verse 97, where we meet the Great Being's eye. (Or rather, we meet it not, since with a momentary quiver of apprehensive compassion it is turned upon his too terrifically, Hayagrīva! From the latter we pass to Bhṛkūṭī-Tārā, saving goddess, and we end with an

1. See *Prabhāvaśaṅkarīya*, *Śṛṅga* 12.

2. In *Kalpasūtra translated into English*, Lucknow, the date of this composition is given as Sam 800 (744 A.D.).

3. Ed. Bombay Ed. Tr. by H. Jacobi, *Ind. Str.*, XIV 859 *PR*, III. *App* 29, 32. There are commentaries on it by Śāntisūri (*PR*, I. *Ap* 96), by Guṇākaraśūri composed in Sam 1426, by Amaraprabhasūri (*PR*, III. *Ap* 228; IV. vii) and by Kanakakuśāla (*PR*, IV. 109). Amaraprabha was pupil of Devasundara alias Devasūri who became Sūri at Patna in 1426 (See *PR*, IV. viii, Klatt, *Id.*, XI 255), *Weber* *Isi.* II 988 note). Śāntisūri belonged to Khandellagaccha. Kanakakuśāla was the pupil of Hīnavijayāsūri. He wrote in Sam 1652. (*PR*, IV. 109).

4. *PR*, I. *Ap* 30, III. *Ap* 29. There is a commentary on it by Jinaprabhasūri (*PR*, I. 52, 88) written in Sam 1365 (1809 A.D.) at Śākṣapūra. He was pupil of Jinasimhasūri. Among his other works (for which see Klatt's *Onomasticon*) are *Pancaparamasthīṣṭava* (*PR*, IV. 91), *Tīrthakalpa* (*PR*, II. 79) and a commentary on *Ajīṭaśāntīśṭava* of Nandīśena, who completed his work at Ayoḍhya in Sam, 1365.

Jinaprabha, guru of Rājasekhara, the author of *Prabandhaśāntījāmaṇi* was born about Sam 1400 and was a different person. See *PR*, IV. xxxvii.

5. See *JRAS*, (1914), 28.

obscurely worded expression (v 100) of the truth that only the words of Sugata are adequate to the description of the whole assemblage of great qualities Putting the poem side by side with the famous Ajanta picture of Avalokitesvara, if it is indeed he, we can to some extent realize what it may have meant to the poet and his hearers ¹¹

285 Ekanatha was the desciple of Janārdana Pant of Devagiri He travelled far visiting sacred shrines and performed many miracles, as did other great teachers of religion Ekanāṭha occupied a place between Nāmdev and Ṭukārām and taught the Bhakti cult He lived in 1528-1609 A D ¹² Besides famous as a poet in Mahratti, he wrote the philosophical poems, Haṣṭāmālaka and Svātmasukha and a commentary on the 11th chapter of Śrī Bhāgavata ¹³

286 The poems Suprabhāṣṭotra⁴ and Aṭamahāsrīcāryastotra⁵ are ascribed to King Haṣavardhana Sarvajnamitra wrote Sragdharāṣṭotra ⁶

Stutikusumānjali is a poem in 39 chapters in praise of Śiva by Jagadhdhara,⁷ so is Paramesastotrāvali by Utpaladeva ⁸ Stavāmṛtalaharī is in praise of Kṛṣṇa by Visvanātha Cakravartī ⁹

Among important śtoṭras printed in Bombay are Maḍhusūdana's Ānandamandākūṇi, Kūranārāyaṇa's Sudarsānasataka, Dūrvasa's Ṭripuramahimastava and Lalitāṣṭavaratna, Lankeśvara's Sivastuṭi, Lallādīkṣiṇa's Ānandamandirāṣṭuṭi, Srikantha's Ānandasāgaraṣṭava, Avatāra's Īśvara-sataka, Loṣṭaka's Dīnākrandanastuti, Dhananjaya's Viśāpahāraśtoṭra, Dāsakandhara's Śivāṇḍavastōṭra, Mādhavānanda's Haṣṭāmālakastōṭra, Puruṣoṭṭama's Viṣṇubhaktīkalpalatā

1 The summary is by C O Blagden [JRAS, (1914), 281].

2 See W S Deening's *Ekanath*, Bombay and Review of his works by C R Śrinivāsa Iyengar in *Hindu*, Jan 17th 1932 Farquhar, OBL, 800.

Ekanāṭha, who wrote commentary on Bhāraṇi (CC, I 72) is a different person

3 Printed, Bombay; Opp, 8592.

4 Thomas, JRAS, (1908) 708 22

5 Levi, CC, X ii 189, Etinghausen's *Haravardhana*, 176, Keith, SL, 215

6 Hirānanda, *Mem of Arch. Survey, India*, No 20 Keith, SL, 215

7 Printed Kāvyaṃālā, Bombay CC, I. 743, This is a commentary by Rājnakantha.

8 CC, I 326 There is commentary by Kṛṣṇarāja It is quoted by Rājna
anṭha, 10

9. CC, III. 153.

There are also Śrīdhara Venkatesa's Ākhyāṣaṣṭi, Utpaladevācārya's Śivaśtotravali,¹ Mahākālī's Karpūrastava,² Puspādanti's Mahimna-stotra,³ Rāmācārya's Ramamahimna-stotra,⁴ Rāmākṛṣṇa's Padvapūṣpan-jali⁵ Laghubhāttaraka's Vimsatistiva⁶

287 Maharaja Kṛṣṇaraja Udayar III (born 1795 A.D.) of Mysore was a poet and patron of letters and is the father's father of the present Maharajah of Mysore. His Devaśādhyaṇamālīkā gives meditative stanzas on various deities with illustrative pictures. His Sūryacandrādivamsāvatārana⁷ written in 1857, relates 100 episodes each from Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata and the adventures of the royal brothers Yadurāja and Kṛṣṇarāja, the progenitors of the Mysore dynasty of Kings. His Kṛṣṇakathāpūṣpamanjarī, Cāmundīmangalamālīkā, Mṛtyunjaya-stotra and Rāmāyanakathāpūṣpamanjarī have been published in Mysore.

288. Kasturi Sivasankara Sastri was born at Koochimandvari Agrahāram, Amlapur Taluk, Godavari District, in the year 1833 and died in 1917 at the age of 83. He belonged to Kaśṭhūrivarī Savaram, otherwise called Beta Mallipudi Savaram, one mile from Rajole. He was a Niyogī Brahmin of Vadhūla Gotra. He was son of Somarāju. His ancestors were ministers under Native Rajahs and Nawabs, and were highly proficient in Vedic and administrative matters. They were made Desapandya which position was continued to the members of his family till the boyhood of his father, and in recognition of services the Government also granted an allowance up to the time of Veeresalingam, his father's elder brother. He was Sanskrit Pandit in the Arts College, Rajamundry, for 25 years. Besides several works on philosophy, he wrote poems Śivānaṇḍalaharī, Śivapāḍaṣṭuti, Śtotrakāḍamba, Dvādaśamanjarī, Samudrāṣṭakam, Śūlapāṇisatāka, Nṛsinhasṭotra and other smaller Śtoṭras.

289 Bellamkonda Ramaraya was the son of Mohanarāja and Hanumāyamma. He was born in Pamidipadu Agraharam in

1. Ed. by Viṣṇuprasad Bhandari, OSS Benares, with commentary of Kṣemarāja. For other stotras, see *Trav. Cat.*, 50-68.

2. Printed, OSS, Benares with two commentaries.

3. Printed, OSS, Benares with commentaries; Translated by K. M. Banerji.

4. Oudh, XIV, 92. *JASB*, VIII, 885. D. C. Bhattacharya (*IA*, XLVI, 164).

5. *PR*, V, 580, *Trav. Cat.*, 60.

6. *Trav. Cat.*, 51.

7. *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, (1918) 87.

CHAPTER XII

Laghukavya—(contd)

290 Kṛṣṇa Lilāsuka was the son of Dāmodara and Nīlī and pupil of Īśānadeva,¹ the author of *Āṇṭrapaddhati*. Rāghavesānayaṭī, the author of commentary on *Bhāgavaṭa* was his friend. He was a votary of God Mṛṭyunjaya of Śvetāśānayaṭī, otherwise known as Dakṣinakaṇṭhāsām. He lived at Mukṭīpāṭhala, now known as Mukkuttalāi, in Malabar on the banks of the Bhārāṭī. He was such an ardent votary of Śrī Kṛṣṇa that he went in trances singing his praise and in one of those trances the song was sung by Śrī Kṛṣṇa himself in praise of his devotee.²

1 The *Trav. Cat* (58), 88, 91 mentions Īśānahṛīḍeḍa's poems, Paḍmanābha śaṭaka, Rāmaśaṭaka, Kṛṣṇaśaṭaka, Bhārāṭasankṣepa, Rāmāyanāṃṛta.

2 The whole piece is printed here, as the only manuscript of it is with M. Rāmakrishna Kavi —

वचसि मम सन्निधत्ता मधुरस्मितमरितमन्थरापङ्गी ।

करकलितललितवंशा कापि किशोरी कृपालहरी ॥

गर्वोद्विक्तदिशागजेन्द्रपरिषत्सेवाप्रणामादृत

यातायातसुरेन्द्रसेन्यलहरीमौलिप्रभावन्दितम् ।

बलात्पार्थिवसार्थमण्डलमहायात्रारवाराधित

कास्त्यं कामधुवा बुवा (?) गजमुखज्योतिः किमप्याश्रये ॥

भूस्मे भुवनमाधुर्यसीम्ने सरलसपदा । सीम्ने सरसगोपाशे (ळे) धाम्ने ततिदमोन्नमः ॥

अज्ञानमदनज्योति प्रज्ञेज्ञानपदास्पदम् । आलम्बितनराकारमालम्बनमभूत्सताम् ॥

अमुष्य करुणापात्रमस्ति मस्करिणाम्मणि । आदित्यप्रज्ञसंज्ञ यदादित्यादधिक महः ॥

निर्जितस्समदृष्ट्यै मन्मथः । आर्जितैरक्षकुसुमैरारादाराधयन्त्ययौ ॥

आदित्यप्रज्ञपादानामादिकारुण्यमाजन । ईशानदेव इत्यासीत् ईशानो मुनितेजसाम् ॥

आस्पदस्य हि यस्यासीदशेषगुणसपदा । अद्वितीय इति ख्यातिरात्मबुद्ध्या न केवलम् ॥

तयोरनुग्रहापात्रसङ्क्रान्तज्ञानसागराः । सागरा इव गभीरास्सन्ति धन्याः सहस्रशः ॥

तयोरेव कृपापात्र कृष्णलीलाशुको मुनि । यदाश्रमाङ्गणे निलय रमन्ते तन्त्रविस्ताराः ॥

तिलक कुलपालीनां नीलीति निलय श्रियां । यमल जनयाचके य च कीर्ति च शाश्वतीम् ॥

यस्य दामोदरो नाम सविता सवितुः ..म ? । अत्रुणस्य हि यस्यासन्नधमर्णं मरुद्गणाः ॥

यस्य तत्प्रियसर्वज्ञ राघवेशानसंज्ञकं । विनेयसविधे यस्य सुहृन्नुक्ताय ॥

यस्य दक्षिणकैलासलीलापरिणत महः । चर्चाचन्दनगन्धेन सुगन्धयति मानसम् ॥

कृष्णलीलाशुक्तस्यास्य किशोरमधिदैवतम् । (स्तु)तिरनभिदं ब्रूते षेणवादिमुखेन्दुना ॥

As an ascetic he appears to have assumed the name of *Bilvamangala* and founded the Natuvile Madham of Irichur. The heads of Mutt are known as Bilvamangala.¹ In Gada's Sampradāya-Kula-dīpika, it is said "There were some devotees, one named Bilvamangala in the Tamil country, another at Benares and a third, in Orissa. There is a stotra containing 108 stanzas composed by him. All of them were Vaishnavas. The person who was born at Kasi was in his first birth known by the name of Madhavanala, in the second, Bilhana, in the third Bilvamangala and in the fourth, Jayadeva who composed the Gita-govinda. When Bilvamangala was spreading the religion of Viṣṇusvami,² he got many disciples."³

As it is, this poet may be taken to have lived in the 11th century A.D.⁴

Kṛṣṇa Līlāsuka is one of those glorious men, whom every province desires to claim for itself, Bengal, Orissa, Circars and Malabar.⁵ It is said in the Circars that he lived on the banks of the river Kṛṣṇa Venna (Kr̥ṇā) and founded a Mutt at Amaresaram. So in Bengal and Orissa, the story is current that he lived at Jagannath and he was called by the name Bilvamangala on account of the auspicious Bilva in his house. Tradition gives a tale of his conversion as a votary of Kṛṣṇa. He had a concubine Cintāmanī. She was very pious and would not allow him to see her on the day of her father's annual ceremony. But the passionate lover scaled the walls of her house at midnight with his hold on a serpent's tail hanging there and bitten by it fell down unconscious. The kind woman attended to him and when he was revived, she appeared before him in an ugly attire and taught him to give up his carnal passion and to devote his love to Kṛṣṇa. He learnt Kṛṣṇa-mantra from his guru Soma and became an ascetic. His sayings are recorded by his disciples. He passed away at Brndāvan.⁶

291 In the field of grammar and philosophy, his proficiency was ever as great as in the field of poetry. He commented on the

1. A Govinda Wariyar says that of three Bilvamangalas whom he mentions (*IEQ*, VII 834), the first, the founder of the Mutt, wrote *Kṛṣṇakarnāmrta* and lived in 9th century and the author of *Puruṣakāra* was a different and later person who lived in 18th century.

2. On Viṣṇusvami and his sect, see Farquhar (*I c*) 288, 804.

3. *SR*, I 14.

4. Farquhar (*ORL*, 804) give the date 15th century A.D.

5. For an account of this poet by M. Ramakrishnakavi, see *Andhravataika*, Annual number (1922-23) 171-4.

6. See *SR*, II 57.

Aṣṭādhyāyī of Bhoja (known also as Sarasvatīkāntābhāraṇa) and there quotes several verses of Pāṇini.¹ He refers to Hemacandra in his philosophical work *Puruṣakāra*,² and he is quoted by Vidyāranya in his *Dhīṭuṣṭi*

Among his works now available³ are *Irībhuvanīsubhaga*, *Gaṇapāṭi* 1, 2, *Karkotakastuti*, *Ramacandra* *tuti*, *Abhava* *stuti*, *Kṛṣṇa* *stuti*, *Viśvadhikastuti*, *Sumangalastotra*, *Kṛṣṇacarita*, *Kṛṣṇabālakṛidā*, *Abhinava Kauṣṭubhamālā*, *Kramadīpikā* and *Śaṅkarahṛdayāṅga*

292 In his **Br̥ṇḍavanastuti**, he describes Rāsakṛidā, in verses which for their charm and melody can rarely be equalled. In his **KALAYADHA** in 3 cantos he relates the story of the conquest of Yamā by Śiva to save Mārkaṇḍeya and the narrative is addressed in the words of Kṛṣṇa himself to the Gopīs. In his **GOVINDABHISEKA** (*Gopikābhiseka*?) a poem in 8 cantos he illustrates the aphorisms of Prākṛit grammar and these were later on commented upon and supplemented by his pupil Durgāprasāda Yati, by 4 cantos. The whole poem of 12 cantos is also called *Śrīcūḥkāvya*.⁴

293 By far the greatest work, by which his name has been commemorated is **Kṛṣṇakarnamṛta**.⁵ It is a lyric in 12 tarangas of exquisite beauty, famed for its music and harmony, on the life of Kṛṣṇa

1. See para 4 *supra*

2. Elited *TSS*, by T. Ganapati Sastri

3. *IOO*, VII 1470-5. Some of these manuscripts are with M. Ramakṛṣṇa Kavi. He says he brought all these manuscripts from Malabar for the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, but that they were returned by the authorities without copying them.

4. See Kuppasami Sastri's *Rep* (1919), 88. In his commentary on *Govindābhiseka*, Durgāprasādayaṭi gives these particulars.

कोदण्डमण्डलवचोगदितीह धाम्नि श्रीकृष्णद नैपर किल कर्णमृत्यु ।

जात क्रमेण परहसपदे स्थितेऽस्मिन् योऽङ्कस्थितस्तमवलोक्य जगाम तृप्तिम् ॥

श्रीपद्मपादमुनिवर्षविनेयवर्गश्रीधूषण मुनिरसौ कविसार्वभौम ।

श्रीकृष्णरूपपरमामृतपानशीलश्चक्रे तदीयचरितं बहुधा हिताय ॥

श्रीकृष्णलीलाशुक्रबद्धकाव्य विवृत्य लोकस्य हिताय पूर्वम् ।

तच्छेषपूर्तिं च पुनर्विधाय विवृण्महे उत्तरभागमेतम् ॥

मुक्तिस्थलालय शिवपाद(?)मक्तिलेखात् दुर्गाप्रसादयतिरियभिधां दधान ॥

5. Printed everywhere. Keith, *SL*, 218

The poet says

ईशानदेवचरणामरणेन नीलीदामोदरस्थिरयश्चस्तबकीदमेन ।

लीलाशुकेन रचितं तव देव कृष्ण कर्णामृतं बहवुः कल्पयन्तरेऽपि ॥

The thoughts are often expressed in Abhinaya and is the poem familiar among gesture-dancers¹

There are commentaries on it called *Karnānandaprakāśinī* and *Śṛṅgārarangadī* of unknown authorship² and commentaries by Gopāla³ by Bṛndāvanadāsa,⁴ by Sankara,⁵ by Pālanka Brahmabhatta,⁶ by Puspāpāti Pāpayallayasūri,⁷ and by Avancha Rāmacandra⁸

Rāmākarnāmṛti of Prātāpasimha⁹ and Rāmabhadradīkṣiṭa,¹⁰ Srinivāsakarnāmṛti of Bangalore Siddhānti Subrahmanyakavi¹¹ are of similar description

294 Jayadeva Vilvamangala was reborn as Jayadeva, such is the belief of the Indian devotees¹² Jayadeva was the son of Bhojadeva and Vāmādevi. He was born at Kindubilva (Kenduli) on the banks of the river Ajaya in the Birbhum District of Bengal¹³ He was

- 1 For an instance of his natural description

अर्थोन्मीलितलोचनस्य पिबत पर्याप्तमेक स्तन
सद्यः प्रस्तुतदुग्धदिग्धममर हस्तेन समार्जत ।
मात्रा चाङ्गुलिलालितस्य चित्रके स्मेरायमाणे मुखे
विष्णो क्षीरकणाम्बुधामधवला दन्तयुति पातु न ॥
परमिममुपदेशमाद्रियन्व निगमवनेषु नितान्तखेदखिन्न ।
विचित्रत भवनेषु वङ्गवीनामुपनिषदर्थमुद्धखले निबद्धम् ॥

- 2 *Oxf* 128 It is not known if it is the same as the one mentioned in *DO*, XVII, 6947 and *Opp*, II 54

- 3 *Oudh*, VI 4

- 4 *CC*, I 119.

5. Printed, *Kāvya-māla*, Bombay

- 6 *TC*, II 1862, 2061. *Opp* II. 54. He belonged to Lohit-gotra, obviously an Āṇḍhra

7. *SR*, II 58 This commentator suggests that the poet was a native of Chiole. The commentator was the son of Tṛumala and Kondamāmba. He gives various meanings of philosophical significance.

- 8 *TC*, III 2977, IV 8748, 14483, 4170 He was the son of Kondopandita and Gangāmbikā of Śāndilyagoṭra of the village of Kanjaluru on the Gcdāvari branch Āṭreyi. He was also called Mohanabilyamangala. He commented on *Campurāmāyana* also (*TC*, II 1548).

9. *Opp* II, 6884

- 10 Printed, Madras *DO* XVIII, 7122

- 11 Printed, Tirupati Sri Mahant's Press, G T, Madras

- 12 See Gada's *Sampradāyakaṇḍāpikā*, *SR* I 15

- 13 Lakṣmīdhara, the commentator, says that Jayadeva was a native of Gujarat. Others say he was Maṭhila. In *Bhaktimālā* (Cantos 39-41) Candradatta says Jayadeva was born at Tindubilva near Puri. Once robbers lopped off his feet and hands and they were miraculously restored. In his old age he desired to have a bath in the Ganges and the river appeared before him in her watery form

a poet of the court of Lakshmanasena¹ the Vaidya king of Bengal whose Gava inscription is dated Samvat 1173 or 1116 AD and whose capital was Laksmāvati²

A rambler in early life, he visited Mathura and Brndāvan and was directly influenced by the enchanting scenery and the traditional tales of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. He became a missionary of that cult of Vṛṣṇava faith. He visited Jagannāth and there his life was destined for a change. There a brahmin long childless had a beautiful girl Padmāvatī by the grace of the Lord of Jagannāth. He had a dream directing him to bestow her on Jayadeva then camping under a tree near the shrine. In spite of Jayadeva's reluctance, the father left the girl in his presence and went away. Jayadeva had no choice and married her. His married life was very happy. She was of his temperament and his regard for her devotion is expressed in his Gītagovinda, in that "to the accompaniment of his songs, she dances on her feet"³. He spent some years at Kathamandū and then he composed his Gītagovinda. When the poem was nearing completion, he stumbled on an impediment. Kṛṣṇa repents his illicit animus and seeks pardon of Rādhā. He thought of expressing that in these words — "Deign, O, Lady, to put thy sprout-like feet on my head and quench the all-consuming fever of love." But his religious scruples would not permit it. Sad and desperate he threw up his work and went to bed. To his surprise, the next morning he found a verse added to his manuscript, 'grant the

1 Lakṣmanasena was the patron of Śrīdharaṇḍīśa, author of *Saṅkṣiptakārmāmṛta*. Verses of Lakṣmanasena and his father Ballālasena are quoted in *SP*, *SKM*, and *Paṇḍya* (See *CO*, I 368). See Pischell *Die Hof Litteratur des Lakṣmanasena*, Göttingen, N. Vassen, *Chronology of the several kings of Bengal*, *JASB*, XXV 16. Buhler's *Kash. Rep.*, 64, *Prinsep's Essays*, II H. Beveridge, *IA*, XLVII 272. His era began in 1119/20 AD but on this question see *IA*, IV 300, 167, *IA*, XIX 2. See also S. Kumar, *On the date of Lakṣmanasena*, *IA*, XLII 185, D. C. Bhattacharya, *Date of Lakṣmanasena and his predecessors*, *IA*, XLI 145, XLVIII, 171, XLIX 189. For other papers see R. D. Banerjee, *JASB* IX 271, N. G. Majumdar, *JASB* (1913), 275, *ERI*, XV 281, Lassen, *Ins Alt* IV 815. Śrīdharaṇḍīśa says however that his *Saṅkṣiptakārmāmṛta* was composed in 21st year of Lakṣmanasena's reign which was concurrent with 1127th year of Śaka. That would put the accession to 1106 A.D. see Smith (*ERI*, 405) gives dates 1170-1200 A.D.

2 Tradition has preserved a verse, said to be part of an inscription, which says

गोवर्धनश्च शरणो जयदेव उमापति । कविराजश्च रत्नानि समितौ लक्ष्मणस्य च ॥

3 वाग्देवताचरितचित्रितचित्सद्वा पद्मावतीचरणचारणचक्रवर्ती ।

श्रीबामुदेवरतिकेलिकथासमेतमेत करोति जयदेवकवि. प्रबन्धम् ॥

noble sprout of thy foot to be the ornament on my head, which shall be the antidote to the poison of love"¹ This he thought was the grace of Kṛṣṇa himself and the poem was soon complete. The village where the Gītagovindā was composed has since been called Jayadeva-pura. His poem was admired everywhere. He was regarded as inspired. Hundreds flocked to him for spiritual instruction. A noble prince of Ajmeer gave him funds for the celebration of an annual festival of Kṛṣṇa, but on his way home, he was attacked by a robber band and deprived of all his possessions. He was then entertained for some years at the court of Lakṣmaṇasena, Vaidya king of Bengal. He died at Kendulī in happy retirement about 1120 A.D. His anniversary is celebrated by his followers on the Sukla Śaptamī of the Pausya month.²

The poem was held in much esteem in Orissa. It was ordered to be sung in temples by King Pratāparudradeva,³ and King Puruṣottamaśaṅkara (1470-1497 A.D.)⁴ composed Abhinava-Gītagovindā

295 Gītagovindā is a celestial song in praise of Lord Kṛṣṇa. His wife Padmāvatī danced with him in accompaniment to his tunes. The poem has 12 cantos and 24 āstapadis.⁵ The cantos correspond to the Kāṇḍas of Bhāgavata and āstapadis to the 24 alphabets of Gāyatrī. Each āstapadī begins with a chorus followed by eight feet at the end of each of which the chorus is repeated. The melody and time of every song, that is, rāga and tāla are mentioned at the outset. The

- 1 स्मरगरलखण्डनं मम शिरसि मण्डनं वेहि पदपङ्क्तयमुदारम् ।
ज्वलति मयि दारुणो मदनकदनाखण्डो हरतु तदुपाहितविकारम् ॥

2 *Sah* IX 95, *SR*, II 59. On Jayadeva generally, see D. Sen's *History of Bengal Literature*, M. Duff's *Chronology* 136, R. C. Dutt, *Civ* II 295, Weber, *IL*, 210 note. Lassen, *IA* II, IV 815, Lyall's *Asiatic Studies*, III 185. Tawney's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, xviii 181-8. M. Oakravarti, "Sanskrit Literature in Bengal under Sena rule", *JASB*, (1906) 157. Life of Jayadeva is found in *Bhaktavijayam* (Andhra) (1) by Śrīpāda Subrahmanya (2) by Dhanala Koyat Deva-rādaya (Printed), (3) by Deva-rāpallī Candraya, Vāḍiamudi, Bapatla Taluk (unprinted) and in Candraya's *Bhaktamālā* (Printed, Bombay). See *Int. to Kāvya-mālā*, Edn.

3 See *JASB*, LXXII 96, 146.

4. *HPR*, (1895-100), 17.

5. For a detailed description, see *SR*, II (1899) 59, and *Jayadeva and his Idyll*, *Sah* III 95, IX, 96. Printed everywhere. Translated into English by Edwin Arnold, into German by Rickert (Leipzig), into French by Courtallier (Paris), by Lassen (Bonn). This poem is quoted in the *Subhāṣiṭāvalī* and *Śārngadhara-pāṭhaṭī* and by Potaroya in his *Prasangaratnāvalī* composed in 1460 A.D. (*DO*, XX. 8065).

melody gives the keynote and the other notes in the gamut, which are used in the song ¹

296 This work marks, according to Macdonnel,² the transitional stage between pure lyric and pure drama,—"a lyrical drama, which though dating from the twelfth century is the earliest literary specimen of a primitive type of play that still survives in Bengal and must have preceded the regular dramas. The poem contains no dialogue in the proper sense, for its three characters only engage in a kind of lyrical monologue, of which one of the other two is supposed to be an auditor, sometimes even no one at all. The subject of the poem is the love of Krishna for the beautiful cowherdess Radha, the estrangement of the lovers and their final reconciliation. It is taken from that

1 The melody for instance of the first astapadi is Mālava, the notes of which are C, D, flat, E, F, G, A, flat, and B with U as the keynote

In Hindu dated 16 11 1927, P R Sindara Iyer, Headmaster, Training School, Trichinopoly writes "There has been some doubt among musicians here about the authenticity of the Ragas assigned to each Ashtapadi. Let us examine the Ragas of Ashtapadis as per Kumbha. The Raga assigned to the first Ashtapadi as per heading is Mālava. Kumbha clearly states that he is making a change and signs the first Ashtapadi in Madhyamadi, (Shadava) in Madhyamagrama. He states as his reason that the thought that is conveyed has to be adjusted and expressed in that Raga alone. He says,—

प्रत्यङ्गायि प्रबन्धो यो जयदेवेन धीमता । न तस्य विद्यते लक्ष्म सर्वोक्तेरुपलक्षितम् ॥

अतस्स्वरादिभिष्वङ्गमिरङ्गैस्सप्योज्यं तथ्यताम् । नीत्वा गीत्वा तदा हित्वा कुटीकासु प्रवर्त्यते ॥

which means. "The composition was made by Jayadeva and it is musically imperfect in so many ways. I shall, therefore, provide it with the Svaras and the other limbs of music and give it its true colour" etc. So, Kumbha—a musician himself, of course an expert musician of the northern side—clearly means that the music of Jayadeva in the original was bad and he was constrained to effect a change in the melody as evidenced by the further statement in the preface—गमकालापपेशलतया मध्यमग्रामे वाडवेन मध्यम-
ग्रहेण मध्यमादिरागेण गीयते. As it is provided with flourishes and is fit for sweet singing as a Raga, it has to be sung in Madhyamadi—a Shadava Raga (six note Raga) of the Madhyama Grama

It has to be noted that Kumbha of Mewar, a musician-king as he was, had the necessity to change the original tunes of Jayadeva even as early as the 14th century. Perhaps or more than that, the same necessity was felt by the musicians of the South and for the very reason assigned by Kumbha, the Southern musicians have adjusted the Ashtapadi to the South Indian Ragas now current. By the way, there is in South India, a system in which particular Ragas are assigned to particular ideas for the expression of the lover in particular stages. Take the Nayaki in sixteenth Ashtapadi—Punnagavarali has been specially selected for the expression of the same stage of the same sentiment by the musicians of the South like Kshetrajna "

2 *Sanskrit Literature*, 344.

episode of Krishna's life in which he himself was herdsman living on the banks of the Yamuna and enjoying to the full the love of the cowherdresses. The only three characters of the poem are Krishna, Radha and a cupid mate of the latter ' 4

In the melody of its diction, in the perfection of its composition, in the ease of its alliteration and in the expression of varied emotions, Gītagovinda has probably the first place in the lyrical literature of the world. Indian mind is mostly philosophical and so was presumably the mind of Jayadeva, full of his devotion to the deity he addressed. The sexual ideas, apparent in the verses, have received at the hands of Indian commentators, an allegorical explanation of divine philosophy, as the longing and union of the supreme and the individual souls ' 5

1 See, for instance

चन्दनचर्चितनीलकलेबर पीतवसनवनमाली ।
 केलिचलन्मणिकुण्डलमण्डितगण्डयुग स्मितशाली ॥
 हरिरिह मुग्धवधूनिकरे विलासिनि विलसतिकेलिपरे भुवम् ॥
 पीनपयोधरभारभरेण हरिं परिरम्य सरागम् ।
 गोपवधूरनुगायति काचिदुदञ्चितपञ्चमरागम् ॥ हरि
 कापि विलासविलोलविलोचनखेलनजनितमनोजम् ।
 ध्यायति मुग्धवधूरधिक मधुसूदनवदनसरोजम् ॥ हरि
 कापि कपोलतले मिलिता लपितु किमपि श्रुतिमूले ।
 कापि चुचुम्ब नितम्बवती दयित पुलकैरनुकूले ॥ हरि
 केलिकलाकृतुकेन काचिदमु यमुनाजलमूले ।
 मञ्जुलवञ्जलकुञ्जगत विचकर्ष करेण दुकूले ॥ हरि
 श्लिष्यति कामपि जुम्बति कामपि कामपि रमयति रामाम् ।
 पश्यति सस्मितचारुतरामपरामनुगच्छति वामाम् ॥ हरि
 श्रीजयदेवमणितमिदमद्भुतकेशवकेळिरहस्यम् ।
 वृन्दावनविपिने ललित वितनोतु शुभानि यद्यस्यम् ॥ हरि

2 O R Srinivasa Iyengar says "There are four aspects in which the Gita Govindam or Ashtapadi may be viewed (1) Literary (2) Devotional (3) Musical (4) Mystical. The mystical nature is hinted both in the beginning and end of the work but a full exposition is given in the middle. Radha is not a woman but a thing representing the materialism, and the whole is a gradual story of the pilgrimage of the soul up to the path of glory.

The Ashtapadi begins in a way which gives the whole key to the mysticism. Nanda who was tending his cattle carries the child Krishna. It was a dark night and the sky was cloudy. He entrusts the babe to Radha and Ashtapadi describes the love affair between Radha and Krishna on the banks of the Yamuna or Jamna. Mystically viewed Jamna is that portion between the two eye brows

Rāmāgītāgovinda and Rādhākṛṣṇavilāsa are attributed to Jayadeva.¹

297 There are commentaries,² by Uḍaṇācārya, Kṛṣṇadāsa, Gopāla, Nārāyaṇadāsa, Bhāvacārya, Rāmāṭṭṛana, Rīmādattī, Kūpadeva, Viṭhala, Yīśvesvara, Śalinītha, Itḥdayābharana, Tirumalāya, Śrīkanthamīra, Gidānanda by Lakṣmīdhara also called Lakṣmanasūri,³ by Kṛṣṇadaṭṭa,⁴ by Jagadīdhara,⁵ by Vanamālībhatta,⁶ by Pīlambara,⁷ by

The first song among the others is remarkable in that it mentions the name of the Raga. In it Jayadev tells us of the ten Avatars. Kṛṣṇa does not find a place in this list but at the end of the chapter he says that Kṛṣṇa is the spirit of these ten Avatars. In this work, Jayadev gives the real significance of the Buddha Avatar, which according to the Puranas, have been given a wrong version by the orthodox Brahmins on olden days and who twisted the Vedas to serve their own purpose. The Gita Govind in is the best authority of the ten Avatars, and specially of the real nature of the Buddha Avatar."

1 The first is mentioned in Prapñcadarpana (TC, III 4034) of Venkatakaṇṭhāśrīvabhama. For the second, see IC, VII 1480, and for the first, see JGOS, Vol. XLI.

See Garon de Tassy Christomathie hindie et hindoue, p. 471 where in the Bhaktamal the Raja of Nīlācala is stated to have tried unsuccessfully to pass off a Gītagovinda of his own for that of Jayadeva. See IOC, VII 1480.

2 OC, I 153, II 81, III 33.

3 It is called *Sṛuṣṭiranjani* (DC, XX 7992 ff). He was son of Yajñeśvara and Saryāmbā and grandson of Timmayasomayaji of Cherukuru family, a native of the Kṛṣṇa District. He refers to a poem of his and was also the author of Sadbhāṣā candrikā, Svaramanjari, Alankāramuktavali (OC, I. 32a) and commentaries on Prasanna Rāghava and Anargharāghava and refers to his work Rasamanjari. His step brother of Kondubhatipadhyāya, whose son Yajñeśvaraḍikṣiṭa, was the author of Alankāra rāghava and Alankārasuryodaya (see chapter on Poetics post). On Lakṣmīdhara, see *Int. to Gangavatarana* (Kavyamala No. 76) 13, *SVH*, II 63, 67, 69, 202, and *SVH*, 312. In the colophon to the commentary on Anargharāghava it is said Lakṣmīdhara became an ascetic and assumed the name of Rāmānanda under his guru Kṛṣṇāśrama.

Another manuscript (DO, XX 7089 92) attributes the commentary Sṛuṣṭiranjani to Tirumalāya, son of Tirumalāmbā and Śrīraṅgarāja, of Āṭṭreya gotra. Tirumala was the younger brother of Aliya Rāmarāja, the son-in-law of Kṛṣṇadevarāja. After the battle of Talikota in 1565, Tirumala changed his capital to Penukonda and ruled for 18 years. He was the patron of the author of Vasucarita, the Telugu poem and brother of Venkatāḍṛi. The introductory verses give these details, (See paras 124, 144 *supra*).

Lakṣmīdhara was a poet of the court of Tirumala I of Vijayanagar of Aravida Dynasty (1567-1575 A.D.) About the latter, see Sewall's *Forg. Emp.* 178 404, *South Ind. Ins.* I 70, *SVH*, xiv, 18. It is therefore quite possible that this commentary was written by Lakṣmīdhara under the patronage of Tirumalarāja of Penukonda.

4 *Ibid.*, called Śāilekhā. The author was a native of Miṣhila. He explains every verse as referring to Siva, *Ulvar*, Cat 37, IO, 187.

5 This is called Sāraḍipikā. The author says he referred to several commentaries and wrote his own. *DO*, XX 7997.

6 *PR*, II, 188. He also wrote a play *Aḍbh. tarāghava*, *OC*, III. 2.

7. *Gough*, 87.

Sē-akamalākara and Śāsaratnākara,¹ by Vāsudeva Vācāsundara,² by Anūpabhūpati,⁴ by Srikanthamīra,⁴ by Nārāyaṇa,⁵ by Sāṅkaramīra,⁶ by Bhagavaddāsa,⁷ by Kumbhakarnarāja,⁸ by Lakṣmana,⁹ by Caitanyadāsa Pūjaka,¹⁰ by Mānāka,¹¹ and two anonymous, Sangrahadīpikā¹² and Balabodhinī¹³

In the Nirṇayasāgara edition there are eight verses in praise of the Ganges, Gangāstava, printed. It is thought that is the work of Dhīra Jayadeva, a later poet¹⁴

298 Among other works composed on this model are Gīta-gaurīpati of Bhānudaṭṭa,¹⁵ Kṛṣṇagīta of Somanātha,¹⁶ Gītārāghava of Hari Sankara,¹⁷ Gītārāghava of Prabhākara,¹⁸ Gītārāghava of Rāmākavi,¹⁹ Gītagrīva of Rāma,²⁰ Sangītamādhava of Govindadāsa,²¹

1 *IA*, XLII 252 *BTC*, 158, *Bik* 280 *Mys Cat* 245

2 *SKC*, 281 Composed at the instance of king Chandraśahi of Gāḍhāpurī in the country of Tripurī near Narmadā

3 *SKC*, 280 Prince Anupā seems to have been only the patron and not the real author

4 *SKC*, 67

5 *PR*, I, 114, *Bod Cat* 221, *IO*, 118

6 Printed, Bombay. The author styles himself Mahāmahopādhyāya

7 *CC*, I 154

8 Printed Bombay On Kumbhakarna, see chapter on Music *post* He was also the author of Sangītasudhā and Sangītarāja (*CC*, I 111)

9 It was composed at Śrī Puruṣottama Kṣētra (Puri) in Śaka 1664 (1686 A D) *Mys Cat* 245

10 *OSC* (1917) 590, *Mys Cat*. 245

11 *PR*, III 280

12 *DC*, XX 7996 probably by Jīyagoswāmī There is another anonymous commentary in *SKC*, 67

13 *OSC* (1907), 98 4

14. There are Gangāstava (1) by Kavikarṇāpura (2) by Deveśvara (3) by Hanbhās-kara (4) by Gangāḍhara (5) by Saṅyaghaṇānandatīrtha, printed in Bombay, in Brhatsaṅgahratnākara, 344, and in Haberlin, 471 See *CC*, I 140

15 Printed, Bombay There is another poem Kṛṣṇagīta in more than 9 cantos, on which there is a commentary by Anantaśāstrī, *TC*, III 2915

16 Printed, Bombay

17 *HR*, II 88 See *CC*, III 33

18 *BR*, (1884), 8, 9, *CC*, I 154. He was the son of Bhudhara He composed it in 1674 A.D

19 *Mys OML*, 246

20 *Oxf*, 129 He was son of Śrīnāṭha There is a commentary by Ātmārāma, *NW*, 616,

21 He wrote also Karṇāmṛta and lived in 1587 1613 A D See Dinesandra Sen's *History of Bengal Literature*, 547.

Gītāvilāsa by Abhinavācārakīrti,¹ Gītāgangādhara (i) by Kalyāna,² (ii) by Rajasekhara and (iii) by Candraśekharaśarasvatī,³ Śivagītumūlikā,⁴ by Candasiṅghāmaṇi,⁵ Ramodaharanagītikāvya,⁶ Śivastapadī by Venkātappa Naik of Mysore,⁷ Gītasatīka by Sundarācārva,⁸ Sangīta-Raghu-nandana by Visvanāṭha,⁹ Sangītisundana by Sadāśiva Dīkṣita¹⁰

Mukundavilāsa in six cantos describes the sports of Hari and Hara as if they were one.¹¹ Sankarīśinghā of Jayamūṭyana, son of Kṛṣṇa-candra, in 12 paṭalas, describes the marriage of Pītvatī and Śiva.¹²

299. Vamsamani was the son of Rāmācandra of the Vilva-panca race of Maithila Brahmanas. He lived in Nepal and wrote Gītādigambara on the occasion of a Tulāpurusādāna by Pratāpamalla Devī of Katmandu in Saka 1577 (1653 A.D.) "It was composed to entertain the princes and panditas assembled to see the Tulāpurusādāna in which the king in his armours weighs himself against gold and other precious metals and gives them away to Brahmanas. Pratāpa was himself a poet and his Astakas are to be found in all the holy places in Nepal inscribed at prominent places on stone. It is meet that on an auspicious occasion like this that he should encourage a Sanskrit dramatic performance."¹³

300 Venkataramanaiya (C), a principal of Sanskrit College, Bangalore, is the author of several works. Of these Kamalāvijaya is a play in five acts, developed from the story of Lennyson's Cup, a tragedy in two acts. It has no prakṛit. The pith of the story is as he says the victory of Virtue over Vice. His NAVAGĪTAKUṢṬAMĀNJALI is meant "to bring home to every one that there is only one divine power called God who is worshipped and contemplated under various names and forms by different kinds of people in the world. To include this all important truth, the popular Hindu theology and mythology have been adopted as far as the narration of the story is concerned, keeping at the same time the central idea running throughout each part or poem. The poem is of 108 verses divided into 9 parts, viz., (1) Ramagītā containing essence of Rāmāyana, (2) Kṛṣṇagītā, narrating briefly the story of Bhāgavata, (3) Dāśavātāragītā explaining the objects of ten avataraś of Viṣṇu, (4) Gaṇeśagītā showing that God under this name

1 Mys OML, 246

2 Oxf, 129

3 Mys OML, 245

4 CAL II 17

5 Mys OML, 255

6 Mys OML, 685

7 BTC, 163. He ruled in 1582-1629 A.D.

8 Printed, Bombay,

9 Uwar, 980

10 CC, I 690

11 Mītra, X

12 TC, IV 4587, CC, I 690

13 HPR, I, 18 CC, III 88

is also God of Universe and none else, (5) Śaḍgurutīṭa similarly indicating that all true knowledge proceeds from the great intelligence, the fountain head of all knowledge, (6) Śivagītā explaining the Śiva aspect of God and demonstrates with convincing reasons that there is no difference between Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva as far as central truth is concerned, (7) Vānīgītā, (8) Lakṣmīgītā and Gourīgītā showing that even female aspects of Divine Power contribute in effect to the same central idea "

301 Narayanatīrtha is said to be the last incarnation of Madhāvānala¹ He calls himself the pupil of Sivarāmāṇandatīrtha He lived at Kuchimānci Agraharam in Godavari District about 1700 A D² His Kr-nalīlātaranginī embraces the story of Kṛṣṇa in 12 tarangas³ The musical modes and rhythmic time are specified and explanatory verses are inserted between the songs The poem is fit for the lyre and showers sentiments of devotion

Kr-nalīlātaranginī of Bellamkonda Rāmasāstri is a work of similar description⁴

Kṛṣṇabhāvanāmṛta of Viṣvanātha,⁵ Kṛṣṇabhakṣicandrikā, Kṛṣṇalīlāmṛta with Acyūṭarao Modak's commentary, Kṛṣṇānandalahari and Kṛṣṇāmṛtatarangikā of Venkateśa⁶ have the same theme

302 Among the friends of Jayadeva in the Court of King Lakṣmanasena were Govardhana, Saraṇa, Umāpati and Dhoyi Kavirāja alias Śrūtādhara Jayadeva mentions them thus in Gītagovinda⁷

वाच पञ्चवयस्युमापतिधरस्सन्दर्भशुद्धिं गिरा
जानीते जयदेव एव शरणश्चाध्यो दुरुहहृते ।
शृङ्गारोत्तरसत्प्रमेयरचनैराचार्यगोवर्धन
स्पर्धी कोपि न विश्रुतश्श्रुतधरो धोयी कविक्षमापति ॥

1 See para 290 *supra*

2 I examined the Inam register from the Collector's office The grant was by Kolavennu Buchama Rao and Timmaranna Rao in Fasli 1151, subsequently confirmed by Morgin Beg in Hira 1157 and certified by the Collector on 4th May 1715 The original grantees were Bhāḡavaṭula Lunganna and Gopalann, Peddibhotla Gurulingam, Vedantam Ramesam and 5 others

3 DC, XX 7952, 100, VII 1462

4 See under that author *post*

5 Printed, Bombay

6 Printed, Bombay

7 Tradition says so

गोवर्धनश्च शरणो जयदेव उमापति ।
कविराजश्च रत्नानि समितौ लक्ष्मणस्य च ॥

303 Dhoyi had the fuller title Gavan Dhoyi Kavirāja¹ He was Srutadhara, because he learnt by a single hearing His PAVANADUTA² describes the message of Kuvalayāvatī to King Lakṣmanasena and is on the model of Meghadūta His Satyabhāmā-Kṛṣṇasamvāda³ is not now available

304. Sarana, says Jayadeva there, was quick but hard in versification.

305 Govardhana⁴ was son of Nīlāmbara Somayājñ He had a brother Balabhadra and a pupil Udayana He calls himself an Ācārya His Āryāsaptasatī⁵ or shortly Saptasatī is a collection of 700 verses on various subjects, erotic in character, in the order of the Sanskrit alphabets The flow of his diction keeps with the running gait of the Āryā metre⁶ He refers to Lakṣmanasena in his poem as a master of arts⁷ There are commentaries on it by Gokulacandra,⁸ by Ananta, son of Tryambaka,⁹ by Gangārāma¹⁰ and one anonymous¹¹

1 *Keth, LS*, 220 For quotations in anthologies, see Thomas, *Kav* 122 The Kavirāja mentioned in the memorial verse quoted on page 345 *supra* is therefore the same as Dhoyi This dispels the suspicion of the identification of that Kavirāja with the author of the Rāghavapāṇḍaviya Gavan is a Hindustani title for a learned musician Kavirāja is the Sanskrit title of an excellent poet, versed in different languages

दन्तिव्यूह कनकलतिकां चामर हेमदण्ड यो गौडेन्द्रादलमत कविश्चाश्रुता चक्रवर्ती ।

श्रीधोयीक सकलरसिकप्रीतिहेतुर्मनस्वी काव्य सारस्वतमिव महामन्त्रमेतज्जगद ॥

Pavanaduta, 101.

2 Ed Calcutta See also *JASB*, (1906) 41, *HPR*, I 227

3 This is referred to in Prapṇocāḍirpaṇa of Venkatakavi Śūryabhauma (*TC*, III 4094) See Kuppusami Sastri's *Rep* (1916 19), 86

4 Referred to as a playwright in Daśarupa (Ed by Hall, 80 note) *Keth, SL*, 204

5 Ed, Bombay See Sir William Jones's Works, XIII 4036 Colcbrooke's *Mss Essays*, II 74, Wilson's *Pref to Dictionary*, xxxi

6 अतिपूजिततारिय दृष्टिश्रुतिलङ्घनक्षमा सुतनु ।

जिनसिद्धान्तस्थितिरेव सवामना क न मोहयति ॥

Here on the pretence of describing the beauty of a maiden's eyes, the poet denounces Jainism

7 सकलकला कल्पयितु प्रभु प्रबन्धस्य कुमुदबन्धोश्च ।

सेनकुलतिलकभूषतिरेको राकाप्रदोषश्च ॥

The explanation of the commentator on this verse that the king alluded to was Pravarasena of Kashmir is obviously wrong See Peterson's *Int. to Subh*, 88.

8 *PR*, II No 79, *IOC*, VII 1527

9 Ed, Benares *Tamr Cal*, VII, 2981, *IOC*, VII, 1527.

10. *Oudh*, (1877), 16,

11. *TC*, III, 4115.

The name of the work seems to have suggested itself from Hāla's *Saptasatī*¹

Among similar works are *Sṅgārasaptasatī* (anonymous) (*BTC*, 164, *DC*, XX 8015), *Āryāsaptasatī* of Viśveśvara, son of Lakṣmīdhara (Printed Bombay, *DC* XX 8011), and *Sṅgārasaptasatī* by Paramānanda, son of Vrajaçandra, composed in 1869 (Ed Benares), *Āryādvīsāṭī* by Dūrvasas (*Opp* II 4487, 8163, 8119), *Ārvātrisatī* by Sāmarāja Dikṣita (Printed, Bombay), *Āryātrisatīmuktaka* or *Rasikarāñjana* of Vrajarāja (Printed, Bombay), *Sivadaśāsahasra* by Nṛsimha (*Mys OML*, 258), and *Sivapādakamalareṇusahasra* by Sundarēśvara (*Ibid*), *Srī Kanthātrisatī* (*Mys* 8)

306 Umapatidhara was the minister of King Lakṣmaṇasena. The story goes that to restrain the king from a scandalous alliance with a Māṅgaṅī, the poet wrote some verses, indirectly hinting at the disgrace. The king was displeased and dismissed the minister. Sometime later, he noticed the poet wandering in the street in rags and when he addressed him another verse, the king repented and restored him to his favour.² His *Kṛṣṇacarita* probably gives the life of Kṛṣṇa.³ His

1 Ed. Bombay No 21 (with Gangadhara's commentary). This is a piece of most exquisite poetry. It is said that the real author was Śrīpālīta, a poet of the court of Hāla. *हालेनोत्तमपूजया कविवृषश्चापिलितो ललित* (see para 21 note *supra*). See Durgaprasad's *Int*, Weber's *Essay on the Saptasatī of Hala* with prose German Translation (Leipzig), Bhau Daji's *Essay on Śāṭavāhana*, Princep's *Essays*, II 1544 I.A., XII 214 Buhler, *IA*, I 807, Peterson *Int to Kadamba* (*BSS*, 24, 74), T. Rajagopala Rao (*South Indian Research*, I 225) identifies Śāṭavāhana with Śāṭavāhana, S. Konow's *Int to Karpuramanjarī* (*HOS*, 192), Macdonell (*SL*, 844), says it is a rich treasury of popular Indian lyrical poetry. Bhandarkar, *MHD*, 171, Mandlik, *JBRAS*, X 127, V, Smith (*ZH* 208) gives the date of Hāla, as the 17th Andhra king, about 80 B.C. T. S. Narayana Sastrī (*Saṅkara*, Part I D, 98) says he was the 18th King of the dynasty and son of Ariṣṭa Śāṭakarni and assigns him to Yudhisthira era 1644-1649 (495-490 B.C.). To this Hāla he ascribes the patronage of Kālidāsa I, the author of the three dramas and relies on the Śaṅkaravijaya of Citsukha and Jagaḍgururājanamālikā of Sarasvatī to say that Āḍi Śaṅkara was his contemporary. The name Hāla is synonymous with Sāla, Śāṭavāhana, Śālavāhana. The are commentaries on *Saptasatī* by Gangādhara, Premarāja, Bhuvanapāla, Piṭāmbara, Sādhārāṇadeva, Kulabalaḍeva (*PR*, III ap 396, *CC*, I 151) and Vemabhūpāla (*TC* IV. 5066). Hāla is said to be the patron of Guṇādhya. For several recensions, see Melkote Swami's *Int to Śṅgārasaprakāśa*.

2 See Rājasekara's *Prabhanhācamāṇī*, (Tawney's Translation, 181, 188), Farquhar, (*ORL*, 806, 878) says Umāpatidhara was a contemporary of Viḍyāpati at Tirhut of the 15th century A.D. See *JBRAS*, XXXIV, 142, and *ZDMG*, XL, some poems in Maithili are published in *JBRAS*, XLIII 76, B. Chatterjee, *Padāvālī Literature* (*JL*, of Dep of Letters, Calcutta Univ. XVI. 44).

3. It is mentioned in *Prapancasāraṇa* (*TC*, III 4094)

PARIJATAPAHARANA¹ is a short drama and contains musical pieces Nārada presented a Pārijāta flower to Kṛṣṇa and this he gave to Rukmīṇī. Satyabhāmā grew jealous and when Kṛṣṇa sent word to Indra for some more, they were refused. Kṛṣṇa with Arjuna as his lieutenant went to war, defeated Indra and brought the flowers.

Umāpatidhara composed the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena,² and his verses are quoted in Saduktikarmāmṛta and Sūktumuktīvalī. Śarana called also Cīrṇaśarana is quoted in Saduktikarmāmṛta.

There are *poems* on the same theme by Kavirāja (see para 87 supra), by Nārāyaṇa (see para 214 supra), by Raghunātha (see para 146 supra, *DC* XX, 7848, XXI, 8397), a *cambū* by Śeṣakṛṣṇa (*Bh* 256, *CC*, I 335) and *plays* by Gopāladāsa³ (*CC*, I 335) by Kavicandrodaya and by Kumārataṭācārva called Caturvedī Śaṭakṛatū (*CC*, II 2374, *SIH*, 254).

307 Amarukasataka In his visit to Mithismati, Śankara encountered Mandana and sought a controversy. Mandana's wife was Bhārati, an incarnation of Sarasvatī. They set her as their umpire and after a long interval Mandana acknowledged defeat and became an ascetic adopting the tenets of Śankara. Then Bhārati "begged the favour of a controversy with herself, for Śankara had as yet defeated but one half of Mandana, herself being the other half. He objected to arguing with women, but she quoted precedents. So, as before, the disputation went on for seventeen days. Bhārati trying to discomfit Śankara passed from one Śāstra to another, and finding at last that she could not inflict a defeat on him in any other science she resolved to humble him by means of the Science of Love or Kama-śāstra. Now Śankara had not had the experience needed to answer questions on this science, and so found that his reputation as well as the consequent victory of his cause was at stake. So he begged of her an interval of one month for preparation to meet her in argument, which being allowed, he went to the banks of Narmada, and in the hole of a tree in some forest there he left his body in hiding and asked some of his

1. *JBORS*, III 20 98, Ed. Grierson with translation by Aufrecht (*CC*, I 885) says it was written in the reign of Hindupati Hariharadeva. Grierson says that Umāpati lived at the Court of Hansimhaḍeva of Mithila, whom Umāpati calls Hariharadeva.

2. *ET*, I 807 11

3. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, author of the drama Śānandā Govindā (*CC*, I 707; *Levi*, app. 81) and Gopālārāya, author of the bhāṣya, Śṛṅgārārāja and Śṛṅgāramanjari (*CC*, II 168, 160) are different.

disciples to keep watch over it while the living soul was away from it. Then by means of his *Jogi* powers he separated his soul from that body and luckily came upon the dead body of a King Amaruka, which was about to be committed to flames, and entered it. The king rose and all the town rejoiced. However, in a short while, the ministers as well as the queens of the late king found some things extraordinary about their restored sovereign and suspected that the soul of some Mahatman had come to live in the body of their master. So messengers were secretly sent to search for a human body hidden in lonely spots or caves, and to burn when found, so that the Mahatman might remain with them and the king continue to live long time. Meanwhile Sankara in the body of the king was acquiring the experiences of love with his queens and was recording those experiences in a treatise which has come down to us under the name of *Amaruka-sataka*. And in the midst of these lovely women and their blandishments, he forgot his promise to his disciples about his going back to them, and the month agreed upon soon passed away. The disciples then began to search for him, and hearing the miraculous resurrection of Amaruka, they went to his city, sought audience with the king, and sang a few philosophic songs which at once roused the memory of Sankara. Then they hastened to the place where the body had been secreted. But by this time the messengers of the king had found it out and had just begun to set fire to it. The unattached soul of Sankara now hastened back and entered his own body in this perilous condition. He then prayed to Vishnu conceived as Nṛsiṃha to help him, which he did by sending down a timely shower of rain that put out the flames. Sankara was now in his own body again.”²

Apart from the merit of this story, the graces of Amaruka's conception and expression are unique. Vāmana and Ānandavardhana quote the verses and that is a worthy recognition of its quality and its age.³

308 The poem is a *sataka* or century, but the four recensions have only 51 verses in common, these are the texts used by Rāmarudra, Ravicandra, Arjunavarman and Vemabhūpāla.⁴ Each verse depicts the

1 O V Krishnasami Iyer, *Sankaracarya*, 45

2 CC, I 27, II 5, 187, III 7. R Simon, *Das Amarukasataka*, Keil, *ZDMG* XLIX 577, Macdonell, *SL*, 342, *SR*, II 47

3 Aufrecht (*ZDMG*, XXVII 7) says “The form *Amaru* owes its origin to the desire to make a good Sanskrit word of the name, the form *Amaru* is more easily handled. Only the verses written in the *Sardulavikṛidita* metre appear to have formed the original collection. Some of the verses attributed to *Amaru* (in the *Sarangadhara* *paddhati*) are not in the present very incorrect editions. On the other hand we find other verses which in the Indian editions are ascribed to this poet, in our manuscripts of the *Sarangadharapaddhati* either given anonymously or ascribed to a different author.”

condition of the Nāyikā in a particular mood towards her Nāyaka "The Sataka" says Keith "is essentially a collection of pictures of love, and it differs from the work of Bhartrihari in that, while Bhartrihari deals rather with general aspects of love and women as factors in life, Amaru paints the relation of lovers, and takes no thought of other aspects of life. Possibly if the reference to the purpose in the title in the manuscripts has any value he may have planned illustrating other sides of life, but that is idle conjecture and we have sufficient cause to be grateful to him for what he has given us without seeking more. The love which Amaru likes is gay and high spirited, delighting in tiny tiffs and lovers' quarrels but ending in smiles, the poet hardly ever contemplates the utter disappearance of love."¹

There are commentaries² by Arjunavarman³ by Kokasambhava,⁴ by Seṣarāmaśrī,⁵ by Caturbhujamisra,⁶ by Nandatilā,⁷ by Rudramadeva,⁸ Ravicandra,⁹ by Rāmarudra,¹⁰ by Vemabhūpāla,¹¹ by Sūrvadāsa,¹² by Sankarācārya,¹³ by Venkatavaiada,¹⁴ by Hariharabhatta,¹⁵ by Deva-sankarabhatta,¹⁶ by Gosthīpūreṇḍra,¹⁷ and two others anonymous¹⁸ Jñānānanda Kalādharaśena explains the verses in the senses of love and renunciation.¹⁹

1. Keith, *SL* 183, where he gives a fine exposition of the poet's plan of the poem and conception. See Peterson *Int. to Subh.* 2 and Thomas's *Int. to Kav.* 22

2. See *CC*, I 27, II, 5, 187, III, 7, *Mys. OVL* 242, *CAL*, II 2

3. Ed. Bombay by Durgaprasad with a valuable introduction. King Arjunavarman was the son of Subhatavarman. He ruled about a.d. 1267 (1211 AD). See for inscriptions, *JASB* V 378, *JAOS*, VII, 32, 25. For verses in the anthologies, see Peterson's *Int. to Subh.* He refers to poet Madana who was his guru as an author on rhetoric.

4. *CAL*, II 2

5. *Int.* by Durgaprasad, I 8 3

6. *Oudh* (1877), 16

7. *PR*, III 398

8. *CC*, III 7

9. *Oudh*, XVI, 54. See *SKC*, 277

10. *CC*, I 28 *IOC*, VII 1520

11. *DC*, XX 7978, 7981, *Tanj. Cat.* VII, 2914-26, *TC* III 2706, 2718. Vema is the hero of Vāmana's *Vīraṇḍīyāṇṇarīṭa*.

12. *CC*, II, 5

13. *Tanj. Cat.*, VII 2907-13.

14. See *DC*, XXI 8573

15. *CC*, I 28

16. *CC*, II 5

17. *CAL*, II, 2

18. *CC*, I 28, *IOC*, 711

19. Printed, Calcutta. *Oudh*, XIX, 40, *SKC*, 66.

309 Rtusamhara¹ in six cantos is a short poem of 153 verses of various metres ascribed to Kālidāsa,² descriptive of the six seasons of the year "With glowing appreciation of the beauties of Nature, in which erotic scenes are interspersed, the poet adroitly interweaves the expression of human emotions"

On the question whether Kālidāsa was the real author of this poem, opinion is divided.³ Among arguments advanced for the negative are that Mallinātha did not comment on it and rhetoricians did not quote from it. Keith answers the argument, thus: "More deplorable still are some of the æsthetical arguments adduced, complaint is made that the poet begins with the summer whereas the spring was the usual beginning of the year forgetting that Kalidasa was not composing an almanac or writing a Shephard's calendar. Again, heart or its derivatives (tap) is found seven times in Canto I as if this did not accord with summer, as does eagerness (samutsukata) with the rains and longing (utkantha) with autumn. The poet is censured for asserting that the swans excel maidens in beauty of gait and the branches rob their arms of loveliness, later, he was not guilty of such discourtesy. He mixes a metaphor in speaking of clouds as having the lightning as creeper, as we have seen, Vatsabhattacharya borrows the phrase, and exploits two other verses of the poem, proving its antiquity and rendering most probable its authorship. It is objected that he uses here only the construction amulatah, in lieu of the ablative, though equally once only in the Kumarasambhava he has amekhalam, the freshness and liveliness of the several verbal forms (u 19) is unparalleled and therefore, not by Kalidasa. Even the lack of developed use of figures of speech is adduced against him, and the

1 Printed everywhere. Ed. with commentary of Manirāma by Durgaprasad with commentary by Gajendragadkar, Bombay, with commentary of Venkatasārya and notes and English translation by M P Kale, Bombay, with notes and English translation by B G Kher, and also by Sitarama Ayyar, Bombay. Tr. into Latin and German by Böhlen, Leipzig. Ed. by Herman Kreyenbourg, Hanover with preface by Sir William Jones.

2 For a short account of the work see Macdonell, *SL* 387-9, *Studies of Rtusamhara*, Karmoyagin Journal, Apte's *Age of Kalidasa*, 85. Vrajārāja's Sadṛṣṭu-varṇana describes the seasons (Printed Bombay). So does Śiśirarṣṭuvarṇana (*CC*, I 655).

3. It is not Hariband, *Kalidasa*, 240¹, Walker, *Indica*, III 6, Nobel, *ZDMG*, LXVI 275, *JRAS* (1918), 401. It is Macdonell, *SL*, Keith, *SL*, 82, *JRAS*, (1912) 1066, (1918) 410, Hillebrandt *Kalidasa*, 66, Strenzl, *ZDMG*, XLIV 33, Arabinda Ghose, *Kalidasa's Seasons*, Madras.

4. *SL*, 82

use of samhara in the title has been questioned as unique Poets happily do not feel themselves bound to be parrots " In dealing with the date of Kālidāsa¹ it was pointed out how wide the divergence is among scholars and so long as standard of taste and judgment differs in nature, it is not possible to assert the infallibility of any conclusion, until and unless something certain is discovered to support a view It is again a matter for inquiry whether the works foisted on the name of Kālidāsa are not really the works of different Kālidāsas and whether lapse of time has not tended to ignore the difference in identity² It is likely the work of Kālidāsa III or Kotijit

Śrngārātilaka³ is another poem "of Kalidasa" in 23 verses of fine sentiments of love and affection⁴

Puṣpabānavilāsa⁵ is a piece of fine fancies and lyrical beauty Though ascribed to Kālidāsa, the real author was Arkabhatta, the writer of Sāhityakaumudī⁶ There are commentaries on it by Venkatapanditarāya,⁷ and by an unknown author called Śrngāra-candrikā⁸

Besides the poems Durghatakāvya-uttrakā,⁹ Duskaramāla,¹⁰ Citraganacandrikā (in praise of Devi and of exquisite grace)¹¹ and Bhramarāstaka,¹² and Śrutabodha on prosody,¹³ Aufrecht mentions the following works under Kālidāsa's [name Ambāstava, Kālīstoṭra, Laghustava, Vidyavinodakāvya, Brndīvanakāvya, Śrngārasāra, Gaṅgāstaka, Mangalāstaka, Candikāṇḍakastōtra¹⁴

1 See para 13 *supra*

2 See para 24 *supra*

3 Ed everywhere, Ed by Gildemeister, Bombay and in *Haberlin*, 14, See Keith, *SL*, 199

4 For instance, पयोधराकारधरो हि कन्दुक करेण रोषादमिह्न्यते मुहु ।

5 Ed Bombay and elsewhere.

6 See *PR*, VI

7 *TC*, III 3719, 4171

8 *TC*, II 1356

9 Printed Kāvyaakalāpa, Calcutta

10 There is a manuscript in the Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras There is a commentary on it by Durgayya, alias Sumhaswāmi, son of Vāsudeva of Śāthamaraganagoṭra of about the 18th century A D.

11 *Mys Cat*. It is quoted by Abhinavagupta in his commentary on *Pratyabhijñānastōtra*, and Dāvarāṭhi in his commentary on *Dhivānyalokalocana*.

12 *CAL*, II 8

13 Ed, everywhere, by M E. Lancelotti, Paris.

14, *OC* I 99,

310 Damodaragupta was the famous poet of the court of King Javāpīda of Kashmir who ruled between 751-732 A D¹. He was that king's constant companion. His *Kuttinimata* or *Sambhālimata* is an amusing work on erotics of peculiar interest². The scene is laid at Benares, a city where even courtesans by their ornaments (*candra*) and troops of attendant lovers (*bhujanga*) attain likeness to Siva. A gentle courtesan of that city, *Mālaṭī*, once heard from the terrace of her house, an *āryā* sung by chance, directing women to acquire the art of pleasing lovers. Then she sets off to the house of *Vikarālā*, a woman, the reverse of beautiful, and from her learns 'wonderful ways of beguiling the hearts of men'. The work is full of stories in illustration and is a practical treatise in the art. For instance, the whole story of *Ratnāvalī* is summed up. *Dāmodaragupta* is a loveable author and never misses a place in the anthologies.

311 Jagannātha³ was the son of *Perubhatta* and *Lakṣmī*. He was a *Talinga* of the *Veginatī* sect of the village *Mungunda*, in *Godavari District*. His family name was *Upadrasta*. He studied poetry and rhetoric under his father and logic and grammar and other sciences under *Jñānendra Bhikṣu*, *Maheśācārya*, *Khandadeva* and *Seṣavireśvara*, at *Banares*. He was entertained at the court of Emperor *Shah Jehan* (1628-1638 A D) and *Prince Dara* was his favourite patron⁴. Tradition says he fell in love with a lady of the *Muslim Court* and had secret intrigues with her, she was dead and her separation caused his retirement. He spent the rest of his life in

1 स दामोदरगुप्तस्य कुट्टिनीमतकारिणम् । कवि कविं बालरिव धुर्यं धीसन्निव व्यधात् ॥

Raj. IV 496

See *Vaidya's Med. India*, 202-241. The initial date is given by *S P Panait* and *M Dutt* as 747 and 749. See under *Bhavabhūti* and *Udbhatta post*. On *Dāmodaragupta*, see *Peterson, Subh.*, 45, *PR*, I 65, II 28, IV xlv. *F W. Thomas, Kai* 46 where all verses quoted in the anthologies are collected. *Aufrecht, ZDMG.* XXVII, 95, XXXVI, 518. *CC*, I 251. *BR*, (1897), xxix.

2 Ed Bombay. For a fuller account, see *PR*, II 23-32. *Duttiprakāśa (NP, V 126)* is a work of similar theme.

3 (i) *Jagannātha*, son of *Nārāyaṇa*, author of the poem *Jñānavilāsa (BTC, 158)* (ii) *Jagannātha*, author of *Sarabharājavilāsa (BTC, 162)* (iii) *Jagannātha* author of poems *Śaśisena* and *Kīrtimuktāvalī (CASS, 195, 302, CC, III 182)* (iv) *Jagannātha* author of *Nṛamhasaṁjās (PR, V 575)*, (v) *Jagannātha Sena*, quoted in *Padyāvalī* (vi) *Jagannātha* author of *Śankaravilasācampu (CC, I 196)* (vii) *Jagannātha* author of *Vajreśvarikāvya (CC, I 196)* and (viii), *Jagannātha*, author of *Mānasamhākīrtimuktāvalī (Oudh, V 2)* are different.

4 दिल्लीवङ्गमपाणिपञ्चतले नीत नवीन वय

Muttra, where he died in 1674 A D ¹ It is said he desired an interview with Appayadikṣita, but the latter who was very orthodox refused to see him as he was a fallen outcaste This incensed him and the vent was his scathing criticism of Appayadikṣita's Citramīmāṃsa Apart from his proficiency in rhetoric,² his lyrics³ are charming and musical Amṛtalaharī was in praise of the Jumna, Lakṣmīlaharī in praise of Lakṣmī and Gangālaharī in praise of the Ganges ⁴ There are besides Karuṇālaharī, Sudhālaharī and Anyāpadeśa

Asaphvilāsa in prose is in praise of Nawab Asafkhan a counsellor of Shah Jehan who died in 1646 A D ⁵ Jagadābharaṇā⁶ is a poem describing the splendor of his patron Dara Shah Prānābharaṇa is a similar work in praise of king Prānānārāyaṇa of Kāmarūpa and abounds in ideas of wit and wonder and Yamunāvarṇanacampū is probably associated with the theological sanctity of the Jumna These are quoted in his Rasagangādhara

1 Acyuṭaroya in his commentary on Bhāmavinilāsa and O R Vaidya in his introduction of Bhāmavinilāsa describe these biographical allusions contained in the poems It is said his last verse was this

यवनी नवनीतकोमलाङ्गी शयनीये यदि लभ्यते कदाचित् ।

अवनीतलभेव साधु मन्ये न वनी माधवनी विनोदहेतु ॥

Suryanārāyaṇa Śāstri in his *Life of Sanskrit Poets* (Telugu) says that Jagannātha lived between 1575 and 1663 from the days of Emperor Akbar In the trial of a suit before the Emperor between two Mussalmans, Jagannātha was a visitor and though he did not know Persian, he was able to repeat at once the whole proceedings Akbar was struck by the young man's remarkable memory and asked him to describe his daughter Lavangī, a princess born of a Rajput queen, who was then passing that way with a pot on her head He gave out the verse with facile grace and when Akbar asked him what he wanted he desired the hand of Lavangī Akbar asked Jagannātha to dine with him as a condition of the alliance and this done he was wedded to Lavangī He lived down to the days of Shah Jehan and when his patron Dara was murdered in 1659 A D, he retired from court, went to Benares and after praising the Ganges in beautiful lyrics, he and Lavangī gave up their mortal coil in the waters of the Ganges.

2 See for an account of Jagannātha and his works, S K. De, *SP*, I 275 281.

3 Ed. Kāvyaṃālā, Bombay, Madras and Vizagapatnam, *CC*, I 196

4 Ed. Bombay with three commentaries There is another poem of the same nature Gangālaharīśataka by Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Kavi edited at Benares.

5 *CC*, I 196 There is from quotation for it in the introduction to Rasagangādhara (166)

6. Ed. Kāvyaṃālā, Bombay, with a gloss, *DC*, XX. 8071

Bhaminivilāsa¹ is by far the most known, being a collection of verses of isolated ideas meant mainly to teach the four Puruṣārthas and practical ethics. In four Ullāṣas of Anyokti, Śṛṅgāra, Karuṇa and Śānta, the work might be a collection of verses composed by the poet at stray intervals.²

312 Visvesvara was the son of Lakṣmīdhara and brother of Umāpati of the race of Rande of Almodha. Devesvara, eighth in descent, was said to be living thirty years ago at Anupasagar on the Ganges. He lived in the beginning of the 18th century.³

His writings are many and cover poetry, drama, poetics and dialectics.⁴ Rukminīpariṇaya⁵ is a nāṭaka. Navamālikā⁶ is a nāṭikā and Śṛṅgāramanjari,⁷ a sattaka (in prakṛt). Mandāramanjari⁸ is a romance in prose. Vakrojaśataka, Holikāśataka, Lakṣmīvilāsa, Sadṛṣṭavarṇana,⁹ Romāvalīśataka,¹⁰ and Āryāsataka,¹¹ are poems of lyrical merit. Āryāsaptasatī¹² is really a work on erotics of considerable poetic thought. Kavindrābharaṇa¹³ in four chapters is a Cītrakāya and contains verses of intricate composition. He wrote commentaries on Naisadha¹⁴ and Rasamanjari.

1. Ed. Bombay with the commentary of Acyuṭarāya Modak of Lakṣmīnaraṇya (with English Translation) *DC*, XX, 8085 with an anonymous gloss. For a notice of this work, see *JASB*, XXXI, 527, Keith's *SL*, 284. There is a commentary also by Maṇirāma (*IOC*, VII, 1526) composed in 1802 A.D.

2. मदीयपद्यरत्नानां मञ्जुषैषा कृता मया ।

3. (i) Viśveśvara quoted in *SKM*, (ii) Viśveśvara, author of *Camatkāracandrikā* a poem on Sarvaganaśabbhupāla (*TC*, III, 3818, *IOC*, VII, 1607, S.K. De, *SP*, 248), (iii) Viśveśvara, author of *Sāhityasāra* (*Opp*, 2728), (iv) Viśveśvara, commentator on *Candraloka*, are different authors.

4. See *OC*, II, 139, and *Kāvyamālā*, VIII, 52.

5. *Ibid*.

6. *DC*, XXI, 8411. It describes the amours of Vijayasena of Avanti with *Navamālikā*.

7. *PR*, IV, 31. See *Kāvyamālā*, VIII, 52.

8. Mentioned in *Kāvyamālā*, VIII, 52.

9. *Ibid*.

10. Printed *Kāvyamālā*, Bombay.

11. *DC*, XX, 8010.

12. *DC*, XX, 8011. Printed, Benares.

13. Printed, *Kāvyamālā*, Bombay.

14. *TC*, III, 3905, *Tanj Oat*, VI, 2556. See *TC*, III, 3948, where he is called Sarvajna.

313 JAGANMOHANA,¹ an anthology in 66 verses, describes the attraction and qualities of women of different castes and countries and in different attitudes and activities

314 Among LARICAT poems are the following

Candrāvalī (*Lipsig* No 448), Candrodāyavarnana (*BTC*, 158), Candralaksmoprekṣāsataka by Narahari (*Printed*, Bombay), Kucasataka by Ātreya Śrīnivāsa (*DC*, XX 7893), Mṛgāṅkasatikā and Manovālabhikā by Kavikāṅkara (*DC*, XX 8008, *Uttar* 945, 948), Kucapancāsika by Vṛttamañi Śrīnivāsa (*Mys OML* 224), Śṅgārakandukī (*Gough*, 106), Rasavāṭīśataka by Dharmādharma (*CC*, I 496), Virahimodasudhā (*Mys OML* 11), Virahimanovimoda by Vināyaka (*CC*, I 578), Śṅgāramanjari by Rāyamanohara (*HR*, III No 1825), Sumanoranjana by Śrīnivāsa (*HR*, III 1726, *C II*, II 16), Kekīvalī by Mayūrapant (*Kh* 40), Madhuvārnana by Keli (*Kh* 75), Kuchirahasya by Vidyādharma Kavirāja (*CC*, I 125), Candikucapancasati by Lakṣmanācārya (*Printed*, Bombay), Śṅgārasarasī by Bhāvanusra (*CC*, I 661), Rasasarvasva by Viṭṭhala (*CC*, I 496), Rādhāsudhākara (*Opp* 6168), Rasikaranjana (i) by Rāmacandra composed in 1524 (*Printed*, Bombay) and (ii) by Raghunātha (*HR*, III No 1887), Rasabhūṣana (*Mys OML* 265), Śṅgārasataka (i) by Narahari and (ii) by Janārdana, (iii) by Vrajalāla (*Printed*, Bombay), Rasikajivana of Arjunavarmaśrīdeva (*B II* 100), Rasikabhūṣana (*Opp* 5145), Aisvaryakūḍambinī of Vidyābhūṣana (*CC*, I 574), Rangatūranginī of Śivarāmabhaṭṭa (*CC*, I 645), Śṅgārāmṛtalahari of Sāmarāja Dīkṣita (*Printed*, Bombay), Śṅgārakalikā (i) by Kāmarāja, (ii) by Hari (*Printed*, Bombay), Śṅgārasārasaṅgraha by Śambhudāsa (*CC*, II 158), Śṅgārasūra by Kālidāsa (*Opp*, II 6614), Śṅgārasamandana (*Printed*, Madras), Śṅgūnatatini by Bhaṭṭācārya (*BRI*, 76), Ānandamandākinī by Madhusūdanasarasvatī (*Printed*, Bombay), Śṅgārātilaka (i) by Kālidāsa and (ii) by Gāḍābhaṭṭa (*CC*, I 660), Śṅgārakallola by Royabhaṭṭa (*PR*, VI, 28), Śṅgāramānjari by Mānakavi (*CC*, II 158), Śṅgāramālā by Sukālmisra composed in 1745 A D (*CC*, II 178), Śṅgārakauṭūhala by Lālāmañi (*SKC*, 75, 293), Pramodalaharī (*PR*, V 358), Vidvanmodataranginī by Rudrasimha (*Mys OML* 257), Kavītāmṛtalakṣa by Gauramohana (*DC*, XX 8024), Śṅgārārasodaya by Rāmakavi, son of Rāmakṛṣṇa of Kūśyapagotra (about 1550 A D) Śṅgārāvilāsa by Vāgbhaṭṭa and Śṅgārakosa (*Opp*, 6247), Sarasvativilāsa and Devyāryāśūṭaka of Ramaṇapaṭi (*CC*, I 493),

CHAPTER XIII

SECTION I

Sandesa

315 Sandesakavya A popular species of lyrical poetry is Sandesākāvya or Dūtākāvya. In the Rg Veda (X 108) Sarama, a dog, was sent as a messenger to the Pāṇis. In the Purāṇas and Rāmāyaṇa, we have the message Rāma of through Hanūman, of Yudhisthira through Kṛṣṇa, and of Nala through the swan. The idea of Rāmā's message was the source of Kālidāsa's inspiration and to him the credit is due of the creation of Sandesākāvya. His Meghasandesā makes the allusion

इत्याख्याते पवनतनय मैथिलीबोन्मुखी सा

Kālidāsa had to justify the use of inanimate objects as messengers of love by the distracted condition of the lover's mind. Bhāmaha found fault with such impropriety and when he particularly instanced the employment of cloud, wind, moon, bee or parrot, it was as if by his time other poems of this type had been popular, though we are not now able to point to any such poem by name.³ Bhavabhūṭi in his Mālajīmādhava copied the Meghasandesā.⁴

316. Ghatakarpara³ It may be that Ghatakarpara conceived this idea earlier. In his small poem going by his name,⁴ he describes the sad plight of a bereaved lady and her appeal to the morning clouds to convey his condition to her distant lover. Ghatakarpara

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1. अयुक्तिमद्यथा दूता जलभृन्मासतेन्दवः ।
तथा भ्रमरहारीतचक्रवाकशुक्रादयः ॥
अवाचो युक्तवाचश्च दूरदेशविचारिणः ।
कथं दूत्यं प्रपद्येरमिति युक्त्या न युज्यते ॥
यदि चोत्कण्ठया यत्तदुन्मत्त इव भाषते ।
तथा भवतु भूस्नेद सुमेधौभिः प्रयुज्यते ॥ I, 42-44.

2. देवात्पश्येर्जगति विचरन्निच्छया मत्प्रिया चेत् ।
आश्वास्यादौ तदनु कथये माधवीयामवस्थाम् ॥

3. For the identity of Bhāsa and Ghatakarpara, see under Bhāsa post.

4. Printed everywhere.

was one of the nine gems of Vikramāditya's Court. The name seems to be a cognomen attributed to him from the last verse of his poem where he vows that to him who could excel him in Yamaka he would bear pots of water.³ The self-praise is well deserved and his poetry in spite of the Yamaka is free and exquisite.² The High estimation in which he has been held is seen by the commentaries that have been written on it [of whom the great Abhinavagupta was one⁴], by Bharatamallika,⁵ by Sankara,⁶ by Īrācandra,⁷ Jñananda,⁸ Govardhana,⁹ by Kamalākara,⁹ by Kucalakavi, by Vaidyanātha, by Vindhyaesvarīprasāda,¹⁰ and other anonymous.¹¹

His Nītisāra is a short didactic poem in 21 verses in the form of a dialogue between a hog and a lion. The ideas are amusing.¹²

Madana's Kṛṣṇalīlā was composed in Sam 1680 (1624 A.D.) It has verses consisting of two pairs of rhyming lines, one of the lines being taken from Ghatakarpara, so that four consecutive verses of this poem have an entire verse of Ghatakarpara.¹³

317 Meghasandesa or Meghaduta A Yaksha, employed under Kubera, the Lord of Alaka, is banished from Kailāsa for

1 अलम्ब्य वाम्बु तृषित करकोशपेय भगवानुक्त्वनितामुरतैश्शपेयम् ।

जीयेय येन कविना यमकै परेण तस्मै वहेयमुदकं वटकर्परेण ॥

2 For instance,

निचित समुपेत्य नीरदै विह्वलीनाहृदयान्नीरदै ।

सलिलैर्निहित रत्न-स्त्रिलौ रत्नचन्द्राविव नोपलक्षितौ ॥

3 CC, I, 174

4 *Mitra*, IX No 8172 Manuscript is dated Śaka 1650

5 *DC*, XX 7919

6 *DC*, XX 7920.

7. Printed, Calcutta

8 Ed Bombay

9. Gough, *Records*, 87.

10 *CC*, I 174

11. *CC*, I, 174, *Tam Cat*, VI 2719, 2728, 2726, 2728

12 *Haberman*, 504 See Jacobi's *Ramayana*, 126, Keith SL 300

13 *FOC*, VII 1261

For instance,

निचित समुपेत्य नीरदै वसुदेवे हरिवाक्यनिरदै ।

रचित फणिभूजाननै. उपरिच्छतमभ्रसिकावने ॥

dereliction of duty, away from his consort and his home¹ In his rambles, he makes his abode in Rāmagiri in Central India, a spot whereof the waters are "sanctified by the baths of the daughter of Janaka" On the approach of the season of the rains the pangs of the forlorn lover become intenser and with a maddened mind he thinks of his beloved and fancies her in a like condition of despair Then dawns the idea of sending her a message of affection and solace He espies a cloud hanging by the peak of the hill, bound as it were northward, and begins the request with a praise He takes it that the cloud made a response He describes the route from Rāmagiri to Alaka with cities and shrines and rivers, amidst sylvan scenes with allusions to tales of mythology, for which the Hindu has a fascination

Ujjain must not be missed, though it may be a little out of the way

वक्र पन्थास्तव भवतु च प्रस्थितस्योत्तराक्षा
सौधोत्सङ्गप्रणयविमुग्धो मा च भूरुज्जयिन्या ।
विद्युद्दामस्फुरितचकितैस्तत्र पौराङ्गनाना
लोलापाङ्गैर्यदि न रमसे लोचनैर्वञ्चितोऽसि ॥

Nor must the cloud fail to console the emaciated (stream)
Nirvindhya, pining for its showers

वेणीभूतप्रतनुसलिला सा त्वर्तातस्य सिन्धु
पाण्डुच्छायातटरुहतस्रञ्चिभिर्जीर्णैर्णै ।
सौभाग्य ते सुमग विरहावस्थया व्यञ्जयन्ती
कार्यं येन लजति विधिना स त्वयैवोपपाद्य ॥

On reaching the Hymālayas, the poet is full of devotion .

तत्र व्यक्त दृषदि चरणन्यासमर्धेन्दुमौले
शश्वत्सिद्धैरुपचितबलिं भक्तिनम्र शरीया ।

1 The source of the theme is now discovered to be the story of Aśādhakṛṣṇa Ekādaśī, Yoginī Māhātmyam A yakṣa Hemamālī neglected his duty of culling flowers for Mānasa lake and stayed away with his wife Viśālākṣī Kubera cursed him with the disease leucoderma and banished him In the Hymālayas Hemamālī met sage Mārkaṇḍeya and on his advice he observed Yoginī Vraṭa in the dark half of Āśāḍha and he was restored to health and home This is mentioned by K Lakshmana Somayajin in *Uḍyānapatrikā*, II 174

The shady bowers of the Mandākinī's shores present lovely scene

मन्दाकिन्यस्सलिलशिशिरैस्मेव्यमाना मरुद्भि-
र्मन्दाराणामनुतटरुहां छायाया वारितोणा ।
अन्वेष्टव्यै कनकसिकतामुष्टिनिक्षेपगूढै
सक्तीडन्ते मणिभिरमरप्रार्थिता यत्न कन्या ॥

The City of Alaka is reached Through the splendours of the
City, the cloud is taken to the residence of the Yakṣa, and the
presentation is enchanting

तन्मध्ये च स्फटिकफलका काञ्चनी वासयष्टि-
र्मूलेबद्धा मणिभिरनतिप्रौढवक्षप्रकाशे ।
तालैश्चिञ्जावलयसुमगैर्नर्तित कान्तया भे
यामध्यास्ते दिवसविगमे नीलकण्ठस्तुह्यद्र ॥
एभिस्साधो हृदयनिहितैलक्ष्णैर्लक्षयेथा
द्वारोपान्ते लिखितवपुषौ शङ्खपद्मौ च दृष्टवा ।

There the cloud would see Yakṣa's sweetheart in a state of lonely
thought and vacant look, and if perchance she was in slumber the cloud
had better not wake her up for fear of disturbing her in pleasant
dreams On the approach of the cloud she would have pleasant omens

वामश्यास्या कररुहपदैर्मुच्यमानो मदीयै-
र्मुक्ताजाल चिरपरिचित त्याजितो दैवगत्वा ।
सम्भोगान्ते मम समुचितो हस्तसवाहनानां
यास्यत्यूरुस्सरसकदलीस्तम्भगौरश्चलत्वम् ॥

For ever he has in his mental vision her fair frame and he says

श्यामासक्त चकितहरिणीप्रेक्षणे दृष्टिपात
वक्त्रच्छायां शशिनि शिखिना बर्हमारेषु केशान् ।
उत्पश्यामि प्रतनुषु नदीवीचिषु भूविलासान्
हन्तैकस्मिन् क्वचिदपि न ते चण्डि सादृश्यमस्ति ॥

To inspire confidence in Hanūmān, Rāma mentioned the incident
of the Tīlaka

मनश्चिलायास्तिलको गण्डपार्श्वे निवेशितः ।
त्वया प्रनष्टे तिलके त किल स्मर्तुमर्हसि ॥

and Yakṣa gives here a parallel .

भूयश्चाह त्वमसि क्षयने कण्ठलग्ना पुरा मे
निद्रा गत्वा किमपि रुदती सखर विप्रबुद्धा ।
सान्तर्ह्रास कथितमसकृत् पृच्छतश्च त्वया मे
दृष्टस्त्वप्ने कितव रमयन् कामपि त्व ममेति ॥

He remembers the words of Sītā

कल्याणी बत गाथेय लौकिकी प्रतिभाति मे ।
एति जीवन्तमानन्दो नर वर्षशतादपि ॥

and adds a word of consolation

इत्यात्मानं बहु विगणयन्नात्माना नावलम्बे
तत्कल्याणि त्वमपि नितरा मा गम कातरत्वम् ।
कस्यात्यन्त सुखमुपनत दु खमेकान्ततो वा
नीचैर्गच्छयुपरि च दशा चक्रनैमिकमेण ॥

Then follows the assurance of reunion. Here does the poet
commune the sensuous and the divine

शापान्तो मे भुजगचयनादुत्थिते शार्ङ्गपाणौ
शेषान् मासान् गमय चतुरो लोचने मीलयित्वा ।
पश्चादावां विरहगणित त तमात्ममिलाष
निर्वेक्ष्याव परिणतशरच्चन्द्रिकासु क्षपासु ॥

The poem ends with a word of thankfulness and benediction :

इष्टान् देवान् जलद विचरं प्रावृषा सम्मृत्तश्रीः
मामूदेव क्षणमपि च ते विद्युता विप्रयोगः ।

For lofty conception, artistic design, aesthetic sentiment, divine
idealism, delicate embellishment and graceful expression, the poem
stands supreme and it is a monument of poetic art in the architec-
ture of letters¹

1 Ed everywhere, Ed. with notes and translation (i) by K P Pathak, Poona, (ii) by B G Khare, Bombay, (iii) by S Ray, Calcutta, (iv) Ed with notes by G R Nandargikar, Bombay Ed with commentary by Haripada Chattopadhyaya, Calcutta Ed with vocabulary by Stenzer, Breslaw Tr into English verse by Wilson, London, and into German by Max Muller, Konigsburg and by Schütz, Bielefeld, For a critical appreciation by D. Pichayya Sastri, see *Andhrapatrika* Annual Number (1927) 100, and by B Venkatramayya, *Bharati* (1927), 22. See also M Rangaacharya's critique on Meghasandesā and A V Gopalacharya's *Sandesādhyaya-sārāśvadīnī* in *Udyanapatrika*, Trivadi

R. Krishnamacharya's *Meghasandesavimarsā* is a delightful discourse on the verses⁴⁰

1	<i>CC</i> , I 466	19	<i>Oudh</i> , XVII 14
2	<i>PR</i> , III 395.	20	<i>CC</i> , I 466
3	<i>PR</i> , III 395, VI 345	21	<i>Oxf</i> 125
4	<i>PR</i> , III 395, VI 346	22	Cambridge University Library.
5	<i>CC</i> , I 466	23	<i>PR</i> , I 128
6	<i>CC</i> , I 466	24	Printed, Calcutta
7	<i>CC</i> , I 466	25	<i>CC</i> , I 466
8	<i>PR</i> , III 19, App 324 Manuscript	26	Printed, Trivandrum
is dated	<i>Sam</i> 1406 VI 344	27.	Printed, Srirangam
9	<i>PR</i> , VI 344	28	Printed, everywhere.
10	<i>IO</i> , 415, 994	29	<i>Oxf</i> 125
11.	<i>CC</i> , I 466	30	<i>CC</i> , I 466
12	<i>IO</i> , 529 This mentions commen	31	<i>Tanj Cat</i> , VII 2685 He lived
tary by	Uḡyotakāra	in Benares	Manuscripts are dated <i>Sam</i>
13	<i>CC</i> , I 466	1656	
14	<i>Rise</i> , 23	32	Ed Calcutta.
15	<i>Oxf</i> , 125	33	Ed Calcutta.
16	Ed by Hultzsch, Madras. <i>PR</i> , II	34	Ed Calcutta
189		35	Ed Calcutta.
17.	<i>Oxf</i> , 125	36	<i>PR</i> , IV 28, 84
18	<i>NW</i> , 626,	37.	<i>IO</i> , 1516.
38	<i>PR</i> , III 19, App 324 He was son of Katukarāja and Anālādevi and of the		
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319 The tale of Meghasandesa stops with the direction to the cloud. Sequels have been thought of by later poets. Kṛṣṇamūrti, son of Sarvasāstrī of Vāsisthaśāstra of the Cīrcars, wrote *Yakṣollāsa*¹ at the beginning of the 17th century. He calls himself *Abhinava Kālidāsa* and wrote also a *bhāṇa* *Mādanābhyaśa*². *Mandikā Rāmasaśtrī* wrote *Meghapratīśandesa*³. *Korada Rāmacandra* wrote *Ghanavṛtta*⁴. *Mahā-mahopadhyāya Paramesvara Jha* of Mithila wrote *Yakṣaṃlānakāvya*⁵. *Bhatta Vamana's* *Hamsasandesa* embraces the same theme⁶.

320 The poetry of Meghasandesa is enchanting in the extreme, and not merely the theme, name and metre *Mandākrānta* were adopted,⁷ by many poets, but the lines of Meghasandesa were interwoven as part of their own verses, so as to make up *Samasyā*. *Meghavijaya* wrote *Meghadūṭasamasyālekha*⁸. So too are *Siladūṭa*,⁹ *Ceṭodūṭa*,¹⁰ *Nemidūṭa*¹¹. In *Nemidūṭa*, *Vikrama*, son of *Sangama*, describes the life of *Nemi* after his renunciation and the message of his queen through a mountain. In *Pārsvābhyaśa*,¹² *Jinasena* used a line or two of *Meghasandesa*. *Nīlakantha*, son of *Janāidana*, was a tutor to the harem of *Alahavirādīkhan* of the 17th Century A.D. He wrote *Cimanīcarīṭa*, with phrases taken by *Meghadūṭa*¹³.

321 In the hands of Jain poets this form of poetry took a religious turn. In conveying news to their preceptors in *VIJNĀPTIPATRA*, doctrines of philosophy were inculcated and explained and consistent with such fancies the messenger used became *cetas*, *manas*, *bhakti* and the like. *Siladūṭa* of *Cāntrasundaragaṇi* composed in 1431 A.D. describes,

1. *TO*, II 2066

2. *TO*, II 2073

3. Printed, Mysore. See para 89 supra.

4. Printed, Madras

5. Printed, Darbhanga

6. *DC*, XX 7972. See para 128 supra.

7. For such poems, see O. Chakravartī, *IHQ*, III 273, Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, LiV 616, Paper by E. V. Vīrarāghavācārya, *Vijānagaram*.

8. Printed, Bhojnagar

9. Printed, Benares

10. Printed, Bhojnagar

11. Printed, Bombay. *PR*, IV 25

12. Ed. Poona by K. P. Pathak with a valuable introduction, and Ed. Bombay with the commentary of Śrīyogirāj Panīṭīācārya of Śrāvān Belgola. *Jinasena's* brother was *Narendrasena* and the latter's disciple *Mallisena* wrote the poem *Nāgākumāra carīṭa* and *Mys Arch Rep* (1925) 12. On *Jinasena's* and *Guṇabhadra*, see *Int* to *Central Provinces Cat* xxiii, and also para 228 supra.

13. *CC*, I 189

sa's C. Cakravarthi, how "Sthulabhadra, a great Jain prince, renounced the world at the death of his father and became a disciple of the great Jain sage Bhadrabhanu, how the former, who came to his city by the order of his preceptor was not the least moved by the persuasive arguments put forward by his wife Kosa against the prudence of his taking the order and how in the long run, on account of the powerful influence of his immaculate character (sila) he was able to prevail upon his wife and persuade her to become a nun and thus put an end to all earthly sorrows and sufferings "

Merutunga of Anchalagaccha composed a Jain Meghadūta in four cantos on the life of Neminātha⁵. He became a Sūri in Sam 1426 (1472 A.D.) and studied under Mahendraprabhasūri. He lived till Sam 1471 (1527 A.D.)⁶

322 Some later poets similarly used this style of composition for ethical and philosophical teachings

In Kākadūṭa,⁷ a fallen brāhmin in prison sends a message to his beloved Kādambarī (drink), a satire on society meant to teach morals. In Indudūta the poet embodies a devotional message to Śrī Tāpa Gaṇapati from the city of Yodha⁸.

In Hamsasandesa⁹ (anonymous) a person disgusted with the world wanders in the forest and sends Hamsa as a messenger to Śiva in Dvādasānta and to Mukṭikanyā through the route satcakra.

Hamsayogin's Hamsadūta is a communication between Bhakṭi and Jīvātman¹⁰.

In another anonymous Hamsasandesa, "The outstanding features are the two-fold course, namely, the Adhyātmic and the Yogic which are in accordance with the significance of the name 'Hamsasandesa'. Among these, the Adhyātmic course is the attainment of Śivasayaṇa by a man who is dependent on the Prarabdha Karma and is consequently passing through worldly existence, after he is freed from all

1 Printed *Sri Yasovijaya Jain Granthamala*, Benares

2 He wrote also Śrikumārāpālamahākāvya and Mahipālacaṇṭa

3 Printed *Atm. Ser.* Bhownagar, with an elaborate introduction. There is a commentary of Śīlārāṇasuri, *PR*, IV 120. See Nandargikar's *Int. to Ragh.* 19 note.

4 Merutunga, author of *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, is a different poet (see para 119 supra)

5 *Sah.* XXIII 173

6 Printed, Bombay *JRAS*, (1884), 450

7 *TG*, IV 5042

8 The manuscript is said to be with the Raja of Chirakkal, Malabar

worldly bonds and his identity destroyed by faith, understanding, hearing, steadiness, tranquility, endurance and other kinds of austerity. The Yogic course is the mind's journey through various stages beginning with 'Susumna' up to 'Dvadasantendumandala' and its final repose along with Bhakti in the state of Amṛitayoga."¹

323 The following are other poems of this kind —

Uddhavadūta (a) by Rūpagoswāmin,² and (b) by Mādhava,³ Uddhava-sandesa, anonymous,⁴ Viprasandesa by Kochunni Tamburan,⁵ Subhagasandesa (a) by Lakṣmanasūri,⁶ and (b) by Nārāyaṇa,⁷ Pāṇthadūta by Bholanātha,⁸ Kṛṣṇadūta by Nṛsiṃha,⁹ Garudasandesa by Bellamkonda Rāmārāya¹⁰

Pavanadūta (a) by Vādicandra,¹¹ and (b) by Dhovi,¹² Vātadūta by Kṛṣṇanātha Nyāyapancānaṇa,¹³ Mārutasandesa (anonymous)¹⁴

Tulasīdūta by Vaidyanātha,¹⁵ Mānasasandesa by Vinjamūri Vīrārāghava,¹⁶ Manodūta,¹⁷ (a) by Vrajanātha, son of Ramakṛṣṇa,¹⁸ (b) by Viṣṇudāsa,¹⁹ (c) by Rāmārāma,²⁰ and (d) two anonymous,²¹ Madhurosth-

1. Printed *Trio Sansk Series* No 103. It is accompanied by a metrical commentary.

2. Printed, Haeblerlin, Bombay and Calcutta, DC, XX. 7910, 7968

3. *Ibid* SKC, 66. He lived in Talitanagarī about the beginning of 19th century.

4. Int. to the Jaina Meghadūta.

5. *JRAS*, (1900) 763. He lived at Kodangalur in Malabar.

6. Printed, Tanjore.

7. *JRAS*, (1884), 449. He was in the court of King Rāmavarman of Jayasimha and (1541-1547 A.D.)

8. *IO*, VII. 3890.

9. *OAL*, II. 4.

10. See para 289 *supra*.

11. Ed. Bombay. He wrote the play Jñānasūryodhaya on the tenets of Digambara sect. (*Jaina Granthavalī*).

12. Ed. Madras and Calcutta.

13. Ed. Bombay.

14. Printed, Madras.

15. Samskrta Sahitya Parishat Library, Calcutta.

16. *OML*, No 2964.

17. There is a Manodūtakāvya (*SKC*, 70, 287), a description of the relations between Jivātman and Paramātman.

18. Printed, Bombay. It was composed at Brundāranya in 1758 A.D. and is a message by Draupadī to Kṛṣṇa.

19. *IO*, VII. 1470. *Mitra*, II. 613. It is in Vasantvilāsa metre.

20. Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta, No. 1282. It is in Śikhariṇī metre.

21. *Jaina Granthavalī*, 332. *SKC*, 170, 287.

sandesa,¹ Padāṅkadūta (a) by Kṛṣṇasārvabhauma,² and (b) by Bhola-nītha,³ Bhaktidūta by Kālīprasāda⁴

Candradūt⁵ (a) by Kṛṣṇacandra⁶ (b) by Vinayaprabha,⁷ Indudūta (a) by Jambukavi or Jambunāga and (b) by Vinayavijayagani,⁸ Dāttyūhasandesa by Nārāyaṇa⁹

Kokilasandesa¹⁰ (a) by Varadācārya, son of Vedant desika,¹¹ (b) by Venkatācārya, son of Satakratu Tātārva,¹² (c) by Gunavardhana,¹³ (d) by Uddanda¹⁴ and (e) by Narasimha,¹⁵ Kokasandesa by Vinutrāta,¹⁶ and Raṭhāṅgadūta¹⁷

Hamsadūta by Raghunāthadāsa,¹⁸ Hamsasandesa (a) by Vedānta-deseka,¹⁹ (b) by Rūpagoswāmin,²⁰ (c) by Bhatta Vāmana,²¹ (d) by

1 Mys OML, 251

2 Printed Bombay and Calcutta He was in the Court of King Raghurāma of Nuddea and composed it in Śaka 1641

3 IOC, VII 1467

4 Mitra, III 27

5 HPR, II 158

6 BR, (1894), 354

7 PR, III 292, in Mālini metre with anṭya yamaka In BR (1907), the manuscript is dated Sam 1942 He wrote also Jinaśāṅka, PR, IV 90, V. List of Authors

8 Printed, Bombay

9 Cat Trav 195

10 Ed by W F Gunavardhana, New York.

11 This is mentioned in Guruparamparā (Mysore), 200, as also his Hariṣa sandeśa

12 Tanj Cat, VII 2868

13. See Ceylon Antiquary, IV pt. 111

14. See Cochin State Manual, 61, 72, Travancore State Manual, 480, DC, XX, 7469, 7910 This was in response to Bhṛṅgasandesa of Vāsudeva, DC, XX 7914, 7942. In CSC, 1101, Bhṛṅgasandesa (Bhramarasandesa) is noted as the work of Jīva goswāmi. There is a Bhṛṅgasandesa, printed in Sahridaya, XXIV, 57 See para 251 supra

15 CAL, II 5

16 TC, IV 4487

17 Printed, Mysore CAL, II 16.

18 DC Sen's Vangasahitya Paricaya, 850

19 Ed Madras and Mysore and recently by Sambasiva Sastri, Madras with commentary See para 121 supra There are several commentaries on it (i) by a disciple of Śrīnivāsa of Kauśikagorṭha (DC, XX 7974) (ii) by Parakāla Swāmi (Ed. Mysore) with a philosophical interpretation, and (iii) by Rengarājācārya (Ed. with English Tr and Notes)

20 Ed Bombay and Calcutta There are commentaries on it by Nṛsimha, Rāmaśankara and Viśvanātha Cakravartī See JRAS (1884), 450-1

21 DC XX, 7972 This is the same as Vāmana Bhatta Bāṇa

Vidyāvidhāna Kavindrācāryasarasvatī,¹ and (e) by Venkatesa², (f) by Pūrnasarasvatī,³ and (g) two others anonymous⁴

Pikasandesa (a) by Ranganāthācārya⁵ and (b) by Kocha Nara-simhācārya,⁶ and Pikadūta, anonymous⁷

Śūkasandesa⁸ (a) by Lakṣmīdāsa,⁹ (b) by Rangācārya,¹⁰ and (c) by Karingampalli Nambūdrī,¹¹ Kīradūta (a) by Rāmagopāla¹² and (b) by Varadācārya, son of Vedāntadesika,¹³ Bhramarādūta by Rudra Nyāya-vācaspati Bhāṭṭācārya,¹⁴ Cātakasandesa (anonymous),¹⁵ Cakorāsandesa (a) by Perusūri,¹⁶ (b) by Vāsudeva,¹⁷ (c) and by Venkatārkavi,¹⁸ Padmadūta,¹⁹ Mayūrasandesa (a) anonymous,²⁰ (b) by Rangācārya,²¹ and (c) by Śrīnī-vāsācārya²²

1. BTC 163 He was the author of Kavindrakalpadrūma and in his praise Kavindracaṇḍoḍaya was written CC, I 88

2 CC, I 758

3 See Int to *Triv Sans Series*, No 103

4 DC, XX, TC, IV 5042

5 Md. Sūrangam. He was son of Raghunātha of Royadurga of Śāthamarṣana goṭra. He lives at Tanjore. He was born in 1884 He wrote also Hanumatprasāda, goṭra and a play Premarājīyam, an adaptation of Vicar of Wakefield

6 Ed Tirupati He is son Śrīnīvāsācārya of Tirupati and a living poet of talent He also wrote Garudasandesa

7 The manuscript is in Chintaharan Chakravarti's private library

8 CAL, II, 16

9 DC, XX, 7964 There are commentaries on it by Dharmagupṭa (TC, II, 8925), by Gaurīdāsa (*Ibid.*, 1049), and by Mānaveḍa (DC, XX, 7964) It is a long poem in 13 chapters describing many parts of Malabar See JRAS, (1900) 763, (1884) 404 8 He lived in 10 and 11th cent A D and belonged to Karingampalli Ilom near Adoor in Cochin State.

10 *Rās*, 2250

11. *Opp.* 2721, 6241, JRAS, (1900) 763 It was composed in 1480 A D

12 JASB, (N S) I 41. *Notices*, II, Series I, No. 67. Sanskrita Sahitya Parishat Library, Calcutta He was probably in the Court of Rāmacandra of Nuddea.

13 This is mentioned in Guruparamparā, Mysore

14 HPR, II 153 CC, III, 112 He is different from the author of Bhāvavilāsa (Printed, Kavyamāla, II 111 Bhandarkar's List, No 71) There is another Bhramarādūta in Bikaner Library, see *Bik*, 229

15. JRAS, (1881), 451 The poet applies for the patronage of King Rāmaravarman of Malabar

16 This is mentioned in the prologue to his Vasumangalanātaka, DC, XXI, 8427 *Tanj Cal* VII, 2866 Author had title Navina Paṇṇajali

17 He was the author of Śivodaya etc The Ms is with M Ramakrishna Kavi.

18 Mys OML. 246

19 CASB, 102 Ed. Calcutta.

21 CAL, II 8

20. TC, IV 4296.

22 Printed, Madras.

CHAPTER XIV

Citrakavya

324. Citrakavya embraces all ingenious forms of poetic composition. Hemacandra says,

स्वरव्यञ्जनस्थानगत्याकारनियमच्युतगूढादि चित्रम् ।

The ingenuity is displayed in the arrangement of letters or in the combinations of letters, making different words or different senses. These are *śabdālankāra*, or verbal figures of speech. The figures that make up a *Citrakāvya* are *Anuprāsa*, *Yamaka* and *Śleṣa*.

325. ANUPRASA or Alliteration is of two classes, *Śabdānuprāsa* and *Paṇḍānuprāsa*, or Alliteration of Letters and Alliteration of Words. The former is of two kinds, *Cheka* and *Vitṭi*, meaning the repetition of a single consonant and two or more repetitions of one or more consonants. There is a special kind called *Lātānuprāsa* where the letters and sense are the same, but there is difference in *amāya* or syntactical relation.

326. YAMAKA is a permutation or reverberation of words called by some 'Chime'. It occurs when the same letter is repeated or when the same word is repeated with different meanings with a regularity in the places of repetition, the beginning, middle or end of the foot or the whole foot or all the feet or in alternative feet by alterations of caesura. Caesura are of three kinds. *Ś'nikhalā* occurs on the transference of the caesura by the separation of an entire letter, *Parvartaka*, on the resumption by a letter of its own form on the cessation of its conjunction with another letter; *Churnaka* on the disappearance of a word on the disruption of conjunct letters.

327. SLESA or pun is in letters or in words, *Sābdasleṣa* and *Arthasleṣa*. The latter occurs where the form does not vanish by a change in the position of words.

स्तोकेनोन्नतिमायाति स्तोकेनयात्यधोगतिम् ।

अहो सुसदृशी इतिस्तुलाकोटे. खलख च ॥

In the former a series of letters may or may not be split into different words to make different senses, *abhangā* and *sabhangā*.

खय च पल्लवाताम्रमासत्करविराजिता । (*Abhangā*)

ब्रह्मात्मसंन्येतास्वापन्नलुब्धोद्वेगितप्रदा । (*Sabhangā*)

328 Nitivarman wrote the poem *KĪCAKĀVADHĀM*. The poem is instanced by Premacandra in his commentary on *Kavyādharmasāra*, as a rare instance of a poem opening with āśīḥ or benediction. It is a favourite of Pandits of Bengal. It is mentioned by Bhoja in *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* and quoted by Namisādhū and Sarvānanda and several lexicographers. It was probably composed earlier than the 9th century A.D. In five cantos the poem describes the episode of the Kīcaka's assault on Draupadī and his assassination by Bhīma as told in *Virāṭaparvan* of *Mahābhārata*, but adopts only such parts of the narrative of the epic as suit the purpose of his poem, *śleṣayamaka*. "In the history of *Sabda-citra* in Sanskrit" it has been said "Kīcaka-vadha marks an important stage of development. Perhaps Nitivarman wrote this *yamaka-kāvya*, to illustrate the extent to which *yamakas* might be used as accessories in the delineation of a *rasābhāsa* like Kīcaka's *Śṛṅgāra*"¹. There is a commentary on the poem by Janārdanasena² probably of Bengal and an earlier gloss by Sarvānanda-Nāga³.

The benediction is in the name of Siva and Kṛṣṇa. "Then follows to the end of the first sarga, a eulogy of the poet's patron, whose name is not given, but who appears to have been a king of Kalinga, for whose delectation Nitivarman wrote his interesting tour de force in *yamaka* and *śleṣa*. The narrative does not commence till we come to sarga 11, which, like the first, fourth and fifth, is composed entirely in *yamaka*. The third sarga, which gives us Draupadī's long speech to Yudhishthira and his brothers, illustrates *śleṣa*, with occasional lapses into *yamaka* at the beginning and at the end. Considerable skill is displayed in managing these verbal tricks, and some of them are indeed very happy, and not in the least laboured, like those of *Nalodaya*"⁴.

329 Nalodaya, a short poem in 4 cantos, describes the life of Nala. "The chief aim of the author is to show off his skill in the manipulation of the most varied and artificial metres, as well as all the elaborate tricks of style exhibited in the later *Kavyas*. Rhyme even is introduced, and that, too, not only at the end of, but within metrical lines. The really epic material is but scantily treated, narrative making way for long descriptions and lyrical effusions."

1 यत्तु रसवन्ति कानिचिद्यमकादीनि दृश्यन्ते तत्र रसादीनामङ्गता यमकादीनामङ्गित्वैव । रसाभासे च अङ्गत्वमप्यविरुद्धम् ॥—*Dhvanyāloka*, p. 87.

2 Ed. by S. K. De, with an elaborate introduction and notes for the Dacca University. See also *JRAS*, (1929), 109.

3. *l. c. Int.* xxiv, 10, 1184.

4. Mitra's *Notices*, No. 615, Haraprasad Sastri's *Notices*, 1905, 10, 1492.

There are commentaries on Nalodaya, by Mallinātha,¹ Prajnākaramisra,² by Kṛṣṇa,³ by Tiruvenkatasūri,⁴ by Āditvasūri,⁵ by Haribhatta,⁶ and Nṛsimhasarma,⁷ by Jivānanda,⁸ by Kesāvāditya,⁹ by Gaṇeśa,¹⁰ [by Bharatasena, by Mukundabhatta, by Śivadatta, by Ravideva, by Hariratna, by Ātrevabhatta],¹¹ by Prabhakaramisra¹² and others anonymous¹³

330 Raksasakavya¹⁴ is a short piece of twenty verses in an enigmatic and alliterative style, containing a description of sylvan scenery around, by a person roaming about in the forest with his spouse. There are commentaries on it by Premadhara, by Śāmbhuhāskara, by Kavirāja, by Kṛṣṇacandra, by Udayākaramisra,¹⁵ and by Bālaḥṛṇa Pāyagunda.¹⁶

331 These two poems have been attributed to Kālidāsa and the latter also to Vararuci. Rāmarṣi in his commentary on Nalodaya says that it was the work of Ravideva, son of Nārāyaṇa.¹⁷

इति वृद्ध्यासात्मजमिश्ररामर्षिदाधीच्यविरचिताया रविदेवविरचितमहाकाव्यनलोदयटीकाया यमकबोधिन्या नलराज्यप्राप्तिर्नाम चतुर्थं आश्वास ।

(JBAS, Extra No 1887, p 337)

1 DC, XX 7923

2 Printed, Calcutta DC, XX 7924 He was a native of Mithila and son of Mahāmdhopādhyāya Vidyādhara of Pūnyagrāma (Poona) Earliest Ms. is dated Śāka 1785.

3 DC, XX 7926 Tanj Cat, VI 2787-94

4 DC, XX, 7927.

5 DC, XX 7981 Tanj Cat, VI 2795

6 CASB, 89

7 Ibid, Tanj Cat, VI 2807

8 Printed, Calcutta

9 PR, III 395

10 IO, 2534

11 CC, I 280, II 60, III 60

12 PR, IV 24

13 DC, XX 7928-30, TC, II 2591, Tanj Cat, VI 2797, 2798, 2800, IO, 3160

14 Ed Bombay

15 Ed Bombay DC, XX 7989, IOC, 1493 contains a commentary also

16 CC, I 498, II 117

17 The commentary was composed in Sam. 1664 (1607 A.D.) JASB (1887) Extra number, page p 1337 Rāmarṣi was one of the three sons of Vṛddha Vyāsa, who lived at Dindavana near Pathan during the reign of Sultan Salim and who wrote a commentary on the Bhāgavata at Pattan. See PR, III 20, App 337 340 and Keilhorn's calculations, IA, XIX. 34 A manuscript in Tanj Cat, VI. 2782 gives the name, Ravideva, son of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa

इति नारायणसुतश्रीरविदेवविरचिते नलोदयकाव्ये चतुर्थोऽंशः ।

But Viṣṇu, another commentator, calls the author Vāsudeva, son of Ravi

इति नलोदये वासुदेवकृते चतुर्थं परिच्छेद ।

रवितनुभूयमिताया कृतेर्गतिश्चन्दचित्रभूयमिताया ।

जनहासायमिताया धियश्च विवृता मयाधुना यमिताया ॥

A king Rāma is mentioned in the introductory verses as in Tripuradahana of Vāsudeva and A S Ramanatha Iyer therefore concludes that Nalodaya must have been the work of the author of Tripuradahana who lived in the beginning of the 9th century A D¹

332 Sobhana was a staunch Jain and converted his brother Dhanapāla into his faith after prolonged effort. He was known as Sobhanamuni. He lived in the Court of Dhārā in the 10th century A D. His stuti also called Caṭurvimsatikā consists of 4 groups of verses, "the first in praise of 24 Tīrthankaras, the second in praise of all the Jinas, the 3rd in praise of the Jain doctrine, and the fourth in praise of various deities". The verses are so constructed that the second and fourth line of each verse agree to the letter in sound, and bear different meanings. Dhanapāla wrote a commentary on it²

333 Srivatsanka was the son of Rāma alias Vedavyāsa, the second son of Kuratālwar³. He lived about the beginning of the 12th century A D. His Yamakarātnākara⁴ is a poem in āryā metre on Śrī Kṛṣṇa and is followed by his own commentary⁵

334. Dharmaghosa was a sage who died in Sam 1357 (1301 A D.) He wrote verses capable of four different meanings. His Yamakaśṭuti is well known, on which his successor Somaṣīlaka wrote a commentary⁶

1 See para 65 supra. See *JMy*, XIV 303, *JRAS*, (1925), 265

2 Translated and edited by Jacobi (*ZDMG*, XXXII 509). On the com see Buhler, *Sb Akad. Wien*, (1882), 570-2. See *PR*, I. 69, app 101, III ap 22, iv 121, Weber, *ISi*, II 944, Śāntisūri's *Prabhāvakacarita*, xvii, 314

3 See para 207 supra

4 Printed, Madras DC, XX. 7797.

5. For instance

पञ्चाक्षमासमेत प्रसन्नतोयदगातिस्त्रिभावस्थम् ।

पञ्चाक्षमासमेत प्रसन्नतो यदगातिस्त्रिभावस्थम् ॥

6. *PR*, III. 17, 310.

335 Mananka¹ calls himself a King (Mabibhu) in his gloss on Giṭagovinda² He is quoted by Rayamukuta in his commentary on Amarakosa (A D 1431) Besides a commentary on Mālatīmādhava,³ he wrote Yamaka poems Bṛndāvana⁴ and Meghābhavadaya⁵

336 Venkatesa was the son of Srinivāsa and grandson of Venkatesa of Ātreya-goṭra He was born in Kali 4697 (1596 A D) at Arasānīpalai near Kāncī He was of the family of Venkatādhvārī In Rāmāyamakārṇava⁶ and Rāmācandrodaya⁷ he relates the story of Rāma, the former in the yamaka style Probably he is the author of Slesamālā⁸

337 Gopalaraya or Gopālasāmy, son of Jinavallī Immadi Venkatarāja, was a descendent of Immadi Ankusa,⁹ and must have lived in the latter half of 13th century His Rāmācandrodaya¹⁰ in 5 Uchwasas gives the story of Rāma in Yamaka form

338 The following works are in this style of composition, Dharmaghoṣa's a Yamakaśruti¹¹ Śrīsayamakasaṭaka¹² Acyūṭalīlā,¹³ Rāmā-līlāmṛta of Kṛṣṇamohana,¹⁴ Rādhāprasāda,¹⁵ Yamakasikhāmaṇi of Kṛṣṇa-kaviṇdra,¹⁶ Yamakabhārata of Ānandaśīrṭha,¹⁷ Yudhiṣṭhiravyaya etc, of Vāsudeva,¹⁸ Śauncarīṭra¹⁹ and Raghūdaya of Śrīkantha²⁰

1 CG, I 452

2 See PR, III 11, 280, CG, I 154

3 IO, 158, 895

4 Printed, Kāvya-saṅgraha, Calcutta

5 PR, I 119, III 11, 291

6 Tanj Cat, VI 2631 This was composed in Śaka 1578 (1656 A D)

7. This is a long poem of about 90 caṭṭas Tanj Cat, VI 2658 There is a commentary by the author himself (Ibid, VI 2664) composed in Kali 4736 (1685 A D)

8 Mys OML, 260

9 See DC, XX 7732

10 DC, XX 7839, OAL II 11 There is a commentary on it by the author The manuscript says it was written on the full moon day of Āsvayuja Kṛtikā, Śaka 1706 (1684 A D)

11 PR, III 17, 310

12 Mys OML, sup II.

13. TC, IV 4581

14 CG, I 878

15. IOC, VII 1464

16. See para 218 supra.

17 Opp, 2261

18 Printed, Bombay. See para 65 supra

19 Mys OML, Sup, 10 It was composed in Malabar in 1700 A D

20. TC, IV 5059, with commentary by Rūḍraṇṇṭa, TC, IV. 4818 The poet praises the Yamaka compositions of Raviḍeva and Kulāś-kharaḍeva

Sleṣacudāmaṇi of Śrīnivāsa,¹ Slesollāsa of Sivaprasāda,² Slesacampūrāmāyana of Venkatācārya,³ Slesacintāmaṇi of Cidambara,⁴ Rāmāstaprāsa of Rāmabhadra,⁵ Prāsabhārata of Sūryanārāyaṇa, son of Viṣvanātha of Kāśyapagotra⁶

Citraratnākara of Cakrakavi,⁷ Viśeṣanarāmāyana of Virarāghava,⁸ Somakunjara's Citrakāvya,⁹ and Kṛṣṇamohana's Rāmālīlāmṛta¹⁰

339 Citrakāvya appears in numerous forms. In Nalodaya and Kīcakavadha there is the narration of a single story and the cleverness consists merely in the combination of letters which can form words of different senses. In Dvīsandhāna poems, the same verse gives two different meanings, and thus narrates two distinct tales. Besides those already noticed, there are Sandhayākaranandin's Rāmacarita which depicts at once the story of Rāma and the history of his patron Rāmapāla,¹¹ and Ānandakāvya.¹² Rāghava-yādava-pāṇḍaviya has verses of three meanings, and relates three different tales. Pancakalyāṇacampū deals similarly with five different tales and Saptasandhāna with the lives of seven great men. Somaprapa has a Saṣṭarṭhikāvya, where a verse has a 100 different meanings. Rāmakṣṇaviloma has the first half of each verse repeated backwards in the second half and narrates the stories of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa.

In Nārāyaṇa's Niranunāsikacampū, Śūrpanakhā complains to Rāvaṇa of Rāma's assault and because her nose and ears had been cut off, the poet aptly eliminates all nasals, which Śūrpanakhā could not have pronounced.¹³

- | | | | |
|----|--------------------|---|------------------------------------|
| 1 | TC, IV 688 | 4 | Tanj Oat VI, 2848 |
| 2 | CC, I 677 | 5 | Printed Kāvya-mālā, Bombay |
| 3 | Rice, 254 | 6 | Tanj Oat, VI 2584. |
| 7. | TC, IV 5564 | Here is another work of this name DC, XX 8054 | |
| 8 | Tanj. Cat, VI 2671 | 11 | Ed MAB III 1 56 See para 189 supra |
| 9 | Jes. Cat 54 | 12 | CC, I. 46 |
| 10 | CC, I 518 | 13 | TC, IV 4206 For instance |

हा हा राक्षसराज दुष्परिमवग्रत्तस्य धिक् ते भुजा

विद्युच्छिह्नविपत्तिरेव मुकरा ह्रद्रप्रताप त्वया ।

ध्वस्तापत्रप पश्य पश्य सकलैश्चक्षुर्मिरेतादृशी

जाता कस्यचिदेव तापसशिरोऽशस्त्रात्तवैव त्वया ॥

For Nirasthya verses, see *Tanj Oat*, VI 2729. An instance of Nirasthya, Nirmurḍhanya, Nirantastha and Niruṣṇaka is in *Pratāparudrīya* (vi 29)

केकिकचा कोककुचा मञ्जुभुजा कापि कापि कामाज्ञा ।

कञ्जमुखी कुम्भिगमा बसौ खगाङ्गाङ्गमागपङ्कजगा ॥

d also in *Sahityaratnākara*, VI 25 et seq

Poets have exercised their intellect to frame verses of one or two letters only. For instance

कोकीकङ्का कोककङ्ककाकोकुकाकिका । कोकाङ्ककाङ्का किकाकुकाकुकेङ्कीकका ॥
नानादानानि दानानां ददानो नन्दनन्दन । नदीननन्दनीनन्दी नुदेदेनो दिने दिने ॥

Sāhityaratnākara, VI 81

न नोदुदुधो नुधोनो नाना नानानना ननु । नुधोऽनुधो ननुधोनो नानेना नुननुधुत् ॥
Kāvyaanuvāsana, V.

340 Nitthala Upamaka Venkatesvara was son of Viṣva-nāṭha and Kāmāmbā and probably lived near Vizianagaram about the middle of 19th century A.D. He was a poetic genius of modern times of rare merit and has left an instance of poetic composition at once graceful and unique, a combination of accrostics of surprising ingenuity. In the apparent garb of a poem on Rāmāyaṇa, *RAMAYANASANGRAHA* in 30 cantos in prose and verse (composed in 1866 A.D.), he has arranged the letters of verses, so as to form four more poems out of particular letters combined and read together from the verses. It is therefore described as *Caṭuṣcīṣṭragarbha*. He has imbedded his own name and description in one of such devices in his *Bālakānda*.

The poem *GAURIVIVAHA* is formed by the regular combination of the first letter of the verses of *kāndas* from *Ayodhya* to *Yuddha* and describes the marriage of *Pārvaṭī*.

The poem *ŚRIRANGADIKSETRAMAHATMYA* is formed by the regular combination of the first letter in the second *pāḍa* of the verses from *kāndas* *Ayodhya* to *Yuddha*. Here thirteen shrines are described with their theological history.

The poem *BHAGAVADAVATARACARITA* is formed by the regular combination of the first letter of the third *pāḍa* of the verses from *kāndas*, *Ayodhya* to *Yuddha*, and describes the incarnation of Viṣṇu.

The poem *DRĀUPADIKALYANA* is formed by the regular combination of the first letter of the fourth *pāḍa* of the verses from *kāndas*, *Ayodhya* to *Yuddha*, and describes the marriage of *Draupadī*.

Above all a combination of the first letters of each of the verses in *Bālakānda* makes up *RAMAKAVACA* ¹

341. Bandha is the name given to verses in which the letters are arranged in the form of sword, lotus, car, serpent etc. So says *Āmṁata*

तच्चित्रं यत्र वर्णानां खड्गाद्याकृतिहेतुता

1. *TC*, IV. 5031-5037.

There are Bandhas in various poems and works on rhetoric. They are numerous in Venkatādhvārī's Lakṣmīśaṣṭra. Venkatesvara's Citra-bandharāmāyana is wholly composed of verses of various designs, such as Kankana, Chaṭra, Andolikā etc.³

Kamalamalikastotra of Venkatācārya, son of Nṛsiṃha of Srīvaṭṣagoṭṭra,⁴ is another feat of alliterative ingenuity, a garland of lotuses in praise of Lakṣmī. It is accompanied by a commentary

माभूसदारमममम रसासितामा
मातासि याजरमारजसामया मा ॥
माया भवावननमानवमामयासा ।
मा याम मे तततमा ततीयान भूमा ॥

Kankanabandha is the most ingenious in this class. In it the narrative is formed by rewriting a verse, for instance, of 32 letters backward and forward from a particular starting point and thus making 64 verses in all. The story of Rāmāyana has been so related.⁵

In Venkatesa's Rāmacandrodvāya the 26th Canto contains Bandhas and there is a Kankanabandha.⁵

कामामामायासारामे हामामारादारागासा ।
लापासेनापायासामा यानीष्टोमादायादारा ॥

342 Vakrokti is a clever diversion or subversion of a saying. The intended meaning of a word is wantonly not understood and the person addressed, most often reprimanded, perverts the meaning of the word to avoid an inconvenient answer. So says Mammata,

यदुक्तमन्यथा वाक्यमन्यथाऽन्येन योज्यते ।
श्लेषेण काक्वा वा ज्ञेया सा वक्रोक्तिस्तथा द्विधा ॥

There is the first verse of Mudrārākṣasa in illustration

धन्या केय स्थिता ते शिरसि शशिकला किं नु नामैतदस्या
नामैवास्यास्तदेतत्परिचितमपि ते विस्मृत कस्य हेतोः ।

1. Kāvyaaprakāśa, IX. 85 et seq.

2. *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2728-285, with Yagnanārāyaṇa's commentary. See also *Pratāparudhayaśibhūṣana* vii. 6-3. *Sāhityaratnākara*, vi. 25 and all books on rhetoric in chapters on Śabḍāṅkāra.

3. *DC*, XVIII. 6864.

4. See para 97 *supra*.

5. *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2658. See para 299 *supra*.

नारीं पृच्छामि नेन्दु कथयतु विजया न प्रमाण यदीन्दु
देव्या निहोतुमिच्छोरिति सुरसरित शात्र्यमव्याद्विमोर्वे ॥

There are Ratnākara's Vakroktipancāsikā,¹ Rambhāsuhasamvāda,² Sivārāma's Lakṣmī-Sarasvatīsamvāda³ and Girijākamalāvivāda⁴

On Vakrokti, as the essential of poetry, Kuntaka wrote a treatise Vakrotijīvita⁵

343 Dyglott poems consist of verses that can be read in any two (or more) languages⁶ Here is an instance of identity in Prakrit and Sanskrit:

सरले साहसराग परिहर रम्भोर मुञ्च सरम्भम् ।
विरस विरहायास बोद्ध तव चित्तमसह मे ॥

344 Srinivasa Kavisārvabhauma was a poet of the Court of Kṛṣṇa Rāja Udeyar, Mahārāja of Mysore, of the last century Besides Kṛṣṇarājaprabhāvoḍaya, a poem on his patron, he wrote Kṛṣṇarājajayotkara in prose and verse in such a way that with an alteration in punctuation the work becomes Sanskrit or Kānarese

345 Cyuta is a species of composition in which the main word is indicated by the omission of a māṭra, half māṭra, bindu or varṇa. So Hemacandra says

च्युत मात्रार्धमात्राबिन्दुवर्णगतत्वेन चतुर्थी ।

For instance :

अर्धमात्राच्युत यथा ।
पयोधरभराक्रान्ते विद्युच्छेखाविराजिते ।
कान्तस्सर्वजनाभीष्टो बाले दुःखेन लभ्यते ।
अत्र 'न्दु' इत्यत्र नकारो व्यञ्जनं च्युतम् ॥

346 Gudha is another species in which some word is concealed in the verses Hemacandra says :

गूढ क्रियाकारकासम्बन्धपादविषयत्वेन चतुर्थी ।

1 Printed, Bombay with commentary

2 Mys OML, 254.

3 CC, I 540

4 PR, III. App 293

5 Ed by S. K. De, with critical notes and introduction, PP, II. 17, 19.

6 Mys Arch. Rep. (1918), 67.

For instance :

कारकगूढं यथा ।
 केनेमौ दुर्विदग्धेन हृदये विनिवेशितौ ।
 पिबतस्ते शरावेण वारि कङ्कारशीतलम् ॥
 अत्र “ शरौ ” इति कर्मणो गूढत्वम् ॥

KRSNAKAVI, son of Raghunātha Dīkṣiṭa, wrote Kriyāgopānarāmāyaṇa or Candrakalāvilāsa, a poem in 14 cantos, on the story of Rāmāyana. The merit of the poem is that the predicate is concealed in the verses ¹

347. Vidagdhamukhamandana of Dharmadāsa, a Jain, is a collection of enigmatical verses, in 4 chapters, on different topics in Cīṭra varieties. There are commentaries on it by Tārācandra of Śivarājadhāni,² by Durgadāsa and by Gaṇikāṇṭha and Narahari and one anonymous. Viśveśvara's Kavīndrakarnābharaṇa is a similar work.

348 Vāgbhūṣaṇa of Rāmacandra of Bhārgavagoṭra is a group of periphrastic and curiously composed verses in praise of various Gods. He lived somewhere on the banks of Tāmraparṇī in the Pāndya country ³

Durgatakāvya is a highly artificial poem of 80 verses in praise of various deities with an anonymous commentary. There is a poem of that name attributed to Kālidāsa printed in Bombay ⁴

1. *TC*, I 10, 898, IV 550b (with commentary).

For instance :

मन्वाचारायणस्सीतादेवीयं कमलालया । इति व्याख्याततत्त्वेन वेद्यसा मैथिलीपतिः ॥

2. Printed, Bombay *TC*, III. 8277, *DO*, XX. 8090 ; *Mitra*, IV. 294.

For instance :

अनेकसुखिरं वाद्य कान्तं स्त्रीमुखपङ्कजम् ।

विद्धि तत् व्यक्षरं राजम् चक्षुश्श्रोत्रमुखावहम् ॥ वल्मीकम्

3. *TC*, III. 2747.

For instance :

एकान् द्विरूपान् त्रिचतुर्भिरीडितान् पञ्चास्यषड्वक्त्रमुताश्च सप्त च ।

नाशमिराप्याभवमिर्दशाभ्युतान् व्रजामि नित्यं शरणं विमुक्तये ॥

4. *IOC*, VII. 1488.

Kavirāṣhasīyam is a poem of 100 verses of involved meaning by an unknown author, calling himself Kavirāṣasa² There are commentaries on it by Nāganarāya, son of Devanārāḍhya,³ and two anonymous⁴

349 Nagaraja was the son of Jalapa and grandson of Vidyādhara of Karpatigotra He is spoken of at the end of his poem Bhāvasatāka as a King who was the ornament of the Taka race "Taka race here mentioned is probably the same as that to which Madanapala, the patron of the author of the Madanaparijatha, (work on law) belonged It was a family of petty Chiefs whose capital was as stated in the introduction to the latter, a town of the name of Kashtha situated on the Yamuna to the north of Delhi" Bhāvasatāka "consists of 101 verses, some in prakrit in each of which a certain person is represented to be doing a certain thing in a certain condition and the reason why he or she does or the minor sense of the verse is meant to be found out by the reader It is however given at the end of the verses"⁴

Camatākāracandrika,⁵ (i) by Kavikarṇapūra, (ii) Narottamaḍāsa and (iii) by Viśvesvara, and Vyajoktusaṭaka of Trivikrama⁶ are similar

350 Siṭhārāmīya or Sabdodāharaṇa of Bhāskarasūri, son of Rāmaswāmī Dikṣiṭa, narrates the story of Rāma and is meant to illustrate grammatical forms like Bhattikāvyā⁷ Sabhyābharana is an anthology with double meaning, in 9 chapters, by Rāmacandra Bhatta of Attālaḍesa. The last verse interlaces the last *sūtra* of Panini अ अ with ingenuity. He was a great grammarian There is a commentary on it by Govinda (jyotiṛviṭṭ), son of Nīlakantha, of the family of astrologers of Sīvapuri on the banks of Godāvarī

1 DC, XX. 8024. Printed, Bombay. There is a fanciful reason given for the peculiar name.

साक्षरेषु भवतीह जगतां सर्व एव हृदि मत्सरयुक्तः ।

साक्षरं कविजनेषु तमेव लोक एव कविराक्षसमाह ॥

2. DC, XX. 8025.

3. Ibid., 8026, 8027.

4. Ed. Bombay. PR, III. 21, 388, IV. 69, BR, 1882-3), 9, 198.

There are Bhāvavilāsa by Rudrākavi (Printed, Bombay), Bhāvasatāka by Venkatācārya (Mys OML, 680) and Bhavāmanjari by Rāma, son of Kṛṣṇagopāla of Ajreya-gotra (B No 2975)

5. CC, I. 188, III. 89.

6. CC, II. 147.

7. TC, IV. 5883.

Sarvasena's Harivijaya is a poem with double entendre describing the victory of Hari, while the same text directs the movements in chess play¹

SECTION II

Some Modern Poets.

351 In the 19th century, **Gangadharasastrī** Talinga of Benares wrote² the philosophical poems Hamsāstaka and Alivilāsīśalapa, Duhkhabhājanakavī of Benares wrote a biographical poem Candrasātkharacarita, and Paramesvara Jha (Mahāmahopādhyāya)³ wrote Yaksamīlanakāvya, a sequel to Meghaduta

352 Subrahmanya Suri, son of Śankara-Nārāyaṇa, was born in 1850 at Kadayakkudi near Pudukkōta. He was 7th in descent from the famous Chokkanāṭha Dikṣita⁴. He was a Professor of Sanskrit in Raja's College at Pudukkōta and passed away in 1913. His learning was versatile. He was very good at poetry and grammar and proficient in singing and painting. His Harikaṭhās attracted an enchanted audience and were known for their devotion and erudition. Besides the play Vallī-Bāhulīyam, in seven Acts, depicting the marriage of Vallī and Skanda and a bhāṇa Manmathamanthana and a prose piece Saṅtanucarita, he wrote several poems Buddhisaṇdesa, Padyapancarātna, Haratīrṭhesvarastuti, Sūkasūktisudhārasāyana and stories adapted to music, such as Rāmavaṭāra, Viśvāmitrayāga, Sītākalyāṇa, Rukminī-kalyāṇa and Vibhūṭimāhātmya etc. His Dolāgitas and Hālīsamanjari, songs on various deities, are interesting, particularly those relating the whole story of Rāmāyana.

By far a very valuable poem is Aśecanaka-Rāmāyana. In 199 verses in Ārya metre where the first three padas narrate the story and the fourth pada impresses a moral. The work is unique and represents Vālmīki's work as a mine of ethical precepts.

353. Kṛṣṇarama was a professor in Ayurveda in Jaipur State about 1900. In his Kachavamśa and Jayapuravilāsa, he described the greatness of the ruler of Jaipur. Among many poems he wrote are Aṅgīlankāraśṭaka, Palāṇḍusataka, Mukṭaka-mukṭāvalī, Holāmahoṭṣava

1. See *Cat. QP*, Int. IV, No. 6864. For verses on caṭuraṅga, see B. No. 14606.

2. Printed Benares and Darbhanga.

3. He also wrote a romance like Vāsavaḍaṭṭa.

4. Except the works printed by M. L. J. Press, Madras and the other manuscripts are with the poet's son, S. Saṅkara Narayana B. A., Account General's Office, Madras.

and Sārasatīka, a poetical epitome of several important Sanskrit works In metrics he wrote Chandaschatāmānāna.¹

354 Shankerlal Maheshwar Shastri, Mahāmahopādhyāya of the Prashnora Nagar community lived in Jamnagar in 1844-1916 A D He commenced writing poetry at the age of 15 The Maharaja of Jamnagar bestowed upon him the title of Śīghrakavi i e an ex tempore poet He served in the Rawajiraj Pathasālā of Morbi in Kathiawad for many years Among his many works Sāvitrī-caritra, Candraprabhacaritra, Dhruvābhyudayanātaka, Gopālacinṭāmaṇi, Anasūvābhyudaya, etc

355 Venkatesa Vamana Sovani was son of Vāmana Vittala He was Professor of Sanskrit at Meerut and Allahabad and lived in 1882-1925 His son V V Sovani is Professor, Rajkumar College, Raipur (C P) Among his many works, all printed, there are the minor poems, Indradyumnāpavarga (philosophical), Divyaprabandha, Īsalaharī, Rāmācandrodiya (in 4 cantos) and a biography of Śivāji Chatrapati, Śivāvatīraprabandha His admiration of Kālidasa is illustrated in his poem Kālidasaprasāmsā

356 Mudumbai Venkatarama Narasimha Acharya, lived in 1842-1928 A D He was the son of Vīrarāghava and Rāṅgāmbā of Śrīvastī-gotra The progenitor of his family was Mudumbai Ācān, one of the 72 Śrīvāṣṭhapa Ācāryas set up by Rāmānuja One of his ancestors Kṛṣṇamācārya had two sons, versed in music and literature and they came to be known as Saṅgīta-Mudumbai and Sāhitya-Mudumbai and our poet was of the latter line His learning was all comprehensive and he was honoured as a poet laureate in the court of Vijayarāma Gajapati, Maharaja of Vijayanagara (Vizagapatam District) He wrote about 114 works in different branches of literature Among his dramas are Gajendravaiyoga, Rājahamsīanātaka, and Vasavipāsarī aprakaraṇa, and his Ciṣṡūryāloka dramatises the story of the solar eclipse Among his major poems are Rāmācandrakāṭhāṃṣṭī and Bhāgavata, which are long poems on the stories of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and minor poems are Kālāvalahana and Nīṭirahasya He wrote a romance in prose a campū Ujjvalānanda, and a work on poetics, Kāvyaśāntakārasaṅgraha

357 Medepalli Venkataramanacharya, was his pupil Born in 1862 at Anakapalli in Vizagapatam District, and educated under different teachers of great merit, he has been the senior Sanskrit professor in the Maharaja's College, Vizianagaram His Gīrvāṇa Sathagopasahasram is a rendering in verse of the sacred collect of Tamil

1 See Śivāji's introduction to Naiṣadha, Bombay.

358. Hemacandra Roy, Kavibhūṣana, is the son of Jadunandana Roy of Varendra Kāyastha family of Gautama goṭra. He was born in the village of Rāmanagara in Pabna District in Bengal in Saka 1804 (1882 A D) on 18th Aṣvina. After a distinguished career in the Calcutta University, he has been professor of Sanskrit in Edward College, Pabna. His poems are remarkable for lucidity of expression and embrace thrilling themes of love and romance. They are Satyabhāmāparigrahaṃ, Subhadrāharaṇam, Haihayaviṣayam, Pāṇḍavaviṣayam and Paraśurāmacaritaṃ⁴

Mathurānātha is the Superintendant of Sanskrit studies in Jeypur State In his Manjukaviṭānikunja (Bower of poetry) he has gathered

7 *Taylor*, I 102 For stotras on Tripurasundarī by Jayadeva, Rāghavācārya etc, see *CC*, I 237 There are Tripurasundarīkāvyas composed by a Kālīdāsa in 1752 A.D. (*CC*, I. 237) and Tripurasundarīmahodēya by Śaṅkarānandaṇḍī; (*CC*, I. 237)

minor poems Sāhityavaiibhava, Jayapuravaiibhava, Sam-kr̥tagāthāsaptṭasati,¹ Sanskr̥ṭasarvasva, and Kāvya-kālārahasya.

“The poem is divided into several sections,” Says Gopinatha Kaviraj, “with verses on different subjects in each. The description of the seasons, the representations of the various moods of the human mind, the delineation with touches of humour at intervals of the darker phases of the modern social life, all these have a ring of freshness and spontaneity about them which mark them out as distinctive of true inspiration. The author is at his best in his manipulation of the metres not merely those which are current in the Sanskr̥ṭ classics but even some new varieties coined by him in imitation of Hindi, Urdu and Persian.”

360. Srisailatatacarya, better known as D. T. Tatacarya Siromani, is the senior professor of Mīmāṃsa, Sanskrit College, Tiruvadi, Tanjore Dt. He was born in 1892 at Tiruvarangam in South Arcot. His powers of Sanskrit elocution are remarkable. Among his poems² are Kapināmupavāsa and Mugdhānjali.

1. This is a literal reading of Hāla's Saptṭasatī.

2. Printed, Kumbakonam,

CHAPTER XV

SECTION I

Subhasita

361 Subhasita, generally spoken of as anthologies, are various collections of verses as several topics, proverbial, erotic, ethical, descriptive and devotional etc. They may be the composition of one author or selections from other authors. In some of the collections of the latter class, the names of the poets are appended and they thus serve as valuable landmarks in literary history. Many of these poets are now only known by name and their works are not available. Treatises on rhetoric often serve the purpose of anthologies, for they quote verses in illustration from various poets and works by name. Works of single authors may be classed under *Laghu Kāvya*, while collections may stand apart as essences of the whole *Kāvya* literature.

362 Kavindravacanasamuccaya¹ is the earliest of anthologies now available. The author's name is not known, but among the authors quoted *Mayūra*, *Vākpaṭirāja* and *Rājasekhara* are the latest. It must have been composed about the end of the 10th century A.D. The value of the work has been enhanced by the excellent introduction of F. W. Thomas which contains information on many unknown authors and collects their verses quoted in other anthologies.²

363 Nandana's *Prasannasāhityaratnākara* is an anthology in 1000 stanzas. "The compiler is very proud of his knowledge of *Pāṇini* and *Saṁhitā*. He says his work is beyond computation. He commences with *Śivavrajyā*. This work is compiled in imitation of *Kavivacana-samuccaya* in which collections of verses on different subjects are called *Vraja*s. That is Buddhistic, while the present is Hindu."³

364 Amitagati was a *Ḍigambara* Jain ascetic and pupil of *Mādhavasēna*.⁴ He wrote *Dharmaparīkṣa*⁵ in Sam. 1070) and *Subhā-*

1 Printed, Calcutta.

2 Such work has also been admirably done in the Introduction to *Subhāṣiṭāvalī* by P. Peterson.

3 Haraprasad's *Sastri New Cat.* No. 1574.

4 *PR*, IV ix.

5 Weber, *ZSt* II, 1110.

ṣṭaraṇasandoha in Sam 1030 (994 A D) during the reign of King Munja of Dhāra¹

365 Sridharadasa son of Vatudāsa, was a Mandalika or a governor under king Lakṣmanasena of Bengal His Saduktikarnāmṛta composed in Śaka 1127 or 1203 A D comprises various topics from select authors whom it names²

366 Jalhana or Arohaka Bhagadatta Jalhana Deva was son of Lakṣmīdeva They were ministers of the Yādava King Kṛṣṇa His Sūktimuktāvalī was composed in Śāka 1179 (1257 A D) during Kṛṣṇa's reign by Vaidya Bhānu Pandita or Bhāskara at the instance of Jalhana³ The introductory verses give an account of Jalhana's family and are summarised by R G Bhandarkar thus⁴

"There was a person of the name of Dada who belonged to the Vatsa Gotra and appears to have been in the service of the Yādava king Mallugi, called in other places Mallugi Vijjana, of the Kalachuri race, who had usurped the throne at Kalyana in 1157 A D was not allowed to enjoy it peacefully Besides internal disturbances he had to face the attacks of the surrounding chiefs Mallugi appears from the above to have been one of those who were hostile to him, and Dada, who commanded his troops of elephants, fought a battle with Vijjana Dada had four sons named Mahidhara, Jahla, Samba, and Gangadhara who contributed to raise the importance of Mallugi's kingdom Mahidhara succeeded his father in the command of the elephants and had to conduct the war with Vijjana His son Ananta appears to have assisted his father and captured many elephants from his master's powerful enemies After Mahidhara's death his brother Jahla succeeded to his office and is said to have restored Bhūllama's kingly power firm Bhūllama was the son of Mallugi and acquired finally the paramount sovereignty of the Dekkan for his family, about the year 1187 A D Jahla led a maddened elephant into the army of the Gurjara prince and obtained fame as Bhagadatta Bhagadatta is a prince mentioned in the Mahabharata who fought with Arjuna with great bravery Jahla spread terror into the heart of Malla, frightened

2 Ibid BR (1892-3) 45, ZDMG, LIX 326 Ed. Kāvya-māla, Bombay with a long introduction on the inscriptions of the Paramāra dynasty On Munja, See under Bhoga post

3 Printed partly by Rāmīvaṣāraśarma, Calcutta, OSC (1903) 106, Mitra's Notices, No 1180, ZDMG, XXXVI, 361-83, 503-59 For author's names, see Aufrecht's Collections, No 578, JRAS (1903), 1028-1068

3. DC, XX 8109

4. Report (1897)

the forces of Mallugi, who must have been an enemy of Bhīllama, and vanquished Munja and Anna. Who these chiefs were we do not know, and a great many of them had to be vanquished before Bhīllama could acquire supreme power. The Munja mentioned here was not the celebrated prince of Dhara of that name. Jahlā captured many elephants and gave them to his master Bhīllama. Janardana was the son of his brother Gangadhara and he appears to have succeeded as commander of the troops of elephants. He taught Simha or Singhana the art of managing elephants and thus enabled him to conquer Arjuna Singhana, called also, Simha was the son of Jaitrapala and Bhīllama. If he was taught the art of managing elephants by Janardana, it must have been so when he was a young man and during his father's reign. Singhana himself came to the throne in 1210 A.D. Janardana's son Lakshmidēva succeeded to the office and contributed by his courage and bravery to consolidate the power of king Krishna. Krishna was the grandson of Singhana and ascended the throne after him in the year 1247 A.D. Lakshmidēva constructed a large-tank and had an extensive and beautiful garden. His son was Jahlana, who with his brother assisted king Krishna by his counsel and commanded the troops of his elephants. He compiled this collection of elegant sayings.

Sūktmuktāvalī is in two recensions, short and long.¹ It is particularly valuable for its preservation of the famous verses of Rājasekhara enlogising great poets, of whom some are women. It begins with a summary of the contents.

367. Sarngadhara was the son of Dāmodara, grandson of Rāghava and great-grandson of Hammīra Bhūpati of Sākambhāri country. It is an anthology of 4689 verses, some by the collator, and was composed in 1363 A.D.²

368. Vallabhadeva's³ Subhāṣitāvalī⁴ has 3327 quotations of

1 DC, XX 8109, 8116, PR III No 870. For a full review and list of authors, see Peterson, *JRAS*, LVII 57-71. Keith, *SL*, 222, Quackenbos, *Poems of Mayura*, 9 note.

2 Ed. by P. Peterson, *BSS*, Bombay and partly by Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XLV, 455, XLVII, 1, 77, DC XX 8092. See Bohtlingk's notes, *ZDMG*, (1878), 625.

3 He is different from Vallabhadeva, the commentator whom he quotes (see para 29 supra for further elucidation), PR, IV 110-1, and Peterson, *Int to Subh.* 118-4. A. B. Keith, *Bull Or Studies*, V (cannot be earlier than 15th century A.D.) S. K. De, *JRAS* (1927), D. C. Bhattacharya, *JRAS* (1928).

4 Ed. by P. Peterson, *BSS*, Bombay. For a review by Bühler see *JA*, XV 240.

very great value in literary history. He was a Kāśmīrian and his authors are mostly of Northern India. He must have lived after Sultan Zainalabidin of Kāśmīr (1417-67 A.D.), for he quotes Jonarāja, who was contemporary of that Sultan.¹

369 Nilakantha Dīksita was entitled Prabandhasāgara by King Rāmavarman of Vanci (Travancore) of the 15th century. In a poem of 18 stambakas called Varnanāsārasaṅgraha he elaborately describes several objects, seasons, countries and deities.²

370 Śrīvara was pupil of Jonarāja. Jonarāja continued Kalhana's chronicle till 1412 A.D. and Śrīvara followed till 1477 A.D. Besides Kaṭhākaṭuka and Janarājataranginī, he wrote Subhāṣitāvalī where he quotes about 400 poets.³

Vijayasenāsūri wrote Sūktiratnāvalī in 54 verses in Sam 1647 (1591 A.D.)⁴. It appears from the Prasastī on the Vṛtti on Vijaya-prasastīkāvyā, that another Sūktiratnāvalī was composed by Hemavijayaganī. There is also a Sūktiratnāvalī by Vaidyaraṭṇa, son of Rāmabhatta, but authors are not named.⁵

371 Haridāsa, son of Puruṣoṭtama, of the Karana clan was an inhabitant of the Maharaja-Kharagada. Puruṣoṭtama had four sons, Kṛṣṇadāsa, Dāmodara, Nārāyaṇa and Haridāsa. Haridāsa was a worshipper of Gaṇeśa and was proficient in all sciences and arts. He composed Praṣṭavaratnākara in 1614 probably of the Vikrama samvat, at Jalapattana during the reign of Varavīrasabhi in 21 chapters on various topics.⁶

372 Harikavi was a poet of the Deccan. Cakrapāni was his brother. His anthology Hārāvalī or Subhāṣitahārāvalī shows an intimate acquaintance with the literature of the whole country from Kashmir to Deccan.⁷ He quotes from a poet of Akbar's Court (called

1 See Jonarāja's Rājataranginī, 7.

2 *DC*, XX 8087. He wrote commentary on Saurīkaṭhodaya, (*DC*, XX 7886) during the reign of kings Rāmavarman and Goḍavarman of Calicut of the 15th century A.D. See para 169 supra.

3 Peterson, *o.c.*, VI. iii *BKR*, 61, *BR*, (1883-4), 54.

4 Printed, Bhojnagar.

5 *IOQ*, 1208.

6 Haraprasad Sastri, *Nep. Cat.*, page 212, *Oudh*, VI, 4, *CC*, I 360.

7 For a full account, see *PR*, II 57-64. For a synopsis of quotations, see Thomas, *Int. to Kav.* 14 authors are named. There is a Subhāṣitasūdhā of Hari (*CC*, I, 726).

Akbarīyakālīdāsa) and from Jagannāṭha's Bhāminīvilāsa and must therefore be assigned earliest to the latter half of the 17th century A D To the student of literary history this anthology presents many points of interest ²

Vrajanātha was in the Court of King Mādhava, son of Jayasimha who was a descendant of Pṛthvirāja, and lived about sam 1809 (17th 3 A D) His Padyaṭaranginī with commentary in 12 tūrangas is a large collection ³

Kāvyaasangraha is an anthological collection of verses from various sources enumerating groups of nine, eight, seven, six and five noted persons, things and qualities, possessing similar characteristics ⁴

373 The following are other anthologies Padyāmṛtaṭaranginī of Hari Bhāskara, ⁵ Padyāvalī (i) of Rūpagoswāmin, ⁶ (ii) of Mukunda ⁷ and (iii) of Vidyābhūṣaṇa ⁸, Paḍamuktāvalī of (1) Ghāṣīrāma, ⁹ Govindabhatta ¹⁰ and (ii) Paḍyāmṛtasaṅgraha, ¹¹ Paḍyasangraha by Kavibhatta, ¹² Padyavenī of Venīḍatta, son of Jagajjivana ¹³

2 He mentions a Bhojaprabandha by Rājasekhara and quotes two verses from it and one of these authors is Pañcānana On this, Peterson (ic CO) infers that the author of the Bālarāmāyana etc may have composed a Bhojaprabandha and says Rājasekhara was a contemporary of Somaśeṣa author of Yaśāstīlaka (composed in 869 A D) and of King Bhoja whose date of accession he puts at 966 A D There is a Hārāvalī by Puraṣoṭṭama, (PR, III 863)

3 PR, IV, 26-32 Author's names are not given For references, see Thomas, *Int to Kavi*

4 DO, XX, 8030

For instance,

मित्रमर्थस्तथा नीतिर्धर्मकार्पण्यमुखका ।

स्त्रीणां विद्वान् तथोत्खातान् नवरत्नमिदं क्रमात् ॥

4 BR, (1884-7) No 856, PR, III 895, OSC, (1908) 62, CC, I 324, It contains 380 quotations from various Vaiṣṇava authors, such as Yogeśvara, Lakṣmī-ḍhara, Śrīḍharaswāmī, Śubhāṅga etc. There is a commentary by the author's son Jayarāma Authors are named For list, see BR, (1887-91) lxii see Aufrecht's article in ZDMG, XXXVIII, 544-7

5 Ibid

6 PR, IV 27

7 PR, III 895

8 CC, I, 324.

9 BR, (1884-7)

10 CC, I 324

11. Printed, Haberkn, 529

12 BR, (1884-7) No 375, BR, (1887-91) lx Authors are named It was composed in the reign of Emperor Shah Jehan (1625-56 A.D.)

(Prat̥hāvacin̥tāmaṇi of Candracūda, Prat̥hāvataraṅgī of Śrīpāla, Prat̥hāvamuk̥tāvali of Kesava Bhatta),¹ Prat̥havasārasaṅgraha of Rāmaśarma,² Prat̥havasāra of Laṅhīṭṭavīrasena,³ Prat̥hāvatatnākara of Harīhara⁴

Subhāṣitakaustubha of Venkatādhvārī,⁵ Subhāṣitamuk̥tāvali (i) of Puruṣottama⁶ and (ii) of Mathurānātha,⁷ Subhāṣitāvali of Sakalakīrti,⁸ Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra by K P Parab,⁹ Subhāṣitaprabandha or Bhojakīrtisubhāṣita,¹⁰ Subhāṣitaratnakosa of Bhatta Śrīkṛṣṇa,¹¹ Subhāṣitaratnāvali of Umāmaheśvara Bhatta,¹² Sārasaṅgraha of Śambhudāsa,¹³ Sārasaṅgrahasudhārnava of Bhatta Govindajī¹⁴

Subhāṣitaratnakosā by Bhatta Śrī Kṛṣṇa,¹⁵ Subhāṣitanīvi of Venkatanātha,¹⁶ Subhāṣitapadāvalī, anonymous and by Śrīnivāśācārya,¹⁷ Subhāṣitamānjari by Cakravartī Venkatācārya probably of Kalyānapuram,¹⁸ Subhāṣitasuradruma⁹ (i) by Keladi Basavappa Naik and (ii) by Khanderaya Basavayātindra,²⁰ Subhāṣitasarvasva by Gopīnātha²¹

Subhāṣitasudhānidhi by Sāvanācārya,²² Sūktivāridhi by Peddabhatta,²³

1 CC, I 359

2 HPR, II 135

3, HPR, I 296

4 PR, (1887)

5 DC, XX, 8096 On the author, see Chapter on Campu post

6 CC, I 728, PR, III, 397 IV, 81, IV, 81, VI 367. SKO, 175.

7 NW, 696

8 DC, XX, 8108

9 Printed, Bombay

10 CC, I 728 Thomas, *Int to Kav*, 12 Authors are not named

11. CC, I 728, DR, (1893-4), No 93, 56, 360. Authors are not named.

12 CC, II, 174.

13. IO, 2458, CC, I 728

14 Also called Sabhyālakāra Saṁyogaśrṅgāra, BR, (1884-7), No. 417, BR. (1887-90), LXI Authors are named.

15 CC, I 728

16 Printed in part with commentary by Narasimha (DC, XX, 8098)

17. DC, XX, 8099, 8101

18 TC, I, 800 He also wrote Muṣṭkapāncaka (TC, I 878) and Vṛṣṇikapāncaka (TC, I 898)

19 TC, II 2563, where author's names are not given.

20 *Recs*, 246, CC, I, 728

21. PR, IV 81.

22. DC, XX, 105, TC, I 1054, TC, IV, 5241, 5644 Written at the instance of King Kampa of Vijayanagar in 84 paddhati contains an account of Śāyana's family.

23 DC, XX, 8117 in 13 āṅtakas He was of the family of Mahāmahopādhyāya of Elkāvara City

Subhāṣitaratnākara (i) by Munidevācārva,¹ (ii) by Kṛṣṇa,² (iii) by K S Bhatavadekar,³ (iv) by Umāpati, son of Nirmalanātha,⁴ Sūktimuktāvali (i) of Viṣvanātha, son of Vidyānīvāsa Bhattācārya,⁵ (ii) of Puruṣottama and (iii) of Mathurānātha⁶ Subhāṣita by Harihara,⁷ Sabhāṣa-rāngasāra of Jagannāthamāra,⁸ Sūktāvali by Lakṣmana,⁹ Subhāṣitāvali¹⁰

Subhāṣita,¹¹ Subhāṣitamuktāvali,¹² Subhāṣitasamuccaya,¹³ Subhāṣita-sudhānandalaharī,¹⁴ Subhāṣitasuradruma,¹⁵ Subhāṣitaratnamālā,¹⁶ Subhā-ṣitamanjarī,¹⁷ Subhāṣitārṇava,¹⁸ Subhāṣitasangraha¹⁹

Cātuḥhāra,²⁰ Cāturaṅgānākara,²¹ Cātusloka²²

1. *PR*, I 74

2. *PR*, III 85, 54

3. *BR*, (1887)

4. Printed Bombay.

5. *Bk Cat*

6. *CC*, I 728.

7. *Ibid*

8. *Mitra*, V *CC*, I 728

9. *CC*, I 696 Composed in 1867 A.D

10. Kuppasami Sastri's *Rep.* (1916-9), 40 Of the rare authors and works are Viśvādhika, Puraṇāra, Udhama Dandin's 2nd verse of *Avanṭisundarikābhā*, Taruṇa-avacaspaṭi, Bṛhaṭkāṣhā, Vyāsa Sātakarṇi, Sundarapāndya, Vallabhadeva, Gaṇeśdra-sunha, Ravigupṭa, Amṛtavarādhana, Cappataḍeva, Suvarnaviṣṭara, Ankāvali, Rāmā-bhūḍaya It quotes Someśvara and must have been composed later than 1180 A D For another work of this name, see *IOC*, 1518

11. *BR* (1888-4), No 91 Authors are named Thomas, *Int to Kav* 12, 14

12. *Ibid* No 92, *PR*, VI 867, *Uwar*, 1094. Authors are not named. Another larger work of this name is in Aufrecht's collection, No. 61 in 34 Mukṣāmaṇis Authors are not named See Thomas, *Int to Kav.* 18, for contents

• 13. *CC*, I 728 Authors are not named

14. *DC*, XX 810-3-4; *Taylor*, I 140.

15. *TC*, II. 2569

16. *TC*, I 794, *CC*, III 150

17. *CC*, I 728, *DC*, XX 8099-8102, *TC*, I 800, 871, II 1681 This is probably the same as the work of Cakravartī Venkatāchāriar *TC*, I 800

18. *TC*, I 469

19. *PR*, III 397, *HPR*, II 249

20. *DC*, XX. 8032. This contains 6 Padāhatīs with 915 verses. There is a commentary on it, *DC*, XX. 8035

21. *DC*, XX 8035 This mentions Kākaṭiṇḍra and must be later than *Pratā-paruḍra*

22. *DC*, XX 8036-1052 These are different collections.

Padyaracanā by Lakṣmapabhatta,² Rasikajīvana by Gadādhara-bhatta,³ Subhāṣitasārasamuccaya,⁴ Sārasaṅgraha by Sambhudāsa,⁴ Sabhyālaṅkaraṇa by Govindājī or Govindjī,⁵ Sabhābhūṣaṇamanjarī by Gauṭama⁶

373-A Sundaradeva's Sūktisundara⁷ was composed about the beginning of the 17th century. His anthology is valuable in that it contains verses of various poets⁸ of the 16th and 17th century in praise of the rulers of that period, particularly Mussalman. Among these are Ālbar (or Jallālādīna or Kābīlendra), Muddapharasāha, Nizamasāha and Shah Jehan. He must have been very familiar with those Courts and here is a verse in which he has used some Urdu terms

जीमी कपाति मिस्यति प्रतिवन बीबी गर्नीमव्रजा-
स्योग्रस्य प्रतनोति च स्खलनतामारात्प्रसुमरित ।
दयावा प्रचलन्ति वीचिनिवहैर्धुलासिराप्ताबसा
अस्थाने प्रतिहन्यती तव चमूयानेऽभिजाने प्रमो ॥

Emperor Akbar is thus pained by Akbariyakālīdāsa

वीर त्व कार्मुक चेत् अकबर कलयस्युष्टङ्कारवोष
दूरे सद्य कलका इव धरणिभृतो यान्ति ककालशेषा ।
शकापचक्ष किं कारणमिति मनसा भान्ति पकायितेन
ल्यक्त्वाऽहकारमकाद्रिसृजति गृहिणीं किं च लङ्काधिनाथ ॥

1 Printed, Kavyamala, Bombay ZDMG, (1888), 545

2 *Annals*, XII 896-9. *CC*, I 49, II 116 (composed 17th century)

3. *HPB*, Cat VII No. 5454.

4 *HPB*, Cat VII No 5448 Here Muddafar Shah, [who ruled in Gujarat about 1561 A D is praised

5 *Collected Works*, II, 325

6 *TC*, VI 6984

7 See Article by Har Datta Sharma, *COJ*, III 183, *PO*, I 52

8 Ākbariya Kālīdāsa, Kaviśvara I (*CC*, 88), Keśavaṇḍikṣita, Gaṇapaṭi, Gauri, Candracuda, Ghaṇaśyāma, Jagajjīvana, Dharaṇḍhara, Bālajībhatta, Bhayyabhatta, Bhānukara, Mauni Ranganātha, Śrī Yāgnika, Rāmacaṇḍrabhatta, Lakṣmana, Venidatta, Śaṅkaramīra, Hanumat, Harinārāyaṇamuni.

Of these CANDRACUDA was son of Bhatta Puruṣoṭtama author of Anyoktikan thābharāṇa, Candrasēkharavivāhakāvyā, Kārṭavīryodaya and Prastāvacoṇṭāmāṇi (*CC*, I 180) BHAYYABHATTA was son of Kṛṣṇabhatta and brother of Advaitabhatta. The latter wrote Rāmalingavarṇana or Taktarāmāyaṇa at Benares in 1628 A D. (*HPB*, Cat. VII No. 5214) RAMACANDRA wrote Rādhācarita (*CC*, III 1107)

and Emperor Shah Jehan is praised by Harinārāyaṇamīśra

भूमन्मौलितटीषु वर्षति महाधाराधरोस्मिन्नसौ
जाता भूमिसरस्वती विजयनी कल्लोलिनी पावनी ।
श्रीमत्साहिजहा ब्रवीमि तदिदं माहात्म्यमस्या कथं
यस्या मज्जति पक्वजीयति शिवस्तन्मुर्धेजे लीयते ॥

Virasimha (1500-1540 A D) and Rāmacandra (1555-1592 A D), Kings of Rewah, are praised here by poets Rāmacandra and Akbarīya-Kālidāsa¹

373-B Acarya Kavindra or Kavindra (which is only a title) "was originally an inhabitant of some town on the banks of the river Godavari. He had studied the Asvalayana sakha of the Rgveda and had mastered other branches of learning also. In his very childhood he lost his interest in the world and having taken Sannyasa made Benares his abode. The Sannyasin must have met Shah Jehan when the persecution of Hindus was at its highest and the Pilgrim-tax was re-imposed on pilgrims to Allahabad and Benares. The Sannyasin seems to have exercised wonderful influence on the emperor in order to make him abolish the tax. The joy of Hindu India knew no bounds and congratulations poured from all quarters. Addresses after addresses, verses and prose eulogies, were presented to the Sannyasin, the Defender of Faith. Titles of Kavindra, Vidyandhana and Acarya were conferred upon him. These addresses in prose and verse along with the names of their authors who were scholars of repute or holy men have been preserved for us by Śrī Kṛṣṇa Upadhyaya in an anthology (Padyavali) called the Kavindracandrodaya."

चक्रेण मोचयांचके नक्राच्छक्रातुजो गजम् ।
प्रयागेन करग्राहात् करग्राहात् कवीन्द्रवित् ॥

Śrīśvāmīn

1. See Imperial Gaz. of India, XXI 279 ff. King Virasimha was patron of Rāmacandra, son of Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa, who wrote Rādhācariṭa, Raṣikarajana and Romāvalīśaṭaka, (See para *supra*) King Virabhānu (1540-1555 A D) of Rewah was patron of Bhanukara and as such is mentioned by Mohanaḍāsa in his Rasodaḥi (CC, I 468, 495, 498)

In a small poem of 75 verses, the last 6 verses appear to be eulogy of Emperor Akbar for the verse हस्तभोजलिमाला is ascribed to him in Rasikajivana (Annals, XII 896-9) and Paḍyaraṇa. The Colophon mentions the name of Gangadhara as having written it. Har Dutt Sarma guesses that Gangadhara might be the name of Akbarīya Kālidāsa

येन श्रीसाहिजाहा नरपतितिलकस्वस्य वश्यं कृतोऽभूत्
 किचावश्यं प्रसन्नः पुनरपि विहितः स्साहिदाराशकोह ।
 काशीतिर्थप्रयागप्रतिजनितकरग्राहमोक्षैकहनु
 सोय श्रीमान् कवीन्द्रो जयति कवियुक्तीर्थराजाधिराजः ॥

Hirarāma Kavi

Kavindra was a friend of Viṣvanātha Nāyapancānana. He was very rich and he had a treasurer Kṛṣṇa Bhatta. He utilised his wealth for the enrichment of Sanskrit literature and had a library of immense merit embracing all branches of learning. The catalogue of his library has been printed in Baroda and contains the names of many works now unknown. His asceticism and spirituality commanded the respect of Emperors Jehangir and Shah Jehan and Prince Dara and a manuscript of Vāmana's Kavyāṅkārāsūtra bears a seal with the name 'Salim' a name by which Emperor Jehangir was fondly known to his contemporaries. Kavindra wrote works in all branches of learning. His commentary on Daśakumāracarita has a memorable colophon

इति श्रीसकलशास्त्रार्थसार्थकीकृतशेषुषीविलासरससाद्रप्रवर्तितासख्ययशस्समुद्रविद्वत्परिषच्चद्र-
 यतीन्द्रसर्वविद्यानिधान (श्रीमत्) कवीन्द्राचार्यसरस्वतीकृतायाम् ॥

373 C His collections of Rāmāyana were very valuable and his list mentions Mṛkandurāmāyana, Saugraharāmāyana, Vyāsarāmāyana or Kākabhṛṣundirāmāyana, Vālmiki's Nātakarāmāyana, Vibhīṣaṇa-rāmāyana, Brahmarāmāyana, Śivarāmāyana, Agastīrāmāyana, Sivarāmāyana or Sesarāmāyana, Āgamarāmāyana, Karmarāmāyana, Skanda-rāmāyana, Pulastyarāmāyana, Aruṇarāmāyana, Bharatārāmāyana, Dharmarāmāyana, Adbhutarāmāyana, and Gāyatrīrāmāyana. There are also the poems Kṛṣṇavilāsa, Corakāvya, Kalpita-Kēdambarī, Meghavinoda, Śekhara-kāvya, Hāsyasanaka, on poetics, Bharatāsūtra with commentary, Ratnīṣṭhukula, Kāmasammohana, Kolanāyikā-khyāna, and in drama, Sarasvatīkanthabharāṇanāṭaka, Kṛṣṇabhakṭi-rasāyana, Bhūllana, Āsthānabhūṣana, Nepāl's Hāsyānāṭaka, and Meghadūṭi, Māḍhavavilāsa, Bhojarājataranginī and Prājyabhatta's Rājataranginī, and various books on the different arts (64 Kalas)

CHAPTER XVI

SECTION 1

Poetesses

Among the authors of the hymns of the Rg Veda, We have some women The Ātreva house produced the poetesses, Visṇavarā (V 28) and Āpalā (VIII 91) In the Kaksivat house, there was a line of poetesses and of these Ghoṣā was the greatest She was the daughter of Kak-īvan She calls herself a princess and probably her father was a ruler She remained unmarried to a late age, when she was favoured with a husband by the grace of the Asvins She wrote in Jagatī metre and her verses are easy and well balanced (I 117, 122) Juhū (X 109), Saśvatī (VIII 1), Māndhātṛī (V 134), Mādhavī (I 91), Sāsiprabhā (IV 4), Aṇulakṣmī (II 78, III 28, 63, 74 and 76), Revā (I 87), Pahāyī (I 83) and Rohā (II 63) are also poetic seers of the hymns Asvalāvana mentions Gārgī, Vācakhavī and Badavā Prāṭitheyī along with the ancient venerable R̥is Lōpāmudrā is referred to in the Anukramanī (I 179-192)¹

374 Dhanadeva's verse is quoted in Sārṅgadharapaddhaṭṭhaḥ .

शीलाविज्ञामारुलामोरिकाथा काव्य कर्तुं सन्ति विज्ञास्त्रियोजपे ।
विद्यां वेत्तु वादिनो निर्विजेत्रु विश्व वक्तु यः प्रवीणस्स वन्ध ॥

Rājasekhara praises some poetesses, Śīla, Vijayīnkā, or Vijjā or Vijjā, Subhadṛā, Prabhudevī, Vikatanṭambā

शब्दार्थयोस्समो शुम्भः पाञ्चाली रीतिरुच्यते ।
शीलामट्टारिकावाचि बाणोक्तिषु च सा यदि ॥
के वैकटनितम्बेन गिरां शुम्भेन रञ्जिता ।
निन्दन्ति निजकान्तानां न मौग्ध्यमधुर वच ॥
सरस्वतीव कर्णाटी विजयाङ्गा जयत्सौ ।
या वैदर्भगिरा वासः कालिदासादनन्तरम् ॥
सूक्तीनां स्मरकेलीनां कलानां च विलासम् ।
प्रमुदेवी कविलोटी गतापि हृदि तिष्ठति ॥

1 See *Women Poets of the Rig Veda* (IA, I, 118), *Poems by Indian Women* by N Macnool (Hr. of Indica Series), *Jl. of Sams Bah. Parishat*, XVI 4

पीथस्य मनसि स्थान लेभे लघु सुभद्रया ।

कवीना च वचोवृत्तिचातुर्येण सुभद्रया ॥

नीलोत्पलदलश्यामा विज्ञाकां ता मजानता ।

वृथैव दण्डिना प्रोक्ता सर्वशुक्ला सरस्वती ॥

Śilā's expression followed her imagery,¹ Vikatanitambā's verse was elegant in simplicity.² The style of Subhadrā appealed to the poetic mind and stuck to it for ever. Morikā and Mārulā excelled in suggestions of ideas.³

Vijjā was Sarasvatī incarnate except that she was dark in complexion.⁴ Vijjākā has been identified with the queen of Candrāditya, son of Pulakesin II, from the Nerur and Kochre grants dated 659 A.D.⁵

Bhāṣasekharacarita mentions poetesses, Kāmalilā, Sunardā, Kanakavallī, Madhurāngī, Iṣṭīngī and Vimalāngī (of Malava).⁶ Ballāla's Bhojacarita mentions some poetesses too, but it is doubtful if these were not fictitious names.⁷

The anthologies also quote verses of Jaghanacapalā (*Padyar*), Avilambitasarasvatī (*Padyar*), Indulekhā (*Subh*), Kunṭidevī (*Subh*), Candālavidyā (*Skm*), Nagamā (*Sp*), Padmāvaṭī (*Pmt*), Madālasā (*Sp*), Rajakasarasvatī (*Skm*), Laksmī (*Sp*), Vīrasarasvatī (*Padyar*), Sarasvatī (*Skm*), and Sīṣa (*Bhojapī abhandha*)

1 Vāgbhata in his Kavyānūśīna quotes a verse as of Śilā's. Is it Śilā? See Peterson, *Subh*, 180.

2 See Peterson, *Subh*, 117, Thomas, *Kav* 104, Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XXVII, 85, CC, I 569, Bhandarkar *Rep.* (1895) xix, xlvii.

3 Peterson, *Subh*, 94.

4. See Peterson, *Subh*, 119. Thomas, *Kav* 104. Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XXVII, 85, CC, I 571, Bhandarkar, *Rep.* (1897) xix, xlv. Bhoja quotes from Vijjākā and Vikatanitambā.

5 *IA*, VIII 44, 168. B. Bhattacharya (*Brief Summary of Sahitya Sastra, Journal of Dep. of Letters, Calcutta, IX*) says that he was contemporary of Dandin.

6 *DC*, XXI 8187, *JMy*, XI 7878.

7 Some of these verses are very good. For instance

घनु पीथ्य मौर्वी मधुकरमयी चञ्चलदृशा
दृशा कोणो बाणस्सुहृदपि जडात्मा हिमकर ।
सख्यै चैकोऽनङ्गस्त्रिभुवनमपि व्याकुलयति
क्रियासिद्धिस्तत्वे भवति महता नोपकरणे ॥

SILA

प्रियाविरहितस्याय हृदि चिन्ता मभागता ।
इति मत्वा गता निद्रा के कृतघ्नमुपासत ॥

Subh 1197

JAGHANACAPATA

दुर्दिननिशीथपवने निस्सञ्चारासु नगरवीथीषु ।
पत्नौ विदेशयाते पर सुखं जवनचपलाया ॥

Kāv 518

INDULEKHA

एके वारिनिर्धौ प्रवशमपरं लोकान्तरालोकनम्
केचित्पावकयोगिता निजगद् क्षीणशक्तिं चण्डार्चिष ।
मिथ्याचैतदसाक्षिक प्रियसखि प्रत्यक्षतीव्रातपम्
मन्येह पुनरध्वनीनरमणीचेतोऽधिष्ठेते रवि ॥

Subh 1902.

MARULA :

कृशा केनासि त्वं प्रकृतिरियमङ्गस्य मनु मे
मलाधूमा कस्मादगुरुजनगृहे पाचकतया ।
स्मरस्यस्मान् कच्चिन्नहि न हि न ह्रीलेव मगमम्
स्मरोत्कम्पं बाला मम हृदि निपत्य ग्रहदिता ॥

Subh. 1326.

MORIKA

मा गच्छ प्रमदाप्रिय प्रियशतैर्भूयस्त्वमुक्तो मया
बाला प्राङ्गणमागतेन भवता प्राप्नोति निष्ठा पराम् ।
किं चान्यत्कुचभारपीडनसहैर्यत्नप्रबद्धैरपि
त्रुट्यत्कबूचुकजालकैरनुदिन निस्सूत्रमस्मदगृहम् ॥

Subh 1053

VIKATANTAMBA :

अन्यासु तावदुपमर्दसहासु शृङ्ग लोल विनोदय मनस्सुमनोलसासु ।
बालामजातरजस कलिकामकाले व्यर्थं कदर्थयसि किं नवमालिकायाः ॥

Subh 735

VIDYA OR VIJJA :

किंशुककलिकान्तर्गतमिन्दुकलास्पादिकैसरं माति ।
रक्तनिचोलकपिहित धनुरिव जनुमुद्रितमनङ्गस्य ॥

Subh Int 118.

BHAVADEVI

सजन्मानौ तुल्यावमिजनभुवा जन्म च सह-
 प्रवृद्धौ नाम्ना च स्तन इति समानावुदयिनौ ।
 मिथस्सीमामात्रे यदिदमनयोर्भण्डलवतो-
 रपिस्त्रधायुद्ध तदिह नमस्यः कठिनिमा ॥

Kāṭ. 62

375 Priyamvada was the daughter of Sivarama and wife of Raghunātha. She lived in Faridpur, East Bengal, soon after 1600 A D. She wrote the poem *Syāmarahasya* and her earliest verse was in praise of Kṛṣṇa

काळिन्दीपुलिनेषु केलिकलन कसादिदैत्यद्विष
 गोपालीमिरमिश्रुतं व्रजवधूनेत्रोत्पलैरर्चितम् ।
 बर्हालङ्कृतमस्तक मुललितैरङ्गैस्त्रिमङ्ग भजे
 गोविन्द व्रजसुन्दरं भवहर वशीधर इयमलम् ॥

376. Vaijanti was the daughter of Mūtabhatta of the village of Dhanuka in Faridpur District. She married Kṛṣṇanātha, son of Durgādāsa Tarkavāgīśa of Kotalipada. She lived in the middle of 17th century A D. She learnt Sanskrit under her father and was proficient in Mīmāṃsā. Once when her husband could not make out a passage अत्रतुनोक्तं तत्रापिनोक्तम् and taught his pupils wrongly as meaning, "Here too not said, and there too not said," but dissatisfied with the interpretation appeared to be troubled over it, Vaijayantī gave the correction construction अत्रतुना उक्तम् तत्र अपिना उक्तम्. She wrote fine poetry but it is all merged in Anandālikācampū composed by her husband Kṛṣṇanātha, and her collaboration there is mentioned by Kṛṣṇanātha himself आनन्दलतिकाचम्यूर्येनाकारि स्त्रियासह. Once it is said while Kṛṣṇanātha was composing verses descriptive of a nāyikā, Vaijayanṭī composed a verse at once

अहिरयं कलघोतगिरिभ्रमात् स्तनमगात्किल नामिहदोत्थित ।
 इति मिवेदयितुं नयने हि यत् श्रवणसीमनि किं समुपस्थिते ॥

JAYANTI is mentioned in an article by the editor of Visvaśā in an old magazine, Bangavashī, East Bengal. She has written a fine poem, said to have been seen by Pandit Amūlyacaran Vidyābhūṣan, Assistant Secretary, Bengal Sāhitya Parīṣat¹

1. For an account see *Sah*, XXI 112

2. I am indebted for this information to J N C Ganguly, M.A.

377 Uppaya,¹ Manoramā and Subhadra of Malabar, Avantī-sundarī, wife of Rājasekhara, and Sundarī and Kamalā, wives of Ghanasāma, were poetesses of renown²

Gangādevī, Madhuravānī and Tirumalāmbā have already been mentioned

378 Lakhina Thakurani is the famous poetess of Mithila. A verse of hers is repeated

अक्रान्ता दशमध्वजस्य गतिना सम्मूर्च्छिता निर्जल
तुर्यद्वादशमद्वितीयमतिमन्त्रेकादशमस्तनी ।
सा षष्ठी कटिपञ्चमी च नवमभ्रुस्सप्तमीवर्जिता
प्राप्तेत्यष्टमवेदना त्वमधुना तूर्णं तृतीयो भव ॥

Here is an indirect form of the signs of the Zodiac numbered in serial order from mesa³

“Attacked with the severe onslaught of the God of love is she
Distraught like a craft or a fish in a dry place is she Oh, Thou bull-
minded one, the damsel round of arms as a water jar, with arched eye-
brows (the destined wife of thou who art like a lord amongst kings and
who is not* (gross) like a shop-keeper's wife who plies the scales (who
has no equal) She feels pain like that of a scorpion bite Surely,
let the result of married life relieve her”⁴

379 Triveni was the daughter of Udayendrapuram Anantā-cārya and was so named because she was born immediately after her father completed his poem Yāḍava-Rāghava-Pāndaviya. She lived in 1817-1883 A D. She was married to Praṭivādī-Bhayankaram Venkatā-cārya of Śrīperumbudūr. Her poetic instincts manifested themselves even before her marriage and after her marriage, she studied philosophy under her husband. She had a son who predeceased her and after she became a widow she wished to erect a temple for some idols

1 JRAS, O S I Index

2 See para 166 *supra*

3 Pandit A M Srinivasacharya of Agaram near Conjeevaram has a similar verse

भेषारोहनिम निरीक्ष्य वृषभं सत्वा त्वया द्वन्द्वमा-

वाप्त्यै कर्कटवत् प्रतीपगमना सिंहावलम्बिता ।

कन्या सावतुलापि वृश्चिकसमैर्बाणैर्धनुष्यापैतै-

राशुक्तामकरध्वजेन कलिता कुम्भस्तनी मीनदम् ॥

4 As translated by G. A. Grierson *IA*, XV, 818.

discovered in her place and presented to her by the Collector, who was pleased with her *Hāratiṇṇapancaka*. For that purpose she went to the courts of Travancore and was well received there. Dewan Rāṅgācārya of Mysore was her admirer and by his patronage she completed the shrines. She was prolific in her writings and her capacity to make up *samasyas* *ex tempore* was remarkable. Among women she stands foremost in poetic contributions to Sanskrit Literature. Her poems of devotion are *Lakṣmīśahasra* and *Rāṅganāthasahasra*, her lyrics, are *Sukasāndesā* and *Bhṛṅgasāndesā*, her poems are *Rāṅgābhivudaya* and *Sampatṅkumāraviṇaya* and her plays *Rāṅgarātsamudaya* and *Taṭṭva-mudrābhāṇḍarodaya*, the latter of which is allegorical.

380 Lakṣmī Rājñī was a princess of Kadathanadu, Ikavalam Kovilagam, Malabar. She lived about 1890. Her *Santīnagopālakāvya* in 3 cantos relates a story that a brahmin lost his ten children successively, Arjuna promised to save the last and when he was unable to do it and resolved to enter the fire. Kṛṣṇa intervened and from Vaikuntha brought back all the ten lost children. The last canto has Yamaka composition.¹

381 Sundaravallī lived about 1900 A.D. She was the daughter of Narasiṃha Iyengar of Mysore, and studied under Kasturī Rāṅgācārya. She wrote *Ramāyanacampū* in 6 cantos corresponding to the *Kāndas* of *Rāmāyana*.²

382 Jnanasundarī was a dancing girl of Kumbakonam. She lived there and passed away about 1910. She was the pupil of Kuppu-swami Sastrī of Śrīvaṭṣagoṭṭra and was, as she says, the author of several works, of these however only one *Hālāṅṇacampū* in 6 *Ṣṭabakas* has been traced. There are old gentlemen living in the southern districts who remember her discourses, dancing and recitals, well and with delight and R. Fisher, Bar-at-law, of Madura was her particular patron. She visited the Mysore court and there received the title *KAVIRAJNA*. Her narration of the wedding of *Minākṣī* and *Sundaresa* makes a pleasant reading. In verse she is fond of alliteration.³

मधुरीकृतगरलत्वात् मधुराभिख्या तदादि सा नगरी ।

निजसीमस्थफणित्वात् बिभाति ह्यालस्यनामतश्चेह ॥

तस्या ललाटलीनस्त्राहापतिरेव शान्तसन्तापः ।

रेजे कुङ्कुमतिलकव्याजान्मून बुधा हि कालविदः ॥

1 Printed Trichur

3 Printed Śrīvidyā Press, Kumbakonam.

2 Printed, Bangalore.

383 Kamaksi married G. A. Muthukrishna Iyer of Koundinya-gotra. She was born in 1902 and is the daughter of Pancāpagesārva of Ganapati Agraharam in Tanjore District. She is the Sanskrit tutor in the Girls' School in Cuddalore N. T. She has mastered Kālidāsa's literature and her *RAMACARITA* is a small poem composed with words and phrases used by Kālidāsa an epitome of Rāma's story.

384 Sister BATAMATI lives at Madras. She is a well-known nationalist of South India. Her *Āryārāmāvana* is likewise a summary of the story, in easy verse, much read by beginners in Sanskrit study.

SECTION 2

Royal Poets

385 The early Vedic literature has an instance of a royal bard *Visvāmītra*. The epic literature describes kings as highly learned and it is not unlikely that many of these patrons of poets were themselves poets. *Vikramāditya* is mentioned as a poet and some of his verses are quoted in the anthologies, though the identification of *Vikramāditya* is impossible. *Samudragupta* is called a *Kavirāja* in the inscriptions. Dynasties of kings of several parts of India had royal poets, so far as it is known, from about the 6th century B.C. Kings whose works are now extant have been mentioned elsewhere in the several chapters of this book. The anthologies quote verses ascribed by name to royal authors. Of these a few are now known to history.

386 Dharmasoka was the third in ascent from Kaniska of the first Gonanda dynasty of Kashmir. Kalhana says that this king freed himself from sins by embracing Buddha's religion and built the city of Śrīnagarī with ninety six lakhs of houses resplendent with wealth.¹

स षण्णवत्या गेहाना लक्षैलक्ष्मीसमुज्ज्वले ।

गरीयसीं पुरीं श्रीमांश्चक्रे श्रीनगरीं नृपैः ॥

Raj I 104,

Dharmāsoka appears to have been a poet and his verse is enchanting.

For instance

अहमहमिकाबद्धोत्साह रतोत्सवचसिनि

प्रसरति मुहुः प्रौढस्त्रीणां कथामृतदुर्दिने ।

कलितपुलका सद्यः स्तोकोद्गतस्तनकोरका

बलयति शनैर्बाला वक्षस्थले तरळां दृश्यम् ॥

Saduk II 1-3

387 Gonanda, the poet, was one of the three early Kings of Kashmir, who lived according to Kalhana before 240 B C. Here is a humorous verse

सखि कलितं स्वलितो सौ नैव प्रणाममात्रेण ।
चिरमनुभवतु भवत्या बाहुलताबन्धनं धूर्त ॥

Kan 385

388 Gopaditya was the son of Akṣa. He founded several temples and agraharams. He ruled over Kashmir for 60 years in the 5th century B C. Sunanda, the fourth ancestor of Gopaditya wrote a work on erotics,² and Gopaditya himself appears to illustrate it

अथ द्यूतजिताधरप्रहविधावीशोऽसि तत्त्वण्डना-
दाधिक्ये वद को भवानिति मृषाकोपाश्विततन्मूलतम् ।
सद्यस्त्विन्नकरात्कुन्तलकरायत्तीकृतस्यास्य मे
सुग्राह्यी प्रतिकृत्य तत्कृतवती द्यूतेऽपि यन्नाजितम् ॥

Subh 2110

389 Ranaditya Tunjina was the son of Yudhisthira and came to the throne after his brother Narendraditya.³ He ruled over Kashmir somewhere before 522 A D. He takes a simile from an umbrella thus

यद्यप्युन्नतवशाच्चवसुधाधामामिरामं वपुः
संप्राप्तोऽतिशयस्वभावमुभगच्छायस्सता तापहृत् ।
तन्नाप्येष विसंस्थुलस्थितिरेहो लक्ष्मीं निजात्मोचितां
प्रायश्चक्रिकया विना न लभते पश्यतपत्र यथा ॥

Subh 3075

390 Samudragupta is praised by Harisena, where the king is described as a prince of poets. "His is the poetic style which is worthy of study and his is the poetic verse which multiplies the spiritual treasures of poets."⁴

391 Muktapida (Lahtaditya) was the son of Durlabhavardhana of Karkota dynasty of Kashmir. He ruled in 699-735 A D. Sakṣiswami was his minister. He wrote didactic poetry.⁵

1 वसन्त्यरण्येषु चरन्ति दूर्वां पिबन्ति तोयान्यपरिमहाणि ।
तथापि बध्या हरिणा नराणां को लोकमाराधयितुं समर्थ ॥

Saung

1 *Raj* I 336 346 See under Kalhana *supra*

2 *Raj* III. 379 *et seq*

3 See *para* 11 *supra* *IA*, XLII 172, 188, 280, 248, *JRAS*, (1897), 20,

4 *Raj* VI 146 *et seq*, Vaidya, *MI*, 202, S. P. Pandit, *Int* to Gaudavaho, lxxx gives date 645-732, M. Duff gives 726 760 A.D. But Cunningham gives date 594 A D

- 11 लक्त जन्मवन तृणाङ्कुरवती मातेव मुक्ता स्थली
विश्रम्भस्थितिहेतवो न गणिता बन्धूपमा पादपा ।
बालापलवियोगदु खविधुरा नापेक्षिता सा मृगी
मार्गान्त पदवीं तथाप्यकरुणा व्याधा न मुञ्चन्त्यमी ॥¹

Subh 954

- 111 छित्वा पाशमपास्य कूटरचनां भङ्क्वा बलाद्वाशुरां
पर्यस्ताभिश्चिखाकलापजटिलाभिर्गाल दूर वनात् ।
व्याधानां शरगोचरादपि जवेनोत्प्लुत्य धावन्मृग
कूपान्त पतित करोति विधुरे किं वा विधौ पौरुषम् ॥

Subh 655

392 Yasovarman, King of Kanauj, was the patron of Bhavabūti and Vākpaṭi. He was defeated by Lalitāditya Muktag̃pida. Yasovarman's exploits are described in Vākpaṭi's *Gaudavaho*. So says Kalhana

कविर्वाक्पतिराजश्रीभवभूत्यादिमेवित ।
जितो ययौ यशवर्मा तदगुणस्तुतिर्वन्दिताम् ॥

Raj IV 144

Yasovarman's play *Rāmābhyudaya* is mentioned by Dhānīka to illustrate *chālana* and quoted by Abhinavagupta ²

He compares himself with *Asoka* thus

रक्तस्त्व नवपल्लवैरहमपि श्लाघ्यै प्रियाया गुणै-
स्त्वामायान्ति शिलीमुखारस्मरधनुर्मुक्तास्सखे मामपि ।
कान्तापादतलाहतिस्त्व मुदे तद्वन्ममाप्यावयो
सर्वं तुल्यमशोक केवलमह धात्रा सशोक कृत ॥

Subh 1364

393 Jayapida was son of Vajrāditya and succeeded his brother Sangrāmāpida. He ruled over Kashmir in 751-782 A.D.* Kalhana calls him a paṇḍita

क्षीराभिधाञ्छन्दविद्योपाध्यायात्सन्धृतश्रुत ।
बुधैस्सह ययौ वृद्धिं स जयपीडपण्डित ॥
तावत्पण्डितशब्दोऽभूत् राजशब्दादपि प्रथा ॥

1 Compare Mentha's verse quoted *para* 35 *supra*

2 See Levi, II 9, Keith, *SD*, 220-4, Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XXVII 75, XXXVI, 521, *CC*, I 174 and *JBRAS*, XVI 177, *BE*, (1897) xl. Peterson, *Subh.* 95. *JOR*, III 267, (for extracts). For another Yasovarman of Paramāra dynasty, see under Bhoja *post*

3 M Duff gives dates 779-813 A.D.

In his court flourished Udbhata, Kīraswāmi, Manoratha and other poets So says Kalhana ¹

विद्वान् दीनारलक्षेण प्रत्यहं कृतवैतन ।
मष्टोऽभूदुद्धटस्तस्य भूमिभर्तुस्समापति ॥
स दामोदरगुप्ताख्यं कृट्टिनीमतं कारिणम् ।
कविं कविं बलिरिव धुर्यं धीमचिव व्यधात् ॥
मनोरथशङ्खदत्तश्चटकस्तन्धिर्मास्तथा ।
बभूवुः कवयस्तस्य वामनाद्याश्च मन्त्रिणः ॥

His description of nature, says Kalhana, was even in his times oft remembered ²

अवस्थावेदिकास्तत्र प्रथिता पृथिवीभुजा ।
आर्द्रान्तं करणैश्श्लोकास्मर्यन्तेऽद्यापि सूरिभिः ॥

For instance

पुरो रेवा पारे गिरिरतिदुरारोहशिखर
सरस्सव्ये वामे दवदहनदाहव्यतिकर ।
धनुष्पाणि पश्चाच्छबरहतको धावतितरां
न यातु न स्थातु हरिणशिखरेष प्रभवति ॥

Subh 661

394 Avantivarman, the first of Utpala dynasty, ruled over Kashmir in 855-884 A D In his court flourished Mukṭākana, Sivaswāmin, Anandavardhana and Ratoākara ³ His similes are often drawn from nature

असारो निर्युणो वक्रश्चिन्नरूपतयान्वित ।
अवाप न चिराद्भ्रष्टं शक्रचापं खलो यथा ॥

Subh 1802

दुस्सहसन्तापमयात्सम्प्रति मध्यस्थिते दिक्सनाथे ।
छायामिव वाञ्छन्ती छायापि गता तस्तलानि ॥

Subh 1693

1 *Raj*, IV 403, *et seq* IV 469 497, 548

2, See also *BKR*, 65, 73, *PR*, I 65 II 28

3 *Raj*, V 1—127 See para 56 *supra*

395 Vakptiraja II,¹ also known as Munja, Utpalaraja, Prithivī-vallabha, Śrīvallabha,² was a poet and patron of poets. He was the son of Siyaka. He ruled at Dhāra in Marwar in 974-995 (?) A.D. He was defeated and executed by the Calukya king Tailapa II.³

Munja is praised by Sambhu, Halāyudha and Kavirāja. His treatment of Bhoja, his nephew, is the theme of the works entitled *Bhoja-caritra*⁴ *Dhananjaya* and *Padmagupta* flourished in his court and Kāśmendra instances his verses as of particular merit.⁵ Remnants of his poetry now extant eminently attest the appreciation.

For instance :

देवि त्वं कुपिता त्वमेव कुपिता कोऽयं पृथिव्यां गुरु.
माता त्वं जगता त्वमेव जगता माता न विज्ञोऽपर ।
देवि त्वं परिहासकेलिकलहेऽजन्ता त्वमेवेत्यथ
ज्ञातानन्तपदो नमज्जलधिजां शौरिश्चिर पातु व ॥

Subh. 20

कुतस्त्वमनु क खत खमिति किं न यत्कस्यचित्
किमिच्छसि पदत्रयं ननु भुवा किमिलक्ष्यया ।
द्विजस्य शमिनो मम त्रिभुवनं तदित्याशयो
हरेर्जयति निष्पुनः प्रकटितश्च वक्रोक्तिमि ॥

Saduk 43-2

जयति समदलेखोच्छृङ्खलप्रेमरामाललितसुरतलीलदैवत पुष्पचाप ।
त्रिभुवनजयसिद्धौ यस्य शृङ्गारमूर्तेरुपकरणमपूर्वं मालयमिन्दुर्मयिनि ॥

Saduk 93-3

396 Kalasa was the son of Anantārāja and father of Harṣa. He ruled over Kashmir about 1080-1088 A.D.⁶ ~~Kalasa's~~ description of him as a man of letters is delightful.

1. Vākpati, author of *Gaudavaho*, was a different person.

2. *IA*, VI 48, XIV 159 *EI*, V vi, I 227, IX 71. See under *Padmagupta* para 61 *supra*. For an account of Munja, see Marthanda's *Prabandhaśaṅkṣā* (I xi) and Introduction to *Dasarūpa* (*OUS*.) by G. C. Ojha.

3. *IA*, XII 270, XVI 18, XXI 167, *EI*, II, 414.

4. See under *Bhoja post*.

5. *Suvrttaṭṭakā*, II, 6, *Kavikānthābhāṣya* p. 125, *Aṅgavijayā* p. 16, (*Kavyamala* Edn.).

6. *Raj.* VII, 281, st. 23g.

यस्योदारा परिकलयतश्शस्त्रशास्त्रप्रतिष्ठां
 द्वे प्रेयस्यौ जगति विदिते श्रीश्च वाग्देवता च ।
 एका भेजे भुजभभिनवाम्भोजलीलातपत्रा
 श्वेतच्छत्रायितसितयशश्चन्द्रिकान्या मुखेन्दुम् ॥

Vikrama —XVIII 56

Equally worthy is Kalhana's description

स च भोजनरेन्द्रश्च दानोत्कर्षेण विश्रुतौ ।
 सूरौ तस्मिन् क्षणे तुल्य द्वावास्ता कविबान्धवौ ॥

Raj VII 259

Ksemendra quotes a verse as an instance of prosodial merit

अज्ञतां जलमधीरलोचना लोचनप्रतिशरीरशरितम् ।
 आत्तमात्तमपि कान्तमैक्षितु कातरा शफरशङ्किनी जहौ ॥

The following verses, besides others found in the anthologies suggest that Kalasa must have written plays and poems from which they have been culled for quotation

दैत्यारिपञ्जरविदारणलब्धरन्ध्ररक्ताम्बुनिक्षरसरिद्धनजातपङ्काः ।
 कालेन्दुकोटिकुटिलाश्लुकचञ्चुमासो रक्षन्तु सिद्धवपुषो नखरा हरेर्व ॥

आदित्या किं दशैते प्रलयमयकृतस्त्रीकृताकाशदेशाः
 किं वोल्कामण्डलानि त्रिभुवनदहनायोधतानीति भीतै ।
 पायासुर्नारसिद्ध वपुरभरगणैर्बिभ्रतश्शार्ङ्गपाणे
 दृष्ट्वा दृष्टासुरीरस्तलदरणगलद्रक्तारक्ता नखा व ॥

Subh 52, 53

दयिताबाहुपाशस्य कुतोऽयवपरो विधि ।
 जीवयत्यर्पित कण्ठे मारयत्यपवर्जित ॥

Subh 15 29

397 Arjunavarman, son of Subhatavarman, was a successor of King Munja. He ruled in Malva about Sam 1272 (1216 A D), In his commentary on Amaruka,¹ he quotes a verse of "his ancestor Munja-deva" There he says about himself

क्षिप्ताशुमस्तुभटवर्मनेन्द्रमुजुः
 वीरव्रती जगति भोजकुलप्रदीपः ।

1. See para 308 *supra*. In an inscription it is said (*JAGS*, VII, 24)

देवभृय गते तस्मिन्नन्दनोऽर्जुनभृपति ।
दोष्णा धत्तेऽनुना धात्रीवल्य वलय यथा ॥
बाललीलाहवे यस्य जयसिद्धे पलायिते ।
दिक्पालहामव्याजेन यशो दिक्षु विजृम्भितम् ॥

Peterson, *Subh*, 6,

Jalhana quotes a verse of his about Amaruka's poetry

अमरककवित्वममरकनादेन विनिह्यनुना न सञ्चरति ।
शृङ्गारमणितिरन्या धन्यानां श्रवणविवरेषु ॥

Here is another verse

नीनोऽस्मि येन महतीं सलिलेन वृद्धिं सयोजितश्च सतत गुरुणा फलेन ।
तच्छोष्यते दिनकृतेत्यतिचिन्तयेव शोकानत कलमशालिवन विपाण्डु ॥

Subh 1822

398 Laksmanasena was the Vaidya King of Bengal who ruled at Lakṣanāvaṭi. His era began 1119-1120 A D. Śrīdharadāsa composed his anthology in during his reign.¹ In his court flourished Jayadeva, Umāpati, Govardhana and Śaraṇa.² His description of Kṛṣṇa is alluring

तिर्यक्कन्धरमसदेशमिलितश्रोत्रावतस स्फुरद्-
बहोचसितकेशपाशमनृजुभ्रूवद्धरीविभ्रमम् ।
गुञ्जद्वेष्टुनिवेशिताधरपुट साक्तराधानन-
न्यस्तामीलितदृष्टि गोपवज्रुषो विष्णोर्मुख पातु व ॥

Saduk 57-2,

नेपथ्य भूतभर्तुस्त्रिदशपरिषदां जीवन यामिनीना-
मुत्तस पांसुलानां कुलरिपुरमृतस्रोतसामादिशैल ।
आतङ्क पङ्कजाना जयति रतिकलाकेतनं मीनकेतो.
सिन्धूनामेकबन्धु कुसुमसमुदयानन्दकन्दोऽयमिन्दु. ॥

Saduk. 87 1.

399 Anandagajapati, Zamindar of Vizianagaram (1850-1897 A D), was a great poet. Many stray verses are now repeated. For instance

प्राचां रीति पौनरुक्त्यप्रदात्री नन्या शिष्याचार्यमाधुर्ययुर्या ।
तस्मादस्तु क्षान्तिशीलाय तस्व त्वत्सबोध्य स्तोत्रमन्यापदेश ॥

1, See para 291 *supra*

2 See paras 291-302 & *supra*.

400 The following royal poets are also quoted in the anthologies Acit̥tadeva, Anant̥adeva,² Anurāgadeva, Amṛt̥adeva, Arthavarman, Bhramaradeva, Bhāskarasena, Dhanaḍadeva, Kumārādattī, Karnātadeva, Nānyadeva,³ Prabhākaradeva, Rūpadeva, Vasantadeva, Vijayapāla, Vinayadeva,⁴ Viśamāditya, Vikramāditya, Vikrantivarman, Sankaraḍadeva, Suravarman, Hariharaḍadeva, Harivarman, Vāsudeva, Puruṣoṭṭamaḍadeva,⁵ Harṣapāladeva, Kesavasena, Śankaradeva, Pravarasena,⁶ Kusumadeva⁷

SECTION 3

Unnamed Poets.

401 The anthologies ascribe verses to poets whose real names are not known, but who have acquired new names such as Sahdārṇava or Lalit̥ānugraha as if they were titles conferred on them from attractive ideas exhibited in their compositions. So were other poets known by phrases Dīpasikhā-Kālīdāsa, Ghaṇṭā-Māgha, Chatra-Bhāravi and the like. In the case of the following poets, for instance, it is only the titular name or sobriquet and stray verses that have come down to us.

ḌAGDHAMADANA¹

यदि प्रियावियोगेऽपि रुधते दीनदीनकम् ।

तदिदं दग्धमरणसुपयोगं क्व यास्यति ॥

Subh 1255,

ḌARSANIYA

सखि विवृणुते सन्तापस्ते तनुस्तनुतां गता कठिनहृदये धैर्यक्षेपाद्रतिर्गलितक्रमा ।

कथय विषमान्तर्दाहव्यथां सहते न तां मदनदहनज्वालावल्लीविलीढमिदं मनः ॥

Subh 1172

CANDRODĀYA

प्रसीद गतिरुच्यता ब्रजतु राजहसी सुखं स्मितं च परिमुच्यता स्फुरतु कुन्दपुष्पप्रभा ।

निमीलय विलोचने भवतु हारि कर्णोत्पल करस्थगितमाननं कुरु विभातु चन्द्रोदय ॥

Subh 2035

¹ There is Anant̥adeva Silhāra, whose grant is dated śaka 1016 (I.4, IX 288).

² See chapter on Music *post*.

³ Probably the same as Vinayaprabha (page 367 *supra*). Author of Candradūtā, CC, II 86.

⁴ Probably King of Orissa whose grant is dated 1488 A.D. (I.1, I 355)

⁵ See page 32 *supra*.

⁶ Author of Dr̥ṣṭāntaśāstaka or Dr̥ṣṭāntakalikā, printed Habeshin, 217 CC, I. 26a, *Subh*. 287 207

DHAIRYAMIRA

दिव्यचक्षुरहं जातस्सरगेणापि चेतसा ।
इहस्थो येन पश्यामि देशान्तरगतां प्रियाम् ॥

Subh 1208

NIDRADARIDRA

जाने कोपपराङ्मुखी प्रियतमा स्वनेऽद्य दृष्टा मया
मा मां मस्पृश पाणिनेति रुदती गन्तु प्रवृत्ता तत ।
नो यावत्परिरम्य चाटुकञ्जैराश्रामयामि प्रियां
भ्रातस्त्वावदहं शठेन विधिना निद्रादरिद्रं कृत ॥

Subh 1362

PRIYAVIRAHA

पश्चाद्वृत्क्षिपति क्षितौ निपतति क्रोड नखैरुल्लिख-
त्युद्राप्येण च चक्षुषा सहचरीं ध्यायन्मुहुर्नीक्षते ।
चक्राहो दिवसावमानसमये तत्तत्करोत्युन्मना
येनालोहितमण्डलोऽपि कृपया नास्त रविर्गच्छति ॥

Subh 1921

MURKHA

नैषा वेगं मृदुतरतनुस्तावकीनं विसोद्धृता भ्रैनां चपलं सुशृणु मेदयेन्दीवराक्षीम् ।
रत्यभ्यासं विदधत इव प्राणनाथस्य गत्वा कर्णोपान्ते निश्चतनिश्चतं नूपुरं क्षमतीव ॥

Subh 2107

VAGYINA

अतन्त्री वाग्नीणा स्तनयुगलमप्रीवकलसावनञ्जं दृङ्गनोलोत्पलदलमपत्रोरुकदली ।
अकाण्डा दोर्वक्त्री वदनमकलङ्कशशधरं तदस्यास्ताम्रण्यं भुवनविपरीतं स्फुटयति ॥

Saduk 3-2,

VIRASARSVATI

मधुरावधिकं सुरारेरुद्वेयं द्वारि वल्लवीवचनम् ।
पुनरपि यमुनासलिले कालियगरलानलो ज्वलति ॥

Saduk 62-5

BHERIBHRAMAKA

रम्भोरु क्षिप लोचनार्थममितो बाणान् वृथा मन्मथ
सन्धर्त्ता धनुर्जग्तु क्षणमितो भ्रूवल्लिमुच्छासय ।
किञ्चान्तनिहितागमधुरामव्यक्तवर्णक्रमां
मुग्धे वाचमुदीरयास्तु जगतो वीणासु भेरीभ्रम ॥

Saduk 49-1

CANDALACANDRA

अम्भोरुह वदनमम्बकमिन्दुकान्त पाथोनिधि कुसुमचापमृतो विकार ।
प्रादुर्बभूव सुमग त्वयि दूरस्थे चण्डालचन्द्रधवलासु निशासु तस्या ॥

Saduk 36-2

JAGHANACAPALA

दुदिननिशीथपवने निस्संचारासु नगरवांशीषु ।
पत्नौ विदेशयाते पर सुख जघनचपलाया ॥

Kav 518

402 **Kankana** may be King Ksemagupta surnamed Kankana-varṣa who ruled over Kashmir in 958-968 A D (*Ray* VI 150-180) But it looks as if the poet got his name from the following verses and is a different author

कण्ठग्रहे शिथिलतां गमिते कथञ्चित् यो मन्यते मरणमेव सुखाभ्युपायम् ।
गच्छन्स एष न बलाद्विधृतो युवाभ्यामित्युज्झिते भुजलते त्रलयैरिवास्याः ॥

Subh 1015

वीणाक्वाणलयोद्धासिलोलदङ्कुलिपल्लव ।
भारत्या पातु भूतानि पाणिर्लसितकङ्कण ॥

Saduk. 71-1.

The following verse attributed to him in Śārasamuccaya, commentary on Kāvyaaprakāśa, (*PR*, II, 15) is playful .

लीलापङ्कजमादधाति रुचिरे गम्भीरनाभ्यन्तरे
कस्तूरीद्रवचर्चित वपुरपि श्यामीकरोत्यादरात् ।
ताटङ्ग च करे करोति कुतुकाच्चक्रानुकारं तदा
लक्ष्मीः क्रीडति पीतवस्त्रकलिता रिमत्वा सखीनां पुर. ॥

CHAPTER XVII

Desavṛtta

403 Vidyapati was the son of Gaṇapati and grandson of Jayadatta ¹ In L S ² 291 (1410 A D) a copy of Kāvīyaprakāśa was copied under Vidyapati's order and in L S 309 (1428 A D) Vidyapati himself copied Bhāgavata Purāṇa ³ There is a copper plate grant of Mahārāja Sivasimha to Vidyapati dated L S 293 (1412 A D) ⁴ His Kīrtitā, a poem in Avahattha language, mentions Ibrahim Shah of Jaunpur (1401-1440 A D) ⁵ Vidyapati lived in the first half of the 15th century A D ⁶ Vidyapati was one of the earlier Padavalī poets whose songs in the vernacular charmed the people of Northern India ⁷

His Durgābhaktitaranginī ⁸ is a poem of one thousand verses on the ceremony of the autumnal worship of Durgā famous in Eastern Bengal It was written under the patronage of Dhīrasimha (son of Narasimha) who was the ruling king in Mithila in L S 321 (1440 A D)

Likhanāvalī ⁹ is a Sanskrit work on forms of letter-writing composed under the patronage of Purāditya, a Jagirdar in North Mithila It mentions L S 299 (1417-8 A D) frequently in the letters

Vidyapati's name is equally known by his two gazetteers *in prose*, Bhūparīkrama and Puruṣaparīkṣā Bhūparīkrama covers Balarāma's journey round the earth, describing 56 countries Passing along the banks of the Sarasvatī, the poet mentions various historical events, down to his own times, including the battle of Hammīra with Allaudin. Puruṣaparīkṣa contains moral or political tales for the instruction of children It is on the plan or Pancaṭantra, but the characters

1. Sir G. A. Grierson gives a genealogy in *Masthāl Chrestomathy*, 39 A similar list was published by Rājkr̥ṣṇa Mahopādhyāya in *Bangadarsan* a few years ago See Basantkumar Chatterjee, *Padavalī Literature* [Jl Dept. of Letters Calcutta University, XVI 28 34] which gives a complete account of Vidyapati

2. L S is Lakṣmaṇasena Era which commenced in 1119 A D.

3. India Govt Ms fol. 117 a See B. Chatterjee l. c. 86.

4. B. Chatterjee, l.c. 38, quoting from Bangiya Sah Part Patrika, where V. Rāmācārṇava gave the text

5. Elphinstone's *History of India*, (748 9)

6. Nagendranath Gupta (*Introduction*) thinks that Vidyapati died in 1448 A.D.

7. l. c. 323 There is another work of this name by Mādhava (CC, I 256)

8. CSC (1903), 445, CSC (1895), No. 29.

are men, some of whom are historical. It was written under the orders of Sivasimha of Mithila, but the king died before the work was finished.

404 Pattubhatta or Poṭaryārya of Vadhūlagotra was born in the village of Kākamrānpura near Masulipatam. His *Prasangaratnāvalī* written in Śāka 1338 (1466 A D) is a collection of miscellaneous descriptions and comprises stanzas on moral and social duties, rules for particular ceremonies and personal conduct and sketches of individual biography and character. The 77th chapter gives short accounts of princes from the great Vikramāditya to Simhabhūpaṭi, Raja of Pittapur. Proverbial expressions are abundant.¹

405 Jaganmohana wrote *Desavalivivṛiti* at the request of king Bajala of Chohan race who died in Śāka 1570 (1648 A D)². It describes the 56 kingdoms of India with the names of rulers, ancient and modern, and contains much historical information.³

406 Mahesa Thakkura wrote *Ākarnāma* or *Sarvadesa-vṛtṭāntasangraha* in prose and he was presented by Emperor Akbar with the *Ḍarbhānga Raj*.⁴

407. Ramakavi wrote *Pāndavaḍḍivijaya*⁵ in the court of Rāja of Sekharabhūmi in the 18th century A D. It describes the conquest of India by Pāndavas. It is very voluminous, probably bigger than *Malābhārata*. "Like *Desāvalivivṛiti*, it is rather a geographical work describing the most noted places in India with historical or Paurāṇika events associated with them. The chief interest of the book consists in the accounts which it gives of the manners, customs, laws, religions, institutions and other social particulars of different parts of India before and after the Mahomedan conquest. The stories of Vikramāditya, Śālvāhana, Bhartṛhari, Śankarācārya, Prabhākara Bhatta, Jumar Nandi, Jayacandra (king of Kambhoja), Pratāparudra (ruler of Orissa), Surabhatta, etc., find a place in it. The authorities quoted are Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, Skanda Purāṇa, Rudravijaya, Viśvagunādarsa, Mahābhōjaprabandha, Śākāvalī etc.,"

1 *TC*, III, 8771 *DC*, XX 8065, where contents are given.

2 *CU*, I 340, Big 708, P. R III 895. See B Oatterjes, *lc*, 35.

3 *OSC* (1908), 43-5. It contains an interesting account of Kalyāṇavarman killed at Furi in Kali 4600. Haraprasad Sastri (*JBOES*, III 14) mentions Vikramasāgara of Jaganmohana.

4 See para 96 *supra*, All Un Studies, Vol V *Gazetteer Literature of India*.

5 *OSC*, (1896) No. 72.

408 Cambhucandra Nrpati wrote *Vikramabhārati* at the beginning of the 19th century, incorporating various stories about *Vikramaditya* and from *Purānas* ¹

409 Padmanandi wrote *Jambūdvīpapragṇapti* in 13 chapters, describing the various divisions of *Jambūdvīpa* and their measurements according to *Jaina Siddhānta* ²

Jambūdvīpavarnana is a geography with maps and drawings according to Jain authorities. The author's name is not known ³

410 Venkatakavisarvabhūma was the son of *Jogibhukta* and *Pārvatī*. He appears to have lived in *Godāvāri District* about the end of 18th century. He says he was a master of all arts and sciences and as indicative of his wide learning, he planned his *PRAPANCADARPANA* ⁴. It is a huge encyclopaedia in three parts, *Dharmakhanda*, *Arthakhanda* and *Kāmakhanda* and under these heads it embraces various topics on *Mantras*, *Purāṇas*, astrology etc., poetry and poetics etc. Often he makes quotations, but there is much there that is his own composition. References to authors and works seem to be so incorrect and unknown if not queer, that we are led to doubt their authenticity ⁵.

411 Ramakṛṣṇa Sastri's Bhuvanapradīpikā written at *Hassan* in 1808 under the patronage of *Kṛṣṇa Raja Odeyar III* of *Mysore* is an encyclopaedia, ⁶ "on a variety of subjects such as creation time, the *Manvadis*, geography, astronomy, history of Southern India and of *Mysore* with many details about his patron *Kṛṣṇa Raja Odeyar III*, the *Puranas*, duties of the four castes and religious orders, *Yoga* and *Vedānta*. Among the *Jaina* kings of *Tundīra-desa* are named *Satvādhara*, his son *Jivādhara*, his son *Yasodhara*, his son *Guṇapala*, his son *Yasahpala*, his son *Prajapala*, his son *Lokapala*, his descendant *Himasītala* who ruled from *Kali* 1125 *Viṅgala* and in whose reign *Akalanka* vanquished the *Bauddhas*, then followed *Harivikrama*, *Simhavikrama*, *Satyāratha*, *Nyayāratha* and *Dharmaratha* whose son

1 *CC*, I 569

2 *Cat C P*, No 7217

3 „ No 728

4 *TC*, III, 4094, See *Kuppuswami Sastri's Rep* (1916-19) 86

5 For instance, he mentions *Prasannarāghava* of *Murāri*, *Candraguṇa*'s *Śṛṅgārasāra* and *Rasasāgara*, *Janakipariṇaya* of *Gopāla*, *Śṛṅgāracandrika* of *Sāhasāṅka*, *Bilhana's Bhojacanṭa*, *Dandin's Vasanṭakusumākara*, *Mayura's Vasanṭanātaka*, *Gopīputra's Smaracandrikā*, *Allasani Peddanna's Rāsamāṇarj* and *Saṭyāpariṇaya* etc.

6 *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1918), 67,

CHAPTER XVIII

Kathanaka

(Fables and Fairy Tales)

SECTION I

412 Closely allied to Gāḍya Kāvya in the style of prose and to Nīti Kāvya in import are the Fables. They are generally called Kathā. But to distinguish these tales from the species of Romance called technically Kathā, I have used the term Kathānaka. In these fables and fairy tales, "the abundant introduction of ethical reflection and popular philosophy is characteristic, the apologue with its moral is pecuniary subject to this method of treatment"¹

"The controversy that was carried on towards the end of the last century between the advocates of the Eastern and the Northern origin of European fiction had reference especially to a particular class of creations—to those of chivalric romance—to the marvellous exploits magnified out of the traditional achievements wrought by the companion Knights of the Round Table or the Paladins of France. With all confidence, a different class of fiction that, at a later age, found accession into European literature can be traced back to oriental sources. Sir William Jones, in his discourse on the Hindus, observes that they are said to have laid claim to three inventions—the game of chess, the decimal scale of notation and the mode of instructing by apologues. The universal prevalence among the Hindus of the doctrine of metempsychosis was calculated to recommend to their belief the notion that beasts and birds could reason and converse and consequently the plan of such dialogues originated with them. Despite the questionability of the evidence in favour of the originality of the Hindus in the art of instruction by apologues, the purposes to which the Hindus directed it are peculiarly their own. Fable is with them practical ethics—the science of *nīti* or polity. Each fable is calculated to illustrate some reflection on worldly vicissitudes or some precept for human conduct."

The oldest Aryan fables, dating from centuries before Christ, have, according to Dr Rhys Davids, travelled to different parts of Europe and have assumed various modern shapes. Otto Keller maintains the

Indian origin of fables common to India and Greece and suggests an ancient Assyrian channel of communication. The substantial link of connection with the west is the literature of the beast-fable. The *Mahāvaiṣṇava* sutras of the Buddhist literature appear to contain the earliest Sanskrit legends in prose styled *Ityuktha* and *Vyākaraṇa* (corresponding to the *Itihāsa-purāṇas* in the *Brahmaṇas*) or legends in the form of parables styled *avadāna* exhibiting many elements of the later animal fables and further tales of presages and wonders *adbhuta-dharma* and lastly special instruction in and discussion of definite topics, denominated *upadeśa* and *śikṣā*. All these tales, partly mythical, partly didactic and partly allegorical, reappear in a more archaic dress in the *Brahmaṇas* in the *purāṇa*. The poetry does not point to any close similarity with the language of Kālidāsa's. The prose passages are devoid of all lucidity or simplicity. The verse and the *Aranyakas* as well as in the prose legends interspersed in the *Mahābhārata* which, in the general tenor of their language, present many salient points of similarity with the style of the Buddhist sutras. Most conspicuous among these are the *Jātaka* tales, which treat of the prior births of Buddha and the *Bodhisattvas*."

In the *Rik Veda* are the stories of Man and the Fish, Indra's metamorphosis into birds *Markata* and *Kapinjala*. In the *Chāndogya-upanishad* "we have the allegory or satire of the dogs which search out a leader to howl food for them, the talk of the two flamingoes whose remarks call attention to *Rāvaka* and the instruction of the young *Satyakā* finding a bull, then by a flamingo, then by an aquatic bird." Fables were directly known to *Paṇḍita* ¹

Early *Sūtra* works of *Jainas*, contain impressive tales illustrative of their ethics and philosophy. *Śaṣṭitantra* consisted of stories explanatory of the subtleties of *Sāṅkhya* philosophy.

SECTION 2

Brhatkatha

413 The earliest regular collection of Fables was *Bṛhatkathā* of *Guṇādhya* ² But to us it is only the name that has survived. *Guṇādhya* has almost become mythical. He was placed in the same pedestal as *Vālmīki* and *Vyāsa*. *Guṇādhya* was inspired and was the third of the

¹ See *ISI*, XIII 486, Weber, *IL*, 211, Keith, *SL*, 242

² See S. Oldenberg's *Materials for the study of Indian Tales called Brhatkatha*, *Tr. of Russ. Or. Society*, 1898

Epic Triad Govardhana salutes them all in a strain and compares their poetry to a river with three branches. He feels that Gunādhyā was Vyāsa incarnate. Kālidāsa mentions old men of Ujjain well-versed with the stories of Udayana.¹ Bāṇa compares Brhatkathā with Haralīlā.² Subandhu names it in a simile.³ Dandin instances it as a class of Kathā.⁴ Daśarūpa names Brhatkathā and Dhanika calls it the source of Mudrārākhsasa and quotes two verses as 'Brhatkathāyām'

Nepālamāhātmya draws a parallel between Valmiki and Gunādhyā "Both come to Nepal, Valmiki because Narada, instructed by the gods, points out to him, to the north of the hill of Changu-Narayan, the confluent of the two branches of the Virabhadra as the 'sacred spot worthy to be the cradle of a poem as pure' as the *Ramayana*, Gunadhyā, because Civa has imposed upon the demi-god of whom he, Gunadhyā, is the human incarnation, as condition of his deliverance, after the composition of the *Brhatkatha*, the erection of a *lingam* on a sacred spot difficult of access, both before leaving Nepal, Valmiki, to return to his hermitage, and Gunadhyā to heaven, erect commemorative *lingams*, the *Valmukicvara* and the *Bhugicvara*."

414 In copper plates discovered at Gummāreddipura, Kolar Dt. dated 40th year of King Dūrvinita (early part of the 6th century A.D.) it is said: शब्दावतारकरेण देवसारतीनिबद्धब्रह्मकरेण किरातार्जुनीये पञ्चदशसर्गटीकाकरेण दुर्विनीतनामधेयेन

A Cambodian inscription of the 9th centry A.D. mentions Brhatkathā "That inscription is one of the five steles of the Thnal Barav, consecrated to the eulogy of King Yacovarman (Bergaigne *Insc. sanscrites de Camp et due Cambodge*, 2e fasc. Nos LVI-LX)

पारदस्थिरकल्याणो गुणाढ्यः प्राकृतप्रियः ।

अनीतिर्यो विशालाक्षश्शून्यवकृतसमीक ॥ LVIII C, 15

'A Paradah out of which the Kalyana subsists (willing to help but always happy) Gunadhyā who did not like the Prahnt (rich in virtue

1 *Megha*, I.

2. समुद्दीपितकन्दर्पो कृतगौरीप्रसाधना ।

हरलीलेव नो कस्य विस्मयाय बृहत्कथा ॥ *Harṣasartīya*, Int.

3. बृहत्कथालम्बैरिव सालमञ्जिकानिवहै । *Vasav*.

4 *Kāvya-darsa*, I 88

5 *Lacote, Essays*, 14. S. Levi, *Le Nepal*, I 828, 387

6 See *Mys Arch. Rep* (1912), 659, *IA*, XLII, 204, *JRAS*, (1913) 389.

but not loving harshness), Vicalaksa, a stranger to the *mlu* (with big eyes but without the torments of exile) He was Cura having humbled Bhimaka'

Mr Barth has pointed out (1 c p 313) another allusion

गुणान्वितस्तिष्ठतु दूषितोऽपि स्थानार्पितो येन पुनर्गुणाढ्य ।

गदोप्यल चारु विभूषणाय हरप्रयुक्त किमुतामृताञ्जु ॥

LIX B, 26

'It matters not if a virtuous man is even vilified, because he was really a virtuous man Gunadhya was reinstated in his place, even the poison that is closely united with Civa serves sufficiently as a graceful ornament, what to say of the moon?'

I still suspect a third allusion

यस्य कीर्तेर्गुणाढ्याया यूढ्डध्वनरयादिव ।

पतिताभूषमुद्रादीन् क्षमागाम्भीर्यैर्वैर्यदिक् ॥

LVIII, C, 9

415 It is possible therefore that the work was extant so late as the 12th century, it is a wonder that no trace of it is visible anywhere Somadeva and Ksemendra have made translations and epitomes in Sanskrit *Kaṭhāsaritsāgara* and *Brhatkaṭhāmanjarī*, and these represent the original Paisachi text to a great degree though these poems read by themselves disclose an originality of poetic narration. These two poems are from Kāśmīr. Later has been discovered Budhasvāmin's *Brhatkaṭhā-Slokaśāgraha* representing the version of *Brhatkaṭhā* current in Nepal. Vāmanabhaṭṭa's *Brhatkaṭhāmanjarī* is a South Indian production, but only the 24th Betala is available there.

416 The stories forming *Brhatkaṭhā* had a divine origin. There are two versions of it, Kāśmīrian and Nepalese. Somadeva thus recounts the story "Siva once narrated to Parvatī the marvellous history of the seven Vidyadhara Cakravartins. He was overheard by one of his attendants, Pushpadanta, who communicated it to his wife Jaya, a servant of Parvatī. The latter again spread it amongst her fellows and the indiscretion of Pushpadanta soon became known to the divine pair. Parvatī, filled with anger, then cursed Pushpadanta and condemned him, in punishment of his fault, to be born as a mortal. His brother Malyavan, who dared to intercede for him, received a like sentence. But when Parvatī saw Pushpadanta's wife, her faithful attendant, overwhelmed by distress, she relented so far

as to set a term to the effects of her curse. She decreed that when Pushpadanta, on meeting a goblin or Pisacha called Kanabhuṭi, in the Vindhyaś, should remember the great tales and his former birth and should tell them to Kanabhuṭi, he should be delivered from his mortal body. Mahāvan also should be allowed to return to heaven when he had heard the Brihatkathas from Kanabhuṭi and had spread them on the earth. Agreeably to this order, Pushpadanta was born in Kauśambi, as Vararuchi-Kaṭṭayana, and became a great grammarian and the minister of Yogananda, the last of the Nandas. After an eventful life he retired into solitude and on a pilgrimage to the temple of Parvati Vindhavasini, he met Kanabhuṭi in the forest. He remembered his former life and communicated to the Pisacha the seven great tales. Having accomplished this he re-obtained his celestial nature, according to Parvati's prediction. Mahāvan, also, who in his human birth had become Gunadhya of Pratiśthana and had served King Satavahana as minister, came accompanied by his two pupils Gunadeva and Nandideva, to the dwelling place of Kanabhuṭi. He received from him the seven stories in the language of the Pisachas and wrote them down in 100,000 Ślokas each, with his own blood. By the advice of his pupils, he sent the whole to king Satavahana, hoping that the king being a man of taste might preserve and spread them. But that monarch rejected with disgust a work that was written in the language of the goblins and with blood. On receiving this news Gunadhya burnt six of his stories, the seventh was preserved with difficulty through the entreaties of his pupils. King Satavahana, who accidentally learned that the recitation of the remaining book charmed even the beasts of the forest, repented of his former conduct, repaired to Gunadhya's habitation and obtained the manuscript of the remaining story. He studied it with the help of Gunadeva and Mandideva, and wrote the introduction, detailing its origin, likewise in the language of the Pisachas. The book then became one of the stories that are famed in the three worlds.¹

NĒPAI AMAHATMYA (Chap 27-29) has a different story.²

"It begins like the Cashmerian legend with a conversation between Parvati and Siva. The Goddess asks the God for a story that has not been told before and while Siva relates it, all the doors being closed, the Gana Bhṛngin, under the form of a bee, enters through the key-hole, overhears Siva's tale and repeats it to his wife

1 F. Lacote, *Essays*, 80-81

2 Levi, *The Nepal*, I 203-4

Vijaya Some other day Parvatī starts relating the tale to her maids, but Vijaya knows it already 'Who is guilty of that indiscretion?' Civa, through the intensity of his meditation, discovers the culprit, sends for and curses him. Bhṛngin asks the God to have pity, the God complies and forgives him under the following conditions, he must become a man, learned, virtuous and skilful, he must write down in 900,000 verses, full of poetical feeling, the story he had overheard, he must erect a *linga* in a place difficult of access, and then only, will he be delivered from human condition and allowed to reascend the Kailasa. In this preamble we find again the notion of the originality of the *Bhalkatha* and besides, a precise detail on the nature of that poem: it is to be a love poem, the purpose of which is to produce a dramatic feeling, it must be *rasasamanvitaḥ*. But one can see that the Nepalese version differs from the other in two particulars, the gana who is cursed is called Bhṛngin and there is only one Bhṛngin: he is born at Mathura under the name of Guṇadhya. Having become an orphan he sets out for Ujjayinī where King Madana, the consort of the learned Ilavati, daughter of the king of Gauda, is ruling. The Pandit Carvavarman, who is in the king's service, appreciates the talents of Guṇadhya and obtains for him a place of pandit at the Court. Then comes the story of the king's mistake on the word *modaka*. Guṇadhya asks for twelve years to teach him grammar, Carvavarman only two. There is a bet as in the other version of the legend. Carvavarman wins it, thanks to the revelation of the grammar *Kalapa* (Kātantra). Guṇadhya is condemned to silence, he goes to live as an ascetic in a hermitage. The ascetic Pulastya passing by, advises him to write his tales in the Paicaci language, he will afterwards go to Nepal, erect a *linga* in honour of *Civa* and thus obtain deliverance from the curse which has made him a man. Guṇadhya writes his poem with minerals on the leaves of trees, as he composes he recites the verses aloud, the wild animals surround him to listen to him and they forget to eat, the game served at the royal table is so lean that the king complains, the cooks blame the hunters, these in exploring the woods meet Guṇadhya surrounded by the attentive animals, they themselves, falling under the spell, remain to listen. There is no longer any game for the king's dinner, enraged, he goes to see what has become of the hunters, sees Guṇadhya and presses him to come again to Court, Guṇadhya refuses, 'Sire, I have composed 900,000 delightful verses in Paicaci, you must have them written in Sanskrit, as for myself I will go to Nepal.' He goes to Nepal, sees

the Pacupativara, then setting forth for the temple of Pacupati he performs around the valley the *pradakṣiṇa* which the *Nepalamahatmya* describes at great length, it is the guide book of the modern pilgrim. Having returned to the temple, Gunadhya gathers all the munis who live in Nepal, establishes the Bhrngicvara and in an aerial chariot (*vimāna*) reascends to the kailasa to resume his place among the Ganas. Even at the present day, under the form of a bee, Bhrngin returns, at each phase of the moon to have a look at his linga."¹

417 Gunādhya was born at Pratiṣṭhāna on the Godāvarī, so says Kṣemendra. Somadeva mentions the city of Supraṭiṣṭha, capital of Pratiṣṭhāna, or at times calls it Pratiṣṭhāna on the banks of the Godāvarī. It is the capital of the Āndhra dynasty of Śāṭavāhanas of which Hāla or Śāṭavāhana or Śālivāhana was an illustrious scion. According to Puranas Hāla was the son of Arista Śatakarṣi and ruled between 264-269 Yuddhisthara Saka, that is, 495 to 490 B.C. On an identification of Śāṭavāhana and Śālivāhana it has been said by modern scholars that the patron of Gunādhya lived about 78 A.D., the date of the Śālivāhana era.²

418 Budhasvamin's *Brhatkathaslokaśaṅgraha*, comes from Nepal, and this led to its being called a Nepalese version of Gunādhya's original, a version according to some orientalists, earlier than the works of Somadeva and Kṣemendra.

1 See *Essai sur Gunadhya et la Brhatkatha* by F. Lacote, Paris (Translated *JMy* XII XIII). See C. H. Tawney's Review in *JRAS* (1909), 112.

2 Kṣemendra (XVIII 187) calls city of Prasenaṣṭi Supraṭiṣṭha, and Mahābhārata (III 8414) notes Pratiṣṭhāna as a tirtha at the confluence of the Jumna and the Ganges.

F. Lacote thinks that Gunādhya was born at Mathura and lived at Ujjain or Kauśāmbī (*Essays*, 26).

3 On Hāla, see note on para 505 *supra*.

On his *Saptarṣaṭī* or *Kośa*, Bāṇa says

अविनाशिनमप्राप्त्यमकरोत्मातवाहन ।

Harasauriṣa, Int 18

On the identity of Śāṭavāhana with Śālivāhana, see Wilson's *Col. Works*, III 181 note and Seshagiri Sastri, *Id.* I 314.

Buhler (*Kash. Rep.* 47) places Gunādhya in 1st or 2nd century, and Weber (*IL*, 213, *Is.* I 358) in 6th century A.D. (*Id.*, I 307). Keith (*SL*, 263, *JRAS*, (1901), 145) and Levi (*TI*, 317, *Le Nepal*, II, 63) give the date 2nd or 3rd century A.D. Speyer (*Studies*) says *Brhatkatha* lies between 400 and 600 A.D., nearer the latter. Tawney (*JRAS* (1908), 903) agrees. V. Smith, (*EH*, 19^a) dates it in the latter half of 1st century A.D. See also S. Krishnaswami Iyengar on *Brhatkatha*, *JRAS* (1906), 688.

Ślokaśaṅgraha is now available as a fragment. It is a poem of sargas meant obviously to be an extensive book, but the fragment gets us only 28 sargas of about 4,539 verses. Either the work was left incomplete or the manuscript has been lost to us. In estimating the dimensions of the whole collection, Lacote says, "Naravahanadatta must relate the conquest of his twenty-six wives (IV, 3), and yet, at the end of the twenty-eighth book, that is of 4,539 verses, he has only come to the sixth one. The history of the first five has taken up 3,622 verses, the proportions being the same—and one does not see that he abridges more as he goes on with the narration, far from it—the history of the twenty-sixth spouse would take us into about 19,000 verses, to it one must add the whole history of the conquest of the empire. I do not think it would be an exaggeration to estimate the whole length of the poem at 25,000 verses at least, divided into more than 100 sargas."¹

The poem begins with an encomium of Ujjayinī and the death of Mahāsena or Pradyota. Gopāla, his son, succeeded him, but afflicted with the taint that he was a patricide he abdicated in favour of his brother Palaka. Warned as if by a heavenly sign, he gave up his throne and Gopāla's son Avantivardhana ascended the throne. Then comes the story of his love with Surasamanjarī. The 28th canto leaves us with Naravāhanadatta in the company of Bhagirathayasas.

F. Lacote thinks that Budhasvāmin must have lived about the 5th or 6th century A.D.² He remarks: "The differences with regard to the other two versions are enormous. The subject announced at the beginning of the fourth sarga, after the three sargas which form the introduction, is the history of Naravahanadatta, son of the king of the Vatsas, Udayana, and emperor of the Vidyadharas. It is the same as the principal subject of the *Kathasaritsagara* and of the *Bṛhatkathamanjarī*, but the arrangement of the matter and, in some parts, the matter itself are altogether different. The spirit in which the subject is dealt with is also quite new. It is no longer a question of slight differences in the order of the books, like those one notices between the *Kathasaritsagara* and the *Bṛhatkathamanjarī*, which, in spite of the various readings, show a common original. Here we have a poem entirely different, if it has the same ancestor as the other two, which to me seems to be certain, its relation to them is several degrees removed."³

1. Ed and Tr. by E. Leroux, Paris.

1. *Essays*, 110, 114.

1. *Essays*, 10-11.

419 Ksemendra Brhatkathamānjari comes next.¹ Ksemendra was in the Court of King Ananta of Kāśmīr (1029-1064 A.D.) His writings have been noticed in a prior chapter.² His three Mānjari are in reality distinct pieces of poetry and they can be called epitomes only in respect of the narrative of their originals.

Ksemendra's poem like Somadeva's "is divided into eighteen '*lambhakas*' the names of which are the same as those of the corresponding Books in the Kathasaritsagara. Besides, we find in the Brhatkathamānjari a double system of subdivision. Most of the accessory tales and some of the principal episodes of the hero's history are followed by a colophon which resumes the substance of the tale—something like the marginal sub-titles found in the translation of the Kathasaritsagara by Mr. Tawney. It is a kind of index of the several incidents found in the text, and it is most convenient for ready reference. This method of subdivision, being found in all the manuscripts of the Mānjari, must be rather ancient."

420 Somadeva, son of Rāma, was a Brahmin poet of the Court of King Ananta of Kāśmīr who ruled about 1029-1064 A.D. Ananta's son was Kalasa and Kalasa's son was Harṣa. For the amusement of Sūryavati, queen of Ananta, Somadeva wrote KATHASARITSAGARA in 18 Books of 124 Parangas and 24,000 verses, the earliest large collection of stories extant in the world, about 1070 A.D. Somadeva declares that his work is a condensed Sanskrit version of Guṇādhyā's Pañcācī Brhatkathā.

In his prospectus of the Edition of Tawney's Translation of this work N. M. Penzer says:

"Turning to the work itself, one is amazed by the mass of stories of every conceivable kind it contains. Animal stories dating back hund-

1. *DO*, XXI 8165. Ed. Bombay by Sivadatta & Parab, by S. Levi, *J.A.*, (1885) 397-479, (1886) 178-222 with translation of Bks. I, VI and part of Bk. IX. Translated in part by L. Von Mankowski.

2. See para 68 *supra*.

3. *Essays*, 84-5.

4. See *Raj* VII 945.

5. Hoernle [*JRAS*, (1903), 120] gives this date. Wilson (*SL*, I. 156) fixes the date at 1030 A.D. Seshagiri Sastri (*J.A.*, I. 335) gives Somadeva 1059-1071 in the time of King Harṣa. Buhler (*IA*, I. 302) gives the date 1068-82 A.D.

6. Ed. Bombay. Ed. and translated by H. Brookhaus, Leipzig. Translated by O. H. Tawney, *Bibl. Ind.* now being reprinted with introduction and elaborate notes by N. M. Penzer.

reds of years BC., wild legends of Rig-Veda days explaining the creation of the earth, harrowing tales of blood-sucking vampires, beautiful and poetic love stories and vivid descriptions of terrible battles between gods, men or demons. All these are found in this storehouse of romance. Nor should it be forgotten that India is the true land of Romance, more so indeed than either Persia or Arabia, for India's own history is a romance hardly less exaggerated and enthralling than the tales themselves.

The collector of these stories, Somadeva, was a man of genius who rightly ranks next to Kālidāsa among Indian poets. His power of telling a story in a clear, entertaining and absorbing way is only equalled by the richness and diversity of his subject-matter. His knowledge of human nature, the elegance of his style, the beauty and force of his descriptions and the wit and wisdom of his aphorisms, are masterly in their execution.

On the other hand, in most Eastern collections of tales (especially Indian), the way in which fresh stories are embedded in other ones and the bewildering rapidity with which one follows another, makes the reader long for Ariadne's thread to lead him safely out of the labyrinth. The Editor, therefore, has taken special care to provide an efficient thread in this new edition. A system of numbering the stories has been introduced, that not only makes the reading easy, but acts as a guide to students of Comparative Folk-lore.

The *Kathā-sarit-Sāgara* is, of course, a much older book than *The Thousand Nights and a Night*, and is the origin of many tales in the *Nights*. Through them it has given ideas not only to Persian and Turkish authors, but also to the western world through the pens of Boccaccio, Chaucer, La Fontaine, and their innumerable imitators.

Mr Tawney's excellent notes, supplemented by those now added, afford an enormous amount of information which will prove interesting not only to the student of Comparative Religion, Folk-lore, Magic (both black and white), Ethics, Sociology and Anthropology, but also to the intellectual lay reader, who wishes to increase his store of out-of-the-way and esoteric knowledge."¹

"Its literal translation is 'The Ocean of Streams of Story'. Somadeva felt that his great work united in itself all stories, as the

¹ See generally, J. S. Speyer's Studies about *Kathāsarit-sāgara*, *JRAS* (1908) 907, Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* III 1034, IV 871, Wilson, *SL*, I. 156, II. 109; Weber, *SL*, 218, Keith, *SL*, 281-7.

ocean does all rivers. Every stream of myth and mystery flowing down from the snowy heights of sacred Himalaya would sooner or later reach the ocean, other streams from other mountains would do likewise, till at last fancy would create an ocean full of stories of every conceivable description—tales of wondrous maidens and their fearless lovers, of kings and cities, of statecraft and intrigue, of magic and spells, of treachery, trickery, murder and war, tales of blood-sucking vampires, devils, goblins and ghouls, stories of animals in fact and fable, and stories too of beggars, ascetics, drunkards, gamblers, prostitutes and hawds.

This is the *Ocean of Story*, this the mirror of Indian imagination that Somadeva has left as a legacy to posterity."

421 Somadeva thus dealt with the original Bṛhatkatha

यथा मूलं तथैवैतन्ननागम्यतिक्रम ।
 औचित्यान्वयरक्षा च यथाशक्ति त्रिधीयते ॥
 कथारसाविधातेन कान्याश्रय च योजना ।
 वैदग्ध्यख्यातिलोभाय मम नैवायमुद्यम ॥
 किन्तु नानाकथाजालस्मृतिसौकर्यसिद्धये ।

In the preface Somadeva gives the following account of his work.
 "The first book in my collection is called Kathapitha, then comes

1 "As in the original work, so also in this one, there is not anywhere the least omission, only the language is more compact in order to avoid the book becoming too large. I have endeavoured as much as possible to choose the most suitable expressions, and while describing in the stories the various movements of the passions (rasas), a work has been produced which may be considered a piece of poetry. My work did not spring from the desire to secure the fame of learning, but simply to facilitate the memorizing of that many coloured net of myths."—*Broschhaus*

"This book is precisely on the model of that from which it is taken, there is not even the slightest deviation, only such language is selected as tends to abridge the prolixity of the work, the observance of propriety and natural connexion, and the joining together of the portions of the poem so as not to interfere with the spirit of the stories, are, as far as possible, kept in view, I have not made this attempt through desire of a reputation for ingenuity, but in order to facilitate the recollection of a multitude of various tales."—*Tawney*

"As is the original such is the copy, it does not deviate from it, even by one line, I simply epitomize the primitive work and I translate, that is all the difference. Careful to observe, as far as possible, the literary propriety, and the logical sequence, in doing my best not to break off either the narrative or the spirit of the sentiments expressed, I am no less careful to arrange a portion of a regular poem."—*Iacote*

Kathamukha, then the third book, named Lavanaka, then follows Naravahanadattajanana, and then the book called Caturdarika, and then Madanamancuka, then the seventh book named Ratnaprabha, and then the eighth book named Survaprabha, then Alankaravati, then Saklivasas, and then the eleventh book called the Vela, then comes Sasankavati, and then Madiravati, then comes the book called Panca, followed by Mahabhiseka, and then Surasamanjari, then Padmavati, and then the eighteenth book Visamasila"¹

Somadeva then gives the wonderful origin of the tale at great length (Kath I 1-13-181)

"Each book comprises a number of stories loosely strung together by being narrated for the recreation or information of some individuals or arising out of their adventures. There are Vatsa, King of Kausambi, and his son Naravahanadatta. The marriage of the latter with various damsels of terrestrial or celestial origin and his elevation to the rank of King of the Vidyadharas a class of heavenly spirits are the leading topic of most of the books but they merely constitute the skeleton of the composition, the substance being made up of stories growing out of these circumstances or springing from one another with an ingenuity of intricacy which is in reality one of the great charms of all such collection"²

"The stories all wind up at the end of each book or not infrequently sooner. The action is never suspended for any prolonged interval and the complication is not of such a nature or extent as to convert variety into confusion. The stories are always characterised by the features of Hindu nationality and are illustrations of Hindu opinions, usages and beliefs. They exhibit, in a striking and interesting manner, the peculiarities of the social condition of India, and in the exposure of its follies and vices furnish those delineations of the similar imperfections of all civilised society of which the general applicability and truth have recommended their imitation to the satirists and story-tellers of Europe. The greater number of them turn upon the wickedness of women, the inconstancy, profligacy, treachery and craft of the female sex. These attributes no doubt originate in the feelings which have pervaded the East unfavourable to the dignity of the female character, but we are not to mistake the language of satire or the licentiousness of wit, for truth, or to suppose that the pictures which

1 *CSC*, (1890) No 148

1 Wilson, *SL*, II p 112-113

are thus given of the depravity of women owe not much of their coloring to the malignity of men "¹

422 The well known Arabian nights are a similar composition. They were rendered into Sanskrit under the title *Āṛāyavāminī* by JAGADBANDHU PANDITA at the request of Sambhucandra, Zamindar of Kakimya². In his introduction to the translation of Arabian Nights, Sir R F Burton thus sums up the subject-matter of Kathāsantsāgara in comparison with the Arabian nights "The thaumaturgy of both works is the same the Indian is profuse in demonology and witchcraft, in monsters as wind-men, fire-men and water-men, in air-going elephants and flying horses (I 541-543), in the wishing-cow, divine goats and laughing fishes (I 24), and in the *speciosa miracula* of magic weapons. He delights in fearful battles (L 400), fought with the same weapons as the Moslem uses, and rewards his heroes with a "Turband of Honour" (I 266) in lieu of a robe. There is a quaint family likeness arising from similar stages of society, the city is adorned for gladness, men carry money in a robe corner and exclaim "Ha, Good!" (for "Good, by Allah!"), lovers die with exemplary facility, the "soft-sided" ladies drink spirits (I 61) and princesses get drunk (I 476), whilst the eunuch, the hetæra and the bawd (Kupṭini) play the same preponderating parts as in the *Nights*."

JAGANNATHAMISRA'S KATHAPRAKASA borrows the tales of Kathāsantsāgara (iv-xiii and xiv-xlvii)³.

SECTION 3

Pancatantra

423 *Pancatantra*,⁴ the famous collection of fables, has, it has been said, a circulation in the world, next only to the Bible. Hertel records two hundred (and more) versions in about fifty languages some of which are extra-Indian. During the reign of King Chosran Anosharwan (531-579 A D) a Persian Physician Burzoe or Burzuyeh translated it into Pahlavi and incorporated it into his Book of Stories called Karatāka and Damanaka. This Pahlavi translation is lost as also its Sanskrit original and we have now an old Syriac version made by Bud in 570

1 Wilson, *SL*, II 114

2 *CSO*, (1903), 110

3 *IC* No 4105

4. For a full history of *Pancatantra*, see Hertel's *History of the Beast Fable in India* (*JOS*).

A D and an Arabic version made by Abdallah Ibnal Mugaffa about 750 A D¹

Pancatantra is so called because it is divided into five Tantras or sections, and is as such known also as Pancopākhyāna. Viṇusarman extracted the essence of all the most celebrated works of this class and composed it as Nīti Śāstra for the education of the sons of King Amaraśakti of Mahilāropya in the Deccan. The prefatory invocation is addressed to Sarasvatī and all authors on ethics, Manu, Vācaspati, Uśanas, Parāśara, Vyāsa and Cānakya. The use of the word *dīnāra*, it is said points to its date as somewhere after the Christian era, and therefore, says Keith, "it is not sufficient to assign it to the 2nd century A D, at the earliest"²

Speaking of the priority of Kautilya's Arthasāstra, it has been said 'The titles such as separation of friends, winning of friends, war and peace, the loss of one's acquisition, and hasty action, given to the 5 books of the Panchatantra are political ideas explained in no earlier work than the Arthasastra. They are adumbrated with appropriate illustrative stories in the Pancatantra. There is reason to believe that the author of the Panchatantra is indebted to the Arthasastra for the use of the word Prakṛiti in the sense of a friend or an enemy (Mitra-prakṛiti and Aripṛakṛiti). A friend or an enemy inside a State is called abhyantaraprakṛiti and outside a State, bahyaprakṛiti. In the 15th book entitled Tantrayukti of the Arthasastra, Chanakya says that use of the word Prakṛiti in the sense of a friend or an enemy is his own device (svasānjna) which he explains as parair asamitas-sabdhah, a word not used by others. Besides making use of the technical terms devised and political ideas taught in the Arthasastra, the author of the Panchatantra not only mentions the name of Chanakya as a writer on Nripasastra or Nitisastra, but also makes verbatim quotations sometimes wrongly and sometimes rightly from the Arthasastra in support of his views"³

424 Purnabhadra, the pupil of Jinapati Sūri, was a Svetāmbara Jain monk.⁴ He revised Pancatantra at the instance of Somamanṭrin in

1 Ed and Tr by G Bickell, Leipzig. See for these other versions, Edgerton, *loc. cit.* 2 W Norman Brown, *The Pancatantra in modern Indian Folklore*, JAOS, XXXIX, I.

2 Keith, *SL*, 245 et seq, *JRAS* (1925) 504. There are *Pancatantraśāstra* of Dharmapandita and *Pancatantraśāstra* of Rupa (GC, I. 814).

3 *Mys Arch Rep.* (1927), 16.

4 For his poems, see para 104 *supra*, See *PR*, IV 27.

1199 A D¹ It is marked by the appearance of twenty-one new stories, including a famous one of the gratitude of animals and the ingratitude of man²

Pūrṇabhadra used an earlier Jain recension whose author quotes Mṃgha and Rudrata must have therefore lived after the 9th century A D³

In Sam 1716 (1600 A D), Meghavijaya composed Paṇcākhyānoddhāra, a modified version of these various recensions⁴

The south Indian Pancatantra is a careful and slight abbreviation and preserves the narrative and the language with faithfulness⁵ Very often its sentences agree with Tantrākhyāyikā and it is later than Bhāravi⁶

The Nepalese version has all the verses, particularly of the South Indian recension "We may agree with Hertel in thinking that the South Indian Pancatantra and the complete text on which the Nepalese is based," says Edgerton "were not identical, nor directly derived one from the other, but that they are closely related offshoots of the same archetype"⁷

425 Tantrākhyāna or Tantrākhyāyikā is a form of Pancatantra, manuscripts of which come from Kasmir and is itself in two sub-recensions, in one of which there are more verses and more prose According to Hertel "it is the only version which contains the unabbreviated and not intentionally altered language of the author," which no other Indian Pancatantra version has preserved, while the Pahlavi translation distorts it by numerous misunderstandings⁸

But according to Edgerton, "In short, the difference between the Tantrākhyāyika and the other versions, in their relations to the original,

1 Ed (*HOS*) by Banfey, J Hertel with English translation by P E More, Leipzig The Praesart gives the date as Sam 1255 See *IO*, 2643, *BR* (1897), xix For an analytical account, see Wilson, *SL*, II 1

2 Keith, *SL*, 261.

3 Keith (*SL* 260) places it in 1100 A D

4 Keith, *SL*, 260. On Meghavijaya, see para 98 *supra*

5 Ed by Haberland it, and again by J Hertel, Leipzig

6 See Edgerton, *Am Or Series*, III 17, Keith, *SL*, 262

7 Ed by J Hertel in *Anmerkungen AOS*, III, 20.

8 Ed by J Hertel, Berlin Tr Leipzig, *HOS*, Vol 14 See *Abhandlungen of Saxon Society*, Vol 22

9 *ZDMG*, LXIX 118 See also Zachariae, *Kl Schriften*, 170. Winternitz on Tantrākhyāyikā, *IOJ*, XXIV 49

is a difference of degree and not a difference of kind. All are to a considerable extent original. All are to a not inconsiderable extent unoriginal. On the whole, the Tantrakhyayika contains more of the original than of any other. In this respect it is surpassed by the Southern Pancatantra, which has much less unoriginal material than the Tantrakhyayika, and probably less than any other version, except the greatly abbreviated and versified Somadeva."¹

426 It is said that there has been an unbroken tradition of narratives in the style of Pancatantra from time immemorial with ramifications in various times and countries and these versions "all go back to a book of fables and stories consisting of five books or sections and a brief introduction. The introduction provides the "frame" or setting, and at the same time suggests what must have been to the author's mind the key-note of the whole work. It was supposed to be a kind of *Fürstenspiegel* or *Mirror for Magistrates* teaching worldly wisdom to princes, by entertaining examples, as well as by cleverly phrased precepts. The precepts are principally found in the verses which are abundantly scattered through most parts of the work. The examples consist in the stories themselves, which are told mainly in prose. Each of the five sections or "books" forms a dramatic unit in itself, and all five are, as I said, set into the introduction as a frame. In the introduction a wise brahman undertakes to enlighten three ignorant princes. He does so by narrating to them, one after another, the five books of the Pancatantra. Each of the five books contains not only a primary story, which we call the "frame-story" but also at least one, and usually several, "emboxt" stories, that is, stories represented as told by one character in the frame story to another. Sometimes there is a double "emboxtent", a character in an "emboxt" story tells a story to another character. (In some of the late versions of the Pancatantra this process was carried even further, so that we have a sort of "Chinese nest" of stories.) Most of the stories are beast fables, that is, their principal actors are animals decked out with human properties but a number of them have only human characters, while some have both men and animals, and even though rarely—gods and other supernatural beings. The stories are in general very well told and of a high artistic quality."

Among several scholars that have investigated the history of Pancatantra there are preeminently two, J Hertel and F Edgerton. In

1 *HAOS*, III 16 See Keith *SL*, 259, 60

2 Edgerton, *HOS*, III, 4

Hertel's view there are only two different sources of Pancatantra tradition, one Tantrākhyāyikā and another "K", archetype of all other versions and an intermediate archetype to which the Southern and Nepalese and an intermediate archetype to which the Southern and Nepalese versions and Hitopadesa go back¹ But Edgerton says there are four independent streams of the tradition flowing from one single old source Southern Brhatkatha of which Somadeva's and Kṣemendra's are epitomes, (ii) Tantrākhyāyikā (iii) Southern Pancatantra (iv) the original of Pahlavi version Pūrṇabhadra's recension is a combination of Tantrākhyāyikā and Southern Pancatantra

Somadeva's Kathāsarit-sāgara contains the five books of Pancatantra, "separated from one another by extraneous materials, but preserves considerably more than Kṣemendra does of the bulk of the narrative and Kṣemendra's text of Pancatantra² is the most drastically abbreviated among all versions"

From a comparison of these various versions Edgerton made up the text of what he considered the original of Pancatantra³

427 Hitopadesa is a far later version of Pancatantra and has been more popular with the students of Sanskrit Literature. Avowedly based on Pancatantra, Hitopadesa is a work with a plan original in itself of Nārāyaṇa⁴ Instead of five books, Hitopadesa has only four. Its third book has as its frame a story which is only a remote reflex of Pancatantra Book III. The frame of its fourth book is wholly new, though evidently intended as a companion piece to Book III and suggested by the title of the original Pancatantra's third book. Book IV of the Pancatantra is wholly omitted, the stories of Book V, including the frame story, are included as embosomed stories in Hitopadesa Books III and IV. Several of the embosomed stories of Pancatantra Book I are transferred to the Hitopadesa's new Book IV, those of Pancatantra Book III are impartially divided between Hitopadesa Books III and IV,

1 See on this Hertel, *ZDMG*, LVI, 817, LIX, 118, 118, Winternitz *DLZ*, XXXI, 2760

2 This has been separately edited, *Der Auszug aus dem Pancatantra in Kṣemendra's Brhatkathānjanerī*, Leipzig

3 "Pancatantra reconstructed," *HOS*, Vol 2 Text and critical apparatus and vol 3 Introduction

4 Ed everywhere, by F Johnson, London, by P Peterson, Bombay and in *Handbooks for the study of Sanskrit* by Max Muller with an interlinear translation. On Hitopadesa, see Edgerton, *AOS*, III, 20-22; *PR*, III, 397. There is a Hitopadesa-padyasangraha (*CC*, III 158)

not a few stories of the first three books of the *Pancatantra* are omitted altogether, and various stories not found in the *Pancatantra* are inserted in all four books of the *Hitopadesa*, presumably from the unnamed "other works" referred to by Narayana.²

SECTION 4

428 Ananta Bhatta who describes himself as son of Naga-deva Bhatta, a Brahmin of Kanva caste. In his *Pancopākhyānasangraha* or *Kaṭhāmr̥tīmudhū* he professes to preserve the whole of the narrative *Pancatantra*.³

"Each fable is designed to illustrate and exemplify some reflection on wordly vicissitudes or some precept for human conduct, and the illustration is as frequently drawn from the intercourse of human beings, as from an imaginary adventure of animal existence and this mixture is in some degree a peculiarity in the Hindu plan of fabling or story telling."⁴

429 Simhasanadvatimsika or *Vikramārkacarita*⁵ is a collection of thirty-two tales. The throne was a gift from Indra to Vikramāditya and when Sālivāhana vanquished him and killed him in battle, the throne was buried in the earth. King Bhōja by chance unearthed it, and as he was ascending the throne, images of maidens sculptured on the throne became animated and related the tales in praise of Vikramāditya to Bhōja and regained their liberty.⁶

There are various versions of the work, attributed to Kālidāsa, Rāmacandra, Siva and Siddhasena Divākara.⁶ Ksemankara, a Jain, who lived at the beginning of the 14th century A.D. wrote in prose, with verses at the beginning and condensed the tales. The South Indian version is generally known *Vikramarkacarita*. There are North Indian versions, one in verse and are considerably different, and are both anonymous. In Bengal, the recension is ascribed to Vararuci and is mostly Ksemankara's.

1 Edgerton, *loc. cit.* 21-2. Garolin de Tassys, *Hist. de la Lit. Hindoue*, II 448.

2 *CC*, I 78. *IOC* VII 1560.

3 Wilson's *Essays*, II 79. *Essai sur les Fables Indiennes* by M. A. Loiseleur Des Longchamps, Paris.

4 It is also known as *Dvāṭrīmśaṭ putṭhalikā*, *OAT*, II 1, 2 and *Dvātrīmśaṭ s'ālabhanjikā* (*CC*, I 717).

5 *IOC*, VIII 1566, Ed. Madras, Bombay, Calcutta. *PR*, V 189, and Harward. See Weber, *IST*, XV 185, F. Edgerton, *IJP*, XXXIII 249, Keith, *SL*, 292, *BRI*, 98, *PR*, IV 81. R. F. Burton's *Vikrama and the Vampire*, London.

6 *CC*, I, 717, III 148.

430 Sukasaptatikatha is a collection of 70 clever stories of erotic nature but of ultimate didactic import. It is said that this story was related to Indra in his assembly by Nārada in the form of a parrot and that any one who hears the story attains all ends. One Devadāsa kept a parrot and when the King sent him away to a distant country with intent to seduce his wife, the parrot to whom Devadāsa entrusted the care of his family began to relate each night one story to her, keeping her interested in it till dawn and by the end of 70 stories the husband returned and all was well.¹

There are three recensions of this work, *ornatus* and *simplicior* of R. Schmidt (who has edited a Mahraṭi version), the first by Cinṭāmaṇi Bhaṭṭa and second later by a Sveṭāmbara Jain,² and a third by Devadattī, son of Puruṣottamaśrī.³

431 Vetalaṅcavimsatī is a series of 25 stories, very old in origin.⁴ Kṣemendra and Somadeva relate the same stories in their poems. Independently we have versions by Śivadāsa in prose and verse⁵ and by Jambhādattā in prose⁶ and one anonymous in prose.⁷ Vallabhadāsa's work is an abbreviation.⁸ There is also Veṭālavimsatī of Venkatabhaṭṭa.⁹

432 Tales relating to Vikrama are found in Ananta's Vīracarita and Śivadāsa's Sālivāhanacarita,¹⁰ in the anonymous Vikramodaya,¹¹ in the Jain work Pañcaṇḍachakra-prabandha¹² and Nandīśāyāgnika's Vikramārkaacarita.¹³ Vikramasenacarita is a collection of stories like

1 Ed Madras DC, XXI 8172 Keith, SL 359

2 Ed AKM, X 1, ZDMG, LIV. 515, LV 1, ABA, XXI 2 Tr Kiel and Stuttgart

3 Hertel, Festschrift Windisch, 188 Keith, SL 290-2

4 See Keith, SL, 288-90 IOC, VII 1563-5 Levi JA, VII 191, PR, V 386

5 Ed by H Uhle, Leipzig, AKM, VIII 1 See Bosch, *De legendis vān Jambhādattā*, 22 ff Kathārpava of Śivadāsa has 35 stories. For other Śivadāsas, see CC, I 649

6 Ed Calcutta IOC, 3108

7 Ed AKM, VIII 1 See for another version BSGW, (1914), 66, where the manuscript is dated 1487 A D.

8 IOC, I 1564, PR, III. 396, III. 30

9 Opp 4544

10 See para 204 supra

11 IOC, I 3930, Zucherman, EL Skriften, 152, 166.

12 Ed and Tr ABA, (1877)

13 CC, I 757 Mys 292 Printed, Madras

Vikramārkaacarita narrated to King Vikramasena of Pratihāna by a vampire stationed in a simsapa tree ¹

433 Merutunga's Prabandhacintāmaṇi and Rājasekhara's² Prabandhakōśa contains quasi-historical narratives ³

Hemacandra's Iśaṣṭisālākāpurusaacarita and its supplement Parīṣṭaparva contain much folklore besides tales mythical and biographical ⁴

Siddharṣi was the pupil of Saddarsin His Upamītabhāvaprapanakaṭhā was written in the year 962 (Vīranirvāna ?) which would mean Sam 492 (436 A D) This tallies with the date of Haribhadra (who died in Sam 585) who wrote his Lalitavistara for Siddharṣi's edification ⁵ Peterson says (PR, IV 5), "Of the fact that Siddha and Magha were cousins there appears to be no reasonable doubt Their common grandfather was Suprabhaddeva, minister of the king of the time of Śrīmala in Gurjaradesa Suprabhaddeva had two sons, Datta and Subhankara Magha (who tells us himself that he was the son of Dattaka and the grandson of Suprabhaddeva) was the son of the one, and Siddha the son of the other "

Prabhācandra's Prabhāvakacarita was revised by Pradyumnasūri⁶ about 1250 A D It is a collection of stories in verse, mostly biographical notices⁷ in 22 chapters, probably based on a similar work of Hemacandra ⁸

434. Somacandra was pupil of Raṭṇasekhara of Iapā Gaccha. He wrote his Kaṭhāmahāṣṭaḍḍhi, a collection of 126 Jain stories, in 1504 (1448 A D) beginning with the story of Karpūraprakara ⁹

Bharatakadvāṁśasikā are 32 stories of Jain origin, satirical of Brahmin usages ¹⁰

1. DC, XXI 8592

2. Ed by J Hertel, Leipzig

3. See paras 119, 201 supra

4. Ed H Jacobi, Bib Ind Tr J Hertel, Leipzig and by Helen M Johnson, GOS, Baroda See Keith, JRAS, (1908) 110, SL, 204

5. Ed Bib Ind Calcutta PR, IV 129, III. App 146

6. Printed Bombay

7. See PR, IV, 79-81 He wrote Samarādītyacarita, in Sam 1834

8. Among such stories are those relating to Bāṇa and Mayura, see Quackenbos, Poems of Mayura (Col Un series), 17-19.

9. PR, III, 18, 317, IV, cxxxiv

10. Oxf. 155.

435 Jagannathamisra's Kathāprakāśa is a collection of tales taken from various sources and contains interesting episodes. The fourth story relates the sufferings of Bhāravi during his sojourn in his father-in-law's home. Jagannātha was the son of Lakṣmaṇa of Rādhivamsa and lived about the 17th century A D.¹

Kathākosā² is a collection of twenty-seven tales, illustrating in simple prose the usual fruits of different actions of men, such as kindness, worship, anger, avarice etc.

436 In Citrasenapadmāvatīkathā,³ a small poem, Rājvallabha pāthaka, pupil of Mahimacandra or Mālucāndrasūri, gives the fable of Citrasena and Padmāvatī. "These were a pair of swans in their previous birth and dwelt in a lake in a Campakavana on the boundary of Campa. Once upon a time in midday, a merchant came up to the bank of the lake and put up there with his caravan. The merchant bathed in the lake, worshipped Jina and after having prepared food, waited for a guest, when a sage fasting for more than a month happened to pass by him. The merchant was exceedingly glad to meet with such a guest, and took him to his place and supplied him with the best food sufficient to satisfy his hunger. The pair praised this action of the merchant with all heart and in consequence of that virtue they were born as prince Citrasena and princess Padmavati in their next birth and became husband and wife. This was composed in Sam 1524 (1580 A D)." ⁴

437 Kalikacaryakathā⁵ in prose gives the tale of Kālikācārya, a Jain Sthavira. It was composed by Samayasundara, pupil of Sakalacandra. It narrates also the ancient tales of the establishment of the Vikrama and Śāka era. According to it, Śāka kings took their name from the Śāka Coast or bank and were defenders of the Jain faith until they were conquered by Vikramāditya. But 135 years after that conquest, there was a Śāka King who destroyed the successor of Vikramāditya and set up an era of his own.

438 Kavikunja's Rājasekharacandra or Sabbhārajanaprabandha is a poem inculcating morals by means of stories abridged from those which are said to have been originally related in the Court.

1 IO, 948, 1426 where a summary of its contents is given

2 OSC, (1909) No 56. Translated by C H Tawney, London

3 Ibid., No 58 PR, III, Ap. 216, IV lxxxix

4 OSC, (1910), 96 gives date as युगे च युगे स्मरन्नाणवन्दे सवत्सरे चाश्विनमासके च

5 PR, III 92 See also Jacobi, ZDMG, XXXIV, 296, CSC, No 57 (1910), 94.

of Rājasekhara and which were afterwards repeated by Rājasekhara to Subuddhi¹

439. Vidyāpāṭi's Puruṣaparīkṣā is a collection of 44 stories and has been nouced.² Ānanda's Mādhavānalakāṭhā relates in prose the story of Madhavānala and Kāmakandalā³

Mukṭācarita is anonymous. In simple prose it narrates the story of the miraculous power of pearls sown and grown by Kṛṣṇa on arable fields for the delectation of Satyabhāma⁴

Srīvara's Kathākalautuka gives the story of Yūsuf and Zulaika from the well-known poem of Jaini. It was composed during the reign of Sultan Āminulabdin in 15th century A D⁵. The Sanskrit translation of "Aladin and Wonderful Lamp" from the Arabian Nights by Appasastrī Rashīvadēkar excels the original in narration. Nārāyaṇa Bālakṛṣṇa has a Sanskrit rendering of the Aesop's Fables, Isabaniṭīkathā⁶. Sulematcarita by Kalyāṇamallā relates the story of Solomon and David from Old Testament⁷

440 There are the following Jain stories in prose

Srīpālacarita of Jayakīrtisūri, Hiraprasna of Kīrtivijayagani, Amaradattāmitrānandacarita of Bhāvacandrasūri, Cauryāsīprabandha of Rājasekharasūri, Dhanadattacarita of Bhāvacandra, Bhāvanābhānukevalīcarita of Hamsagani, Rupasenacarita Kāmaghatanākāṭha, Raṭṇasekharacarita of Dayavardhanagani,

And the following in verse Ambhālacarita, Uṭṭarakumāracarita of Cārucandra, Padmacarita of Sūbhavardhana, Balabhadracarita of Sūbhavardhanagani, Vimalanāthacarita of Jñānasagara, Vimalasahacarita of Indrahamsagani (*all printed*), Udayanarājacarita of Mallisena (*Opp* II. 421), Vasumatīcītrasena of Gangādhara (*Opp* 4714), Vijayacandracarita of Candraprabha Mahattara (*PR*, VI 46 written in Sam 1127), Sūhasāṅkacarita of Mahesvara (*Opp* 18)

1 *DO*, XI 8167

2 See para 403 *supra*

3 Ed by Pavolini *GSAI*, XXII 818,

4 *CSC* (1908), 126 The story begins with a query by Satyabhāma

लतास्ते मधुरा कस्मिन् जायन्ते धन्यनीवृत्ति ।

नाथ मत्कङ्कणन्यस्त यसां सुक्ताफलं फलम् ॥

5 Ed and Tr by R Schmidt, Kiel See para 188 *supra*

6 Printed, Bombay

7 *DO*, XXI 8150

441 The following are other books of tales

Kaṭhālatāmanjarī of Nārāyaṇa Śāstrin, Kaṭhāvatī of G. Rama-swāmī Sāstrī, Puruṣaparīkṣā by Lakṣmanasiva,¹ Kaṭhākusumamanjarī (anonymous),² Madanasukhacapetukā of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa,³ Sudāmacarita of Śrīnivāsa,⁴ Sūryanacarita of Candrasekhara,⁵ Kaṭhānava of Śivādāsa,⁶ [āraḥabrahmakāṭhā (anonymous)⁷ and Pramathacarita of Brahmadīdharaṇi⁸

In Kathāpancaka,⁹ Mrs. Kṛṣṇarao of Bombay depicts five careers of sadness and despair and inculcates the high Indian ideal of pity and forgiveness. "In the pathetic tales of the dejected young widow and the fisher folk, the blame seems to be thrown on the hard tyranny of social laws and customs rather than on the individuals. The old widow in whom the motherly instinct triumphs over vengeance, and the generous youth who rises above nature and self-interest to rid the people of a heartless tyrant are full of tragic dignity."

Āryacarita is a symposium of stories illustrating Hindu ideals selected from the epics and Purāṇas prepared at the instance of V. Krishnaswami Iyer, Judge, High Court, Madras.¹⁰

442 Ratnasimha's Maithilesacarita is a poem on the present dynasty of Darbhāṅga.¹¹ Rudrasimha's Vignānaṭaranginī describes the life of a mythical king Sāṅkaradāsa. It was composed in 1411 A.D.¹² Sāṅkara's Sāṅkaracetovilāsa is a poetical biography of Zamindar Ceṭasimha.¹³ Pāndurāṅga's Vijayapurakāṭhā, composed in 1808 A.D., contains an account of Bijapur and its Musalman sovereigns. Uḍayarāja's Rājavinoda describes the greatness of Mohammad Begadha of Ahmedabad, a king of Gujarat.¹⁴

1 Printed Madras. For Puruṣaparīkṣā, see *CC*, I, 840

2 Printed, Srirangam

3 Printed, Calcutta

4 *CAL*, II, 26.

5 *BRI*, 76

6 *Oxf*, 158, *CC*, II, 15 (mostly in prose.)

7 *IO*, 1558 *Mys*, 688. There is a *Mādhavānalanāṭaka* by Ānandadhara (*PR*, V) and another by Kaviśvara, *CC*, I, 450.

8 *Mys*, 688

9 Printed, Sahakarī Granthakar, Bombay

10 Printed, Madras

11 Jayaswal's *Cat. of Mithila*, I, No. 295

12 *Mys Arch. Rep* (1924), 12

13 *Oxf*, 121

14, For a critical notice, see Buhler's *Rep.* (1874-75), 9-10. The lives of Gujarat kings (Gurjarakṣmāpatīs) is given in the colophon

443 In **Colavamsavalicarita**,¹ otherwise known as *Bṛha-dīśvaramāhātmya*, the origin, construction and development of Bṛha-dīśvara temple in Tanjore is described. Incidentally the work gives the history of 16 Cola kings of the Solar race who ruled at Tanjore for about 12 centuries beginning with Kulottunga Cola and ending with Bhadra Cola.

444 **Ēkāmbara Dīksita's VIRALHADRAVĪJAYA**² is a poem meant to describe the festival of Virabhadra but contains also an account of the Kempe Gowda Chiefs of Mysore. *Ēkāmbara* was a poet of the Court of Kempe Gowda III, known more fully as Mummudi Kempe Virappa Gowda who ruled in 1705-1728 A.D.

Jayarāma's *Rādhāmāḍhavadilāsacampū* describes mainly the lives of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā and incidentally the court life of Sahājī Bhonsle.³ There is an introductory essay in Marathi on the rise of the Mahrattas and their kingdoms. *Puruṣoṭtama's Śivakāvya* describes the Mahratta rule from Śivājī to the abdication of Bajirao II.⁴

445 **Tritantri**. I saw the manuscript of a work called *Ṭṛitantri*, some years ago, at Rajahmundry, but I lost touch with it. It was the work of Venkatārya. The first *ṭantra* is named *Śraddhātāntra*. It is quasi-dramatic. Nārada enters the stage and says, I shall create a war between the three worlds. In the second *ṭantra* there is a story of the marriage of Sukumārī, daughter of Raṭnākara, Emperor of Delhi. Then there is the story that the emperor offered the hand of his daughter to one who would bring a pearl of the size of Āmalaka and a person who posed himself as mad obtained a pearl of a bigger size by the grace of the Lord of the Occans, when the Emperor proposed the marriage the person said that he had no intent to marry the princess, but only to falsify the verse written at the gate of the palace. In the third *ṭantra* there is the story of Prabhāvaṭi.⁵

446 **Avadanas** of Buddhist literature are illustrative stories appended to ethical and religious precepts. They were well-known

1. A summary of the work is given by P. P. S. Sastri in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras.

2. For an account of this dynasty by B. Puttaya, see *JMy*, XIII 723.

3. Ed. by V. K. Rajavade.

4. Ed. by J. B. Modak, Bombay.

5. It is regretted that the information given above is very meagre perhaps in accurate, and it is based on mere recollection.

CHAPTER XIX

Gadyakavya

(Romance)

SECTION 1

447 Romances Kāvya is of two kinds, Sravya and Dṛśya, audible and visible. Of the former, some are in verse and some in prose. Works in verse have been noticed under the heads of Mahākāvya and Laghukāvya, major and minor poems. Now come works in prose—Gadyakāvyas, commonly called Romances.

Gadva has been thus defined as वृत्तगन्धोन्मिश्र गद्यम् what is not in verse, that is, prose.¹

Of romances there are two classes, KATHA and ALEKHYAVIKA. Earlier authors recognised a distinction between them; and Bhāmaha wrote in his Kāvya-lankāra

प्रकृतानाकुलश्रव्यशब्दार्थपदवृत्तिना ।
गद्येन युक्तोदात्तार्था सोच्छ्वासाख्यायिका मता ॥
वृत्तमाख्यायते तस्यां नायकेन स्वचेष्टितम् ।
वक्तुं चापरवक्तुं च काले भाव्यर्थशसि च ॥
कवेरसिप्रायकृतै कथनै कैश्चिदङ्गिता ।
कन्याहरणसङ्ग्रामविप्रलम्भोदयान्विता ॥
न वक्तुपरवक्तुभ्यां युक्ता नोच्छ्वासवत्यपि ।
संस्कृत संस्कृताचेष्टा कथापत्रचमाक् तथा ॥

1 Generally, see Keith's *Origin of Tragedy and Alekhyāna*, JRAS (1912), Gray's *Literary Studies on the Sanskrit Novel* (WZKM, XVIII, 40, 50), Dunlop's *History of Prose Fiction*, McCulloch's *Childhood of Fiction* and Gadyādarśa of Varada Kānta Vidyālakṣaṇa, Calcutta.

Gray, 'The Hindu Romance,' in Princeton University Bulletin, XIII. 99-100. 'The Sanskrit Novel and the Arabian Nights,' pp. 39-48, 'The Sanskrit Novel and the Sanskrit Drama,' pp. 58-64. 'Reincarnation as a Novelistic Device,' pp. 54-68.

For reincarnation in a modern western novel, see Margaret Potter's *Flame-Gatherers* (London, 1904), and Bain's *Descent of the Sun* (London, 1903). The earliest example known is *The Egyptian Tale of the Two Brothers*, written in the nineteenth dynasty (1875-1202 B.C., tr. Maspero, *Contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne*, 3 ed., pp. 8-20, Paris, 1906).

अन्यैस्त्वचरित तस्या नायकेन तु नोच्यते ।
स्वगुणाविवृतिं कुर्यादभिज्ञात कथं जन ॥

“*Akhvāyikā* is a literary composition, which is written in prose in words pleasing to the ear (*śravya*) and agreeable to the matter intended (*brahṣṭānukūla*), but which may contain metrical pieces in *vaktā* and *aparavaktā* metre, the object of these verses being to give a timely indication of future happenings in the story, which should have an exalted substance (*udātātārtha*) with some characteristics supplied by the poet's imagination as a special mark and having for its theme the abduction of a girl (*kanyā-harana*), a fight (*samgrāma*), a separation (*vibhālamḥa*) and the (final) triumph (*udaya*), apparently of the hero, in which an account of his deeds is given by the hero himself in which the story is divided into several pauses called *ucchvasas*. In the *kātha*, on the other hand, there are no *vaktā* or *aparavaktā* verses, no division into *ucchvasas*, and the story should not be narrated by the hero, but by someone else. It may be written in Sanskrit or in *Apabhraṃsa*, which indicated by implication that the *akhvāyikā* should always be composed in Sanskrit”¹

But Dandin denies the distinction

अपाद पदसन्तानो गद्यमाख्यायिका कथा ।
इति तस्य प्रमेधौ द्वौ तयोराख्यायिका किल ॥
नायकेनैव वाच्यान्या नायकेनेतरेण वा ।
स्वगुणाविवृतिर्यो दोषो नात्र भूतार्थशसिनः ॥
अपित्वनियमो दृष्टस्तथाप्यन्यैरुदीरणात् ।
अन्यो चक्ता स्वयं वेति कीदृशा मेदकारणम् ॥
वक्तुं चापरवक्तुं च सोच्छ्वासत्वं च मेदकम् ।
चिह्नमाख्यायिकायाश्चेत् प्रसङ्गेन कथास्तपि ॥
आर्यादिवत्प्रवेश किं न वक्तुपरवक्तृयो ।
मेदश्च दृष्टो लम्भादिरुच्छ्वासो वास्तु किं ततः ॥
तत्कथाख्यायिकेलेका जातिस्सन्नाद्वयाङ्किता ।
अत्रैवान्तर्भविष्यन्ति शेषाश्चाख्यानजातयः ॥

“A succession of words not amenable to division into metrical feet is called prose. Chronicle and Tale are its two varieties. Of these chronicle, we are told, is what is narrated by the hero himself exclusively; the other by the hero as well as by any other person. The

showing forth of one's own merits is not here, in view of his being a recorder of events that have actually occurred, a blemish. This restriction, however, is not observed in as much as there (in akhṛavika) also other persons can narrate. That another person narrates or he himself does it—what kind of a ground for distinction is this? If (the metres) Vaktra and Aparavaktra and the having of the title Uccḥvāsas (for a subdivision) are to be the differentiating mark of an Akhṛavika, occasionally even in Kathas, why, as in the case of Arva and other metres, should there not be scope for Vaktra and Aparavaktra? Tumbha and other (titles for sub-division) are observed (in Kathas) as a distinguishing characteristic. Let Uccḥvāsas be one of them, what matters? Hence Katha and Akhṛavika constitute just one species denoted by two names. Herein also are comprised the remaining species of narration. The abduction of a maiden, battle, deception, somebody's rise in fortune and such other topics are common to it (Akhṛavika) no less than to compositions-in-cantos, they do not form its differentiating characteristics. Any peculiar mark that the poet might affect according to his fancy (in a Katha etc.) he could without impropriety affect in other composition. For accomplished persons, in the attainment of their desired ends, can there be any occasion that may not (just as well) serve as an opening?"²

Rudrata, says S K De, "accepted and generalized the characteristics of Bana's two works into universal rules governing the composition of the Katha and the akhṛavika respectively. According to him, we have in the Katha an introductory namaskṛva in verse to the devas and gurus, and a statement of the author's family and the motive of his authorship, the prose narrative written in Sanskrit (or in verse in other languages) in light alliterative words, the plot including pura-varnana, etc., (as in the case of the Utpadva-kavva, vi, 3), a kathantara at the beginning, which is immediately connected with the main story, (4) a theme consisting of the winning of a girl (kanya-labha), which being the main issue, the sentiment of love is developed fully in it (vinyasta-sakala-srngara). In the akhṛavika on the other hand (1) we have the namaskṛva to devas and gurus in verse together with an incidental praise of older poets, a confession of one's own inability and a statement of the poet's motive in writing notwithstanding these drawbacks, which motive may spring from the poet's devotion to a particular king, his addiction to the praise of other people's merits or from some other special causes, (2) the story should be written in the manner of a Katha,

2 See S K Belvalkar's translation of Kāvya-darśa

but emphasis is put on the injunction that an account of the poet himself and his family must be contained in it, written in prose and not in verse, there are divisions into *ucchvasas* and two *arva-verses* should occur at the beginning of each chapter, excepting the first "

It will be therefore noticed that the earliest traditional forms are described by *Bhāmaha*, but as later poets did not conform to these rules, —for instance, the definition of *Katha* did not suit *Kādambarī*—¹ facts had to be faced. *Dandin*, an admirer of *Bāṇa*, repudiated the distinctions and probably offered an apology for *Bāṇa*'s indifference to the accepted canons of classification. *Rudrata* submitted himself to things as they were and adapted his definition to suit *Harṣacarita* as an *Ākhyāyikā* and *Kādambarī* as a *Kathā* and later rhetoricians do not dilate on this topic, though the orthodox view was not yet forgotten by *Viśvanātha*.

Hemacandra says *Kathā* may be in verse or in prose and instances *Līlāvaṭī*² as *पद्यमयी कथा* and gives other classes of *Kathā* thus —

प्रबन्धमध्ये परप्रबोधनार्थं नलाद्युपाख्यानामिवोपाख्यानममिनयन् पठन् गायन्
यदैको ग्रन्थिक कथयति तद्गोविन्दवत् आख्यानम् ।

1 Peterson says — "This is a description wholly inapplicable to *Kadambarī*, but it is an exact description of *Yasastilakacampu*. I conclude that the definition of *Katha* was drawn up at a time when the literary pantheon of India opened its doors to adherents of all creeds and that *Kadambarī* was dragged into the explanation by later fanatics who abhorred the Jain and his works and would find no better illustration among the books left to them of a definition which they were too conservative to abandon "

2 *Bhoja* in *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (XI) says

या नियमितगतिभाषा दिव्यादिव्योमयेति वृत्तवती ।

कादम्बरीव लीलावतीव वा सा कथा कथिता ॥

and quotes verses from it, all in *prākṛt*. In Oh XCVII under *दूती*, he says

सहस्राक्षिकीडा यथा कुवल्यावली महागुणवत्या लीलावत्या ।

Līlāvaṭī is mentioned in *Vāgbhata's Alankāraṭīlaka*. On the story of *Līlāvaṭī*, see M. B. Kavi's *Līlāvaṭīkathā*, *Bharat* (1926), 3.

In *Vallabhācārya's Nyāyalīlāvaṭī* (p. 69) we have

यथा वा सेष्ठास्मृतपदार्थसार्थे भवति शालिवाहनो नृपतिरिदानीं शृङ्गारसरसीतीरे
देव्या लीलावत्या सह ललितमधुर सङ्गीतकमनुतिष्ठतीति ज्ञातम् ।

In *Jess Cat* (50-51) it is given as the work of *Bhūṣaṇabhaṭṭaśaṇaya*. See para 106 note *supra*.

निरश्रामनिरर्था वा चेष्टामिथैव कार्यमकार्यं वा निर्णयिते तत्पञ्चतन्त्रादिवन् पूर्वविष्टकुट्ट-
नामनम्यग्रमार्जादिवच्च निदर्शनम् ।

प्रधानमधिकृत्य यत्र द्वयैववाद् साध्यप्राकृतगचिता चेटकादिवन् प्रवहिका ।

प्रेतमहाराष्ट्रभाषया स्त्ररुथा नागोच्चनानङ्गवचादिवन् मतञ्जिका । यस्या पुरोहितामात्य
तापभार्दानां प्रारब्धानिर्वाहे उपहासम्मापि मतञ्जिका ।

यस्या पूर्वं वस्तु न लक्ष्यत पश्चात्तु प्रकाज्यते मामम्यहमितादिवन् मणिकुल्या ।
एक धर्मादिपुम्बार्थमुद्दिश्य प्रकारवैचित्र्येणानन्तवृत्तान्तवर्णनप्रधाना अत्रफादिवन् परिकथा ।
मन्यादुपान्तो वा ग्रन्थान्तरप्रसिद्धमितिवृत्त यस्या वर्णयते सेन्दुमत्यादिवन् खण्डरुथा ।

ममस्तफ़लान्तेतिवृत्तवर्णना समरादिस्थादिवन् सकलकथा ।

एकतरचरिनाश्रयेण प्रसिद्धकथान्तरोपनिबद्धा उपकथा ।

लम्भाङ्किताद्भुतार्था नरबाहनदत्तचरितवन् बृहत्कथा ।

448 Indian and Greek Romance It has been said that 'of the Romance particularly the Frolic Romance of the Milesian school one finds likeness in the Indian novels written in the 7th century A.D. by Bana and Subandhu' In his introduction to Kādambarī Peterson outlines a comparison in some important points between Kādambarī and Leucippe and Clitophon and holds with M. Goblet d'Alviella that the Indian Romance was directly borrowed from the Greeks¹ "The romances of the two peoples," says Levi "are totally different both in plan and spirit as even a cursory reading will show. The least part of the Sanskrit romance is the thread of the story or the adventures of its characters, all the stress is laid on rhetorical embellishment, minute descriptions of nature, detailed specification of exploits and of mental, moral and physical qualities. In the Greek Romance on the other hand as in Latin the story is everything. The reader is hurried from one adventure to another, the wilder and more improbable, the better, fine writing is practically disregarded, description and appreciation of nature are to all intents and purposes avoided."

M. F. Lacote discusses the connection of Greek and Indian Romances "In India we have been unable to render a satisfactory account of the progressive development of the system of romance writing. It had never ceased to exist but extended to all the narratives in prose and perfected itself in the process so well that the Kathas

1 On the question, see G. Banerjee's *Hellenism in Ancient India*

when most rigorously constructed were nothing but romances. The Greek romance on the contrary had not delayed to outstrip its primitive type and to approach the ordinary stand of a narrative epic and at the same time the erotic element was present in it in a more marked degree."

SECTION 2

449 Early literature The earliest passages in prose that have successfully survived "the ship-wreck of Sanskrit literature" are to be sought for in the Samhita of the *Black Yajus*. Unlike Samhita of Rik which is purely a lyrical collection of hymns, Taittiriya Samhita contains prose portions in it, which formed the only Brahmanas in Katha and Maṭṛāyaṇīya Schools. In the Samhita, the sacrificial formulæ were accompanied by dogmatic explanations and by descriptions of ceremonials pertaining to them. These explanations were elucidations of the sacrificial enigmas and embodied the speculation of generations of priests. These *duta theologica* were imparted by oral tradition, preserved as well as supplemented in the course of years in different families or parishads. The more numerous these works became, the more unsystematic their contents grew. Harmony was needed to bring them to order. To this end, compilations of the different opinions were uniformly arranged under different headings and such digests were in later times called *Brāhmanas*. These were in most cases regular commentaries in prose on the vedic hymns, explanatory and analytical. This practice of adopting a prose-style for linguistic explanations and traditional narratives introduced into this Vedic period descended to the Purāṇic period. Mahābhārata and Purāṇas contain prose portions in them, which at least in the former appear to be directly descended from the language of the Brāhmanas. This kind of long prose-work becomes too elaborate to be preserved or got up by rote. The compilers now hit at the other extreme. They would be more concise and precise. References must be facilitated. Thus *brevis took the place of verbosity*. This is the origin of the literature of the *Sūtras*. The saying was proverbial that "an author rejoiceth in the economising of half a short vowel as much as in the birth of a son." Sometimes the sūtras were so meagre as to have a single syllable in it, illustrations of which Pāṇini can furnish in abundance¹. Rules of interpretation were equally hard and the principle of *descent and cessation* of words was the chief

means of construction. Apart from any want of artistic excellence, they form an ingenious part of Indian literature, to which no other nation can offer a parallel. In a very short time, every department of science or religion began to have a sūtra literature of its own, long before the beginning of the Christian era. Then came the *vṛttis*, which were the sūtras themselves in a more expanded form and in some cases they contained hints at the interpretation of the sūtras. The language of both the sūtras and the *vṛttis* gave rise to differences of opinion among the learned, and this conflict necessitated commentaries expressive of the arguments in support of the author's interpretation. These were the *Bhāṣyas*. Strictly speaking, the 'evil,' which the sūtra literature was intended to remedy, once more appeared—evil in the sense of elaborateness. Bhāṣya literature therefore mostly resembles the Brāhmaṇas but with a few variations. The aim is no longer to explain sacrificial symbols or ceremonial rituals, but to elucidate the intricate theories involved in the sūtras of various departments of learning. Their language in general bears no resemblance to the language of the romances. The tone of the former is serious and scientific, while that of the latter is levitous and recreative. Bhāṣyas are stuffed with substance and technicality, they are *vastu-pradhāna*. Literary prose proper is the result of poetic art and rhetorical embellishment.

SECTION 3

450. Early Romances. The literature of Romances, *Ākhyāyikā*, appears to have been quite advanced long before the Christian era. Kaṭyāyana mentions *ākhyāyikas* (in the plural). Besides naming Sumanottara and Bhāimarāṭhī, Patanjali instances *Vāsavaḍaṭṭā* as an *Ākhyāyikā* and speaks of its readers as *Vāsavaḍaṭṭikas*,¹ but does not mention the names of the authors. In his *Harṣacarita* Bāṇa praises writers on *Ākhyāyikā* and (an *Ākhyāyikā*) *Vāsavaḍaṭṭā*.

1. अधिकृत कृते ग्रन्थे, लुबाख्यायिकाभ्यो बहुलम् । अधिकृत कृते ग्रन्थे इत्यत्र लुबाख्यायिकाभ्यो बहुलं लब्धं वक्तव्यम् । वासवदत्ता सुमनोत्तरा न च भवति भैरवशी ।—

Mahābhāṣya, IV, iii, 87.

ii. रसादिभ्यश्च.इत्यन्ते ह्यन्ये रसादिभ्यो मत्वर्थीया । रसको नट, ऊर्वशीवैरूपिण्य-स्पर्शसाम् ।—*Mahābhāṣya*, V, ii, 95

iii. आख्यायिका वासवदत्तिरु. इति भाष्यम् । वासवदत्तिरु इति वासवदत्ताभि-
कृत आख्यायिका वासवदत्ता । अधिकृत कृते ग्रन्थे इत्यर्थे वृद्धाच्च । तस्य लुबाख्यायिकाभ्यो
बहुलमिति लुप्, ततो अनेन ठक् ॥—*Kaṭyāyana*.

उच्छ्वासान्तेऽप्यखिन्नास्ते येषा वक्त्रे सरस्वती ।
 कथमाख्यायिकाकारा न ते वन्या कवीश्वरा ॥
 कवीनामगळर्पो नून वासवदत्तया ।
 शक्त्वेव पाण्डुपुत्राणां गतया कर्णगोचरम् ॥

Haradaṭṭa in Kāśikā mentions Ūrvasī

Next to Vāsavadatṭa, we have references to two romances, Cārumaṭi of Vararuci¹ and Ṭarangavaṭi² of Śrīpālīṭa³. Śrīpālīṭa was a distinguished poet of the Court of Hāla and has been praised by Dhana-pāla and Abhinanda. Ṭarangavaṭi was probably in prakrit. Rāmīla and Somīla wrote Sūdrakakathā⁴. Besides the mention of Cārumaṭi, Bhoja refers to Manovaṭi and Saṭakarnīharana⁵ which must have belonged to the beginning of the Christian era.

Manovaṭi praised by Dandin was probably of great merit. He says

धवलप्रभवा राग सा तनोति मनोवती ।

कविगन्धगजैरेभि. ..

||Avaṇṭisundarī

451 Haricandra (Bhattara) was praised by Bāna for his enchanting prose composition "luminous in its arrangement of words of

1. See para 6 supra

2. पुण्या पुनाति गङ्गेव गां तरङ्गवती कथा । Ṭalakamanjarī.

3. For the verse of Abhinanda, see para 29 note supra.

4. (i) Bhoja mentions it

शुको जरद्विर शूद्रककथायां हरिमतीवृत्तान्ते यथा ।
 ज वदणरव इविण ओ पआसइतेद बंदकीरणिता ओमासइ ।
 जइहारिळख्वजणजुत्तहोदि जउसइल अत्तवणि उत्तहो ॥

Śṛṅgaraprakāśa, xxviii.

संभ्रान्तस्त्वरितमसौ मल्लिजुचानासुर्वीक्ष्यमितमयोधयद्वुष्मान् ।

कालेऽस्मिन् विनयवती वनेषु चार्ता वार्तायै कमितुरितस्ततो जगाम ॥

(Ibid, xxx.)

Vinayavaṭi is the beloved of Sūdraka

(ii) तौ शूद्रककथाकारौ रम्यौ रामिलसौमिलौ ।

काव्य ययोर्द्विबोरासीदधैनारीश्वरोपमौ ॥

Jalhanṭa,

(iii) Subhāṣitāvalī (2227) quotes under Kaviputra

अचातुर्यं कुञ्चितान्ता कटाक्षा स्निग्धा हावा लज्जितान्ताथ हासा. ।

लीलामन्द प्रस्थितं चासितं च स्त्रीणामेतदभूषणं चायुधं च ॥

5 सौरिक. शुकुनिक शकुन्तिकाया. सातकर्णाहरेण ।

Śṛṅgaraprakāśa, xxvii, 3.

choice letters." His romance, probably known as *Malati*, has not been traced.¹

Śīla's language is extolled for simple grace like Bana's, but her work is not named.²

Bhoja himself wrote a romance *Śrngāramanjari*.³ Kulasekhara composed *Āscarvamanjari*,⁴ *Vādiganghāla* mentions a work *Kusumamanjari*⁵ and Jayaratha quotes from *Anangalekhā*,⁶ but their authors are unknown. Hastimalla appears to have also written an *Ākhyāyika* divided into *Lambhas*.⁷

- 1 पदबन्धोज्ज्वलो हारी कृतवर्णक्रमस्थिति ।
मंदारहरिचन्द्रस्य गद्यबन्धो विभाव्यते ॥ *Marsacarya*

See para 47 supra.

- 2 शब्दार्थयोस्समो गुप्तो पाञ्चालीरीतिरिष्यते ।
शीलमद्वारिकावाचि बाणोक्तिषु च सा यदि ॥

Jalahana's Sukṭamulāvalī

3. *Jess Cat* 55 See Introduction to *Yuktikalpataru*

4. दूरादपि सता मध्ये लिखित्वाश्चर्यमञ्जरीम् ।
कुलशेखरवर्माख्या चकाराश्चर्यमञ्जरीम् ॥

Jalahana's Sukṭamulāvalī and *DC*, XXI 8405

आये । मा मैवम् । यस्य परमहसपादपङ्केरुहपांसुपटलपविलीकृतमुकृततटस्य वसुधाविबुध-
धनायान्धकारायमाणकरकमलस्य मुखकमलादगलदाश्चर्यमञ्जरीकथामधुद्रव

Prologue to Tapasamvaran, *TSS DC*, XXI, 8495

- 5 In his commentary on *Kāvyaṭṭarāśa*, I 28

6 नदीप्रकरमुल्लिखितवन्त मनोहरहस्तमयजन्त च, सपर्याणां सचि बहन्त सर्वत पूजनीय
च, सकुम्भ सकलचचरन्त च, सदानदन्त मदपर्याविलदर्शन च, करट कमपि विभ्रत कवाट
विभ्रममुच्चन्त च, कुञ्जराजिबर्धितसचि वारणरणरणिकाकुलित च, राजमानविसन्धायिन
विराजमान च, शारीभूत भदसलिलेन, शबलीभूतं च, इति पुनरुक्ताश्रयम् ।—अनङ्गलेखाया
हस्तिवर्णने । *Commentary on Alankārasarvasva*, *Kāvyaṃālā Bdh.* p 19

11. विदमार्ज्जनाजनमपि दर्भगर्मकरमकरोत् । पञ्चता जनयन्नपि पञ्चालस्य वैमुख्यम-
पुष्पात् । पारसीकरणमप्यपारसीकरण चकार । मागधानपि विमागधान्यधात् । चोलकान्ता अप्य-
चोलकान्ताः समपादयत् । कुन्तलालसानप्यकुन्तलालसांश्च निर्ममे । शूरसेनानप्यशूरसेनानदर्शयत् ।

अनङ्गलेखाया राजवर्णने । *Ibid* 123.

Tikāsarava quotes कुरङ्गैरिव कुशलवादिभि from this romance.

- 7 हस्तिमल्लेन लम्भान्ते लम्भशब्दः ।

Tarunavācaspāṭi's commentary on Kāvyaṭṭarāśa I 30.

Malayasundarī of Mānikyasundara¹ is in verse, Citralekhā mentioned by Rayamukuta² and Guptavah³ are anonymous

Rudrata's Trailokyasundarī appears to have related the tale of Kṛṣṇa Aparāṇṭa's Mṛgāṅkalekhā is mentioned by Rājasekhara and must be different from Mṛgāvāṭikāthā of unknown authorship⁴

Agastya's Kṛṣṇacarita,⁵ Viśveśvara's Madanamānjari,⁶ Jaṇanāṭha's Āśvīlās⁷ and Vāsudeva's Rāmakaṭhā have been noticed¹¹

SECTION 3

452 Bana was the son of Citrabhānu and Rājadevī and of Vatsagoṭra Arthapati was his grandfather, Candrasena and Mahisena his half-brothers and Ganapati, Adhipati, Gārāpati and Śyāmala, his paternal cousins Mayūra was his brother-in-law¹² They lived at Pṛthukūta on the banks of the Sōna river As an infant Bāna lost his mother, and his father tended him with maternal care When he was fourteen his father passed away, and with this Bāna's life changed Well educated in Sanskrit and with a competency uncontrolled by elders, he became self-willed and with the buoyancy of youth he planned travel He gathered together a mob of companions who with proficiencies heterogenous could indeed have got on gaily anywhere But the fortune was soon dissipated and he returned home One day he was called to the Court of Haravardhana, then encamping near Manipura on the Ajirāvati There on the commendations of Harsa's brother, he was well received and soon he became the King's favourite¹³

1 Printed Bk 685, PR I 123 There is another by Jayaṭilakasuri

2 CC I, 180 (an upakāthā)

3 Opp, II 8020

4 सुखिष्टललिता यस्य कथा त्रैलोक्यसुन्दरी |—Tilakamānjari

5 Quoted by Bhoja in Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, Chap 28

6 Mentioned in prologue to Karpuramānjari

7 PR, I, Ap 88

8 See para 126 supra Tanj VII 2992

9 See para 812 supra PR V mentions author as a pupil of Lakṣmīdhara.

10 See para 811 supra

11 DC, XXI 8023 See para 172 supra

12 So says Mānaṭunga in his Bhaktāmarasūtra

13 For a fuller account, see Peterson's Introduction to Kādambari (BSS, No 24),

46ff On Bāna generally, see Hall, introduction to Vāsavaśaiṣa, 12ff, Aufrecht, CC, I 868, ZDMG, XXVII 50-4; Peterson, PR, I 105, IV lxxii 62-6, JBRAS, XVI. 175, Bhandarkar, BR, (1827) xviii, xxxiii, Weber ZDMG (1858), Macdonnell, SL, , R. O Dutt, AC, II 298 Cartellieri, Das Mahabharata des Subandhu und Bana,

Bāna's ancestors were devout brahmins and votaries of Siva. Blessed with a hereditary instinct for learning and himself well-educated he had seen life and world. He proposed to narrate to his friends the story of his patron, and thāt is Harṣacarita.

453 *Harṣacarita*¹ begins with an autobiography where Bāna traces his descent from Ḍadhīca and Sarasvatī and from Ḍadhīca's brother's son Vaṭsa. He names his immediate ancestors of some generations with veneration due to their piety and learning. He gives an account of his early life and his sojourn at the royal Court. Next comes the history of King Harṣa. In the city of Sṭhāpvisvara in the country of Sṛīkantha, there lived a king Puṣpabhūti. In his line was born king Prabhākaravardhana of great prowess. He has two sons Rājyavardhana and Harṣavardhana and a daughter Rājyasrī. Rājyasrī married the Maukharī prince Grahavarman. On the death of Prabhākaravardhana, Rājyavardhana refused the throne, but before he could instal Harṣa in his stead news reached them that the king of Mālva had slain Rājyasrī's husband and carried her away to his capital, Rājyavardhana set out on an expedition against him, but there he was killed by treachery by the king of Gauda. Upset by this calamity, Harṣa marched on Mālva to avenge the disgrace. But on his way he learnt that Rājyasrī had escaped from prison, and was rescued by a Buddhist Saint from her resolve to ascend the funeral pyre. Here the book ends as it is with the meeting of Harṣa and Rājyasrī and is obviously incomplete. This in short is the story of Harṣacarita.²

From the comparison of the account given by Bāna in Harṣacarita with the description of the life and history of King Harṣavardhana Śīlāditya³ by the Chinese traveller Hiouen-Tsang, it has been possible

VOJ, XIII 72, On the close lexical affinity between Harṣacarita and Rājataranginī, see Voj, XII. 33; JRAS, (1699) 485. On Kādambari and Bṛhatkṛthā, see Man kowski, SOJ, XIII No 2.

1 In Bhoja's Sṛīngāraprakāśa (Chapter 20), there is a quotation

यथा हर्षचरिते भव,

तस्य च सुता कुमारी रूपवती सर्वलक्षणोपेता ।

तां भवत प्रयच्छति हर्षो ग्रहिते सहास्रमाभि ॥

This shows the existence of another Harṣacarita.

2 Ed. Bombay. For a more detailed account, see Peterson's Introduction to Kādambari (BSS. No 24) 1-38. Translated into English by Cowell and Thomas (Cambridge).

3 On Śīlāditya, see Dasabai's *History of Gujarat*, 316.

to identify Bāna's patron with that king who ruled at Kanouj in 610-650 A.D.¹ This certainty of date has brought an additional value to Harṣacarita, as a land-mark in Sanskrit literary history, for the introductory verses mention the names of some prominent poets whom Bāna admired, Vyāsa, Cora, author of Vāsavadatta, Bhattāra Haricandra, Sātāvāhana, Pravarasena, Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, author of Bṛhaṭkathā and Ādhyarāja.²

454 Kadambari By far the work with which Bāna's literary glory is associated is his romance Kādambari.³ He wrote only the first part of it and what was left unfinished was made up by his son Pulinda or Bhūṣaṇabhatta.⁴ It is a long tale of complicated construction narrated by a parrot called Vaisampāyana to king Sūdraka of Viḍiṣā. It describes the loves of Candrāpīda of Ujjain and Kādambarī, the Gandharva princess and interlaced with it the loves of Kādambarī's friend Mahāsveṭa and Pundarikā. The marriages of these heroines are interrupted by the sudden, but apparent, deaths of their lovers, when on the assurances of a heavenly voice, they bide their time. The parrot concluded the narrative and flew away, the woman that brought the parrot told Sūdraka that the parrot's tale was but a description of his life in his prior birth and this seemed to remind him of his past doings and that Candrāpīda was only his incarnation. Thus the curse which had caused these impediments in the way of the lovers exhausted itself and Candrāpīda and Pundarikā were revived and were reunited with Kādambarī and Mahāsveṭa at Ujjain. There they lived happily together in sublime felicity.⁵

In literary merit Kādambarī is supreme. The reader loses himself in a poetic trance. The name is true to the grace, for Kādambarī means

1. For a discussion of the narratives, see Peterson's Introduction to Kādambarī (BSS, No. 84) 60ff. For Hiouen Tsiang's account, see Stanislas Julien's *Memoires* I. 247-265, *IA*, VII. 196-202.

2. For a full account of these references, see Peterson, *l.c.* 66ff. Three verses of Kādambarī in praise of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahma are quoted in a grant of Mahārāṇaka Kumārapaladeva (Sam. 1297; *IA*, XVII. 280). But the introductory verses are not found in a manuscript, *DU*, XXI. 6815.

3. Ed. Madras, Bombay and Calcutta and Mysore. Translated into English by O. Bidding, London, and Uṭṭarārḍha by V. R. Nerurkar.

Ed. with Introduction by P. Peterson, BSS, and by R. V. Kane, Bombay, Mysore and at Madras.

4. There is a Lalāyāṭikathā in prakṛt poetry by Bhūṣaṇabhattaṇaya (*Jess Cat.* 55) on the story of Śalivāhana. See para 106 *supra*.

5. For a detailed account, see Peterson's Introduction to Kādambarī.

also liquor If liquor makes one forget himself, so does the Romance of Kādambarī Such is the proverbial repute ¹ Govardhana days that Vānī (Sarasvatī) became Bāna ² 'Bāna's words breathe a freshness of vigour that bespeak a warm and sincere admiration of the profusion of nature which the Indian Scenery offers to the poetic mind And in this respect he has very few equals even among oriental poets' ³ From his represen-

- 1, "कादम्बरीरसज्ञानामाहारोऽपि न रोचते ।
कादम्बरीरसज्ञानामाहारोऽपि न रोचते ॥"
2 "जाता शिखण्डिनी प्राग्यथा शिखण्डी तथावगच्छामि ।
प्रागस्यमधिकमाप्नु वाणी बाणो बभूवेति ॥

3 For appreciation by many other poets, see *Jl of Sam Sah Tas* XIII 38 6
For instance

गगादेवी—

वाणीपाणिपराऽमृष्टवीणानिक्राणहारिणीम् ।
भावयन्ति कथं वान्ये भट्टबाणस्य भारतीम् ॥

त्रिलोचन —

"हृदि लग्नेन बाणेन यन्मन्दोऽपि पदक्रम ।
भवेत्कविकुरङ्गाणां चापलं तत्र कारणम् ॥"

विविक्कम — 'नलचम्पू'

"शश्वद्वाणद्वितीयेन नमदाकारधारिणा ।
धनुषेव गुणाढ्येन नि शेषो रञ्जितो जन ॥"

धनपाल — 'तिलकमञ्जरी'

"केवलोऽपि स्फुरन् बाण करोति विमदान् कवीन् ।
किं पुन क्लृप्तसन्धानपुलिन्त्र (न्द?) कृतसन्निधिः ॥"

धर्मदाससूरि — 'विदग्धमुखमण्डनम्'

"रुचिरस्वरवर्णपदा रसभाववती जगन्मनो हरति ।
तत् किं तरुणी ? नहि नहि वाणी बाणस्य मधुरशीलस्य ॥

चन्द्रदेवकवि —

"श्लेषे केचन शब्दगुम्फविषये केचिद्रसे चापरे-
ऽलङ्कारे कतिचित्सदर्थविषये चान्ये कथावर्णने ।
आसर्वत्र गभीरधीरकविताविन्ध्याटवीचातुरी-
सञ्चारो कविकुम्भिकुम्भभिदुरो बाणस्तु पञ्चानन ॥

lation of the horse Indrāyudha, he has come to be known as Turaṅga Bāna. His language is chaste yet ornate and learned yet charming and his descriptions show no end of their resources. The meeting of Sarasvatī and Dadhīca, the last embrace by Prabhākaravardhana of his son, these for instance in Harṣacarita, the beginning of the narrative by the parrot, the advice of Śukanāsa to Candrapīda, the progress of the amours of Kāḍambarī and Candrapīda in the Gandharva capital and the pleasant association of the lovers after vicissitudes, these for instance in Kāḍambarī are worthy of a special appreciation.

455 There are commentaries on Harṣacarita by Rājānaka Śankarakantha,¹ by Ranganātha,² by Rucaka,³ by Sankara⁴

सोड्डल — 'उदयसुन्दरीकथा'

- १ । “ श्रीहर्ष इत्यवनिवर्तिषु पार्थिवेषु
नात्रैव केवलमजायत वस्तुतस्तु ।
श्रीहर्ष एष निजससदि येन राज्ञा
संपूजित कनककोटिशतेन बाण ॥”
- २ । “ बाणस्य हर्षचरिते निश्चितामुदीक्ष्य
शक्तिं न केऽत्र कवितासुमद लजन्ति ।
मान्द्यं न कस्य च कवेरिह कालिदास-
वाचा रसेन रसितस्य भवत्यधृष्यम् ॥” १।५ ॥
- ३ । “ बागीश्वर हन्त भजेऽमिनन्द-
मर्षेश्वर वाक्पातिराजमीडे ।
रसेश्वर स्तौमि च कालिदास
बाण तु सर्वेश्वरमानतोऽस्मि ॥” ८।१

सोमेश्वरदेव — 'कीर्तिकौमुदी' १।१५

“ युक्तं कादम्बरीं श्रुत्वा कवयो मौनमाश्रिता ।
बाणध्वनावनभ्यायो भवतीति स्मृतिर्यत ॥”

[११४७—१२६२ खू आ]

1. Eld Bombay, Śankarakantha was father of Rājānaka who lived about 1650 A D,

2 TC, III 8868

3. Called Harṣacaritavārtika.

4 Printed, Bombay. PR, I. 120.

There are commentaries on Kādambarī by Bhānucandra and Siddhacandra,¹ Haridāsa,² Sivarāma,³ Vaidyanātha, son of Rāmabhatta,⁴ Balakṛṣṇa,⁵ Suracandra,⁶ Mahādeva,⁷ Sukhākara,⁸ Arjuna son of Cakradāsa,⁹ Ghanaśyama,¹⁰ and some anonymous.¹¹

456 The story of Kādambarī is found in Vāmana Bhatta Bāṇa's Bṛhaṭkathāmanjarī,¹² Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara and Dandin's Avantīśundarīkathāsāra, and in the latter the story agrees with the narrative of Bāṇa only so far as the Pūrvabhūga

Dhundirāja Vyāsajayan, son of Lakṣmana, wrote Abhinavakādambarī, and a gloss on Mudrārākṣasa in 1713 A.D.¹³ He is probably the same as the commentator on Lakṣmīśahasra,¹⁴ and is the author of the musical work Sahajivīlāsa.¹⁵

Abhinanda's Kādambarīkathāsāra, a poem in 8 cantos, has been noticed.¹⁶ Vikramadeva (Trivikrama), son of Rājārājadeva, and pupil of Vidyācakravartī, wrote the poem Kādambarīkathāsāra in 13 cantos,¹⁷ Kalpitakādambarī¹⁸ is anonymous Trīyambakā's Kādambarīkathāsāra,¹⁹ Śrīkanthābhinava Sastrin's Kādambarīcampū,²⁰ and Nara-simha's play Kādambarīkalyāna,²¹ and Padyakādambarī²² of Kṣemendra relate the same story

1 Printed, Bombay

2 Printed, Bombay

3 CC, II 17, Bhandarkar's *List*, Part I (1893) See under Dandin *post*

4 SKC, 80, *Uttara*, 896

5 PR, II 53, 188

6 CC, II 17

7 PR, II 188

8 PR, II 188

9, *Mys* 261

10 See para 166 *supra*

11 SKC, 80, *TC*, IV 5115

12 See para 123 *supra*.

13 *Tanj VIII* 3475

14 CC, III 5, I Printed, Bombay

15 See para 163 *supra*

16 See para 60 *supra*

17 See para 100 *TC*, IV 4292, Kuppusemi Sastrin's *Resp.* (1919), 38

18 See Kavindrācārya's *List (GOS)* No 1935.

19 *Śāradā*, II, April August 1916

20 Printed, Mysore. See also CC, I 92 where author's name is not given.

21 *TC*, III 3489 See on the author Chapiro on Sanskrit Drama *post*

22 See Kuppusemi Sastrin's *Resp* (1919) 39 It is quoted in Kavikanthābharapa
The manuscript is with Paluvathachan, Senlamangalam, Malabar

There are epitomes of Kādambarī, Kādambararthasāra by Manirāma,¹ Sankṣipta Kādambarī by Kāśīnātha,² Kādambarīsangraha by R V Kṛṣṇamācārya,³ Candṛāpīḍacaritra by V Anantācārya,⁴ and epitomes of Harṣacarita by R V Kṛṣṇamācārya,⁵ and by Śrīnivāsācārya.⁶

457 Among other works of Bāṇa are Candīsataka, Sivasataka, Mukutaṭāḍītaka and Saradācandrikā

Candīsataka is a centum of verses in long Śardūla metre in praise of Candī, a form of Kālī, with an allusion in every verse to some incident in the fight between Kālī and Mahīsāsura. Its source is the Devīmahātmya (ch 80) of Markandeya Purāṇa. This, "the Suryasataka of Mayura and the Bhaktamarastotra of Manatunga," says Peterson "are three opposing poems written by devotees of one or other of the great forms of religion which flourished side by side under Harsha's protection." There are commentaries on Candīsataka by Dhanesvara,⁷ by Nagojibhalla,⁸ by Bhāskararoya⁹ and another anonymous.¹⁰

Sivaśuṭi like Candīsataka was in praise of Śiva and of his victory over of Tripurāsura.¹¹

Of Mukutaṭāḍītaka nothing is known except a quotation by Bhoja in Śṛṅgāraprakāśa and by Guṇavijayagani in his commentary on Nalacampū.¹² It has for its theme Bhīmasena's smashing of Duryodhana with his club

1 IOC, 1620

2 IOC, 866, VII 1558. He was a Kashmirian and wrote at the instance of Paṇḍitarāja

3. Printed, Srirangam

4. *Sah.* XIV

5. Printed, Kumbakonam.

6. Printed, Trichinopoly.

7. Ed. with the commentaries, Bombay, See Hall's Introduction to Vāsava-
daṭṭa, 8, 49, Buhler, *IA*, I 111.

8. *PE*, I. 114

9. *Ibid.*

10. Introduction to Kādambarī, 97 fn. On this, G. P. Quackenbos, *Poems of Mayura*, Int 89

11. The name of the author is not given, but verses from it are quoted under Bāṇa in all the anthologies

12. यदाह मुकुटतडितनाटके बाण ।

आशा. प्रोषितदिग्गजा इव गुहा प्रवृत्तसिंहा इव

द्रोण्य कृतमहाद्भुता इव भुवः प्रोखातशैला इव ॥

बिभ्राणा. क्षयकालरिक्तसकलत्रैलोक्यकर्ता दक्षा

जाता क्षीयमहारथा. कुरुपतेर्देवस्य सून्यास्तमा ॥

Pārvatīparṇava is a play long considered to be the work of this Bāṇa, but recent opinion has been inclined towards attributing it to Vāmana Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa.¹

Speculation has been rife also on a reading of the passage of Kavyaprakāśa according to which Bāṇa is said to have received wealth from Harsa in lieu of his poetry and some scholars have therefore thought that Raṭnāvalī, Nāgānanda and Prīvadarsikā must be Bāṇa's composition.² There is Sarvacantanālaka mentioned in his name.³

Śaraḍātanaṇḍya mentions a play named Śaraḍācandrikā by Bāṇa, of which the plot related to Candrāpīda.⁴

Ksemendra in his Aucityaracāraccā quotes a verse saying that it is part of a description of the condition of Kādambarī in her separation from Candrāpīda and has other verses in his Kavikantbālīharana, which are referable to similar situations.⁵ Is it possible that Bāṇa wrote Kādambarī in verse also? Some of these verses are very charming and are as good as verses quoted as Bāṇa's in the anthologies, leaving us not in doubt that Bāṇa was good at verse as at prose. He was probably also a philosopher, for Ānandajīvin, in his commentary Tattva-viveka on Anubhavānanda's Nāyaraṭnadīpāvalī, gives a reference to a work of Bāṇa on Vedānta.

1 See Telang, *IA*, III 219 and Peterson's Int to Kādambarī, 97

2 See on this subject chapter on Sanskrit drama post

3 *CG*, I. 368

4 कल्पित मट्टबाणेन यथा शारदचन्द्रिका ।
दिव्येन मर्त्यस्य वध काव्यस्यावश्यमावत ॥

Bhāvaṇṇarāśa (GOS), 252

Daśarupa mentions Śaraḍācandrikā as an example of Uṭṭarīṣṭhikāṇka

चन्द्रापीडस्य मरण यत्प्रत्युज्जीवनान्तिमम् ।

कल्पित मट्टबाणेन यथा शारदचन्द्रिका ॥

5 हारो जलार्द्रवसन नलिनीदलानि प्रालेयशीकरमुचस्तुहिनांशुभासः ।
यस्येन्धनानि सरसानि च चन्दनानि निर्वाणमेभ्यति कथं मनोभवाभिः ॥

अत्र विप्रलम्भमरमग्नधैर्याया कादम्बर्या विरहव्यथावर्णन माधुर्यसौकुमार्यादिगुणयोगेन
पूर्णवदनेन श्रियवदत्वेन हृदयानन्ददायिनीं दयिततमतामातनोति ।

—Bom Edn p 121.

For all such verses, see Peterson's *Subh*, 62 68 and Thomas, *Kav*, 55 59.

e. g. अयोधयौ बालसुहृत्समरस्य श्यामाधवश्श्यामलक्ष्ममङ्गवा ।

तारावधूलोचनचुम्बनेन लीलाविलीनाञ्जनविन्दुरिन्दुः ॥

458 The following passages from Harṣacarita are of historical value ¹

कृतमवधारयतु स्वामी समादिष्ट किन्तु स्वल्प विज्ञातव्यमस्ति भर्तुमक्ते । तदाकर्णयतु देव । देवेन हि पुष्पभूतिवधभूतस्याजात्यस्य सहजस्य तेजसो दिक्करिकप्रलम्बस्य बाहु-
युगलस्यासाधारणस्य च सोदरस्नेहस्य सर्वं सहस्रमुपकान्तम् । काकोदरामिथाना वृषणा
क्रमयोऽपि न मृत्यन्ति विकार, किमुत मन्त्रास्तेजसां राशय । केवल देवराज्यवर्धनोदन्तेन
क्रियदपि दृष्टमेव देवेन दुर्जनदौरात्म्यम् ।

तदियमात्मदेशाचरोचिता स्वभावसरलहृदयजा लज्जयता सर्वविश्वासिता । प्रमाद
दोषामिषङ्गेषु श्रुतबहुवार्ता एव प्रतिदिन देव, यथा ।

1 नागकुलजन्मन सारिकाश्रावितमन्त्रस्यासीन्नाशो नागसेनस्य पद्मावल्याम् ।

2 शुक्रश्रुतहास्यस्य च श्रीरक्षीर्यत श्रुतवर्मणश्चावल्याम् ।

3 स्वप्नायमानस्य च मन्त्रभेदोऽभून्मृत्यवे मृत्तिकावल्यां सुवर्णचूडस्य ।

4 चूडामणिलखलेखप्रतिबिम्बवाचिताक्षरा च चारुचामीकरचामरप्राहिणी यमतां ययौ
यवनेश्वरस्य ।

5 लोमबहुल च बहुलनिशिनिधानमुत्खातखड्गप्रमाथिनी ममन्थ माथुर बृहद्रथं
विदूरथवरूपिनी ।

6 नागवनविहारशील च मायामातङ्गाङ्गाभिर्गता महासेनसैनिका वत्सपार्ति न्ययसिधु ।

7 अतिदयितलास्यस्य च शैशूषमभ्यमभ्यास्य मूर्धानमसिलतया मृणालमिवालुनादभि-
मितात्मजस्य स्तुमित्रस्य मित्रदेव ।

8 प्रियतन्त्रीवाद्यस्यालावूणीणाभ्यन्तरसुषिरनिहितनिशिततरवारयो गान्धर्वच्छात्रच्छद्मान चि-
च्छिदुरश्मकेश्वरस्य शरमस्य शिरोऽरिपुरुषा ।

9 प्रज्ञादुर्बल च बलदर्शनव्यपदेशदर्शिताशेषसैन्य सेनानीरनार्यो मौर्य बृहद्रथ पिपेथ
पुष्पमित्रस्त्वामिनम् ।

10 आश्चर्यकुतूहली च चण्डीपतिर्दण्डोपनतयवननिर्मितेन नभस्थलययायिना यन्त्रयानेनानी-
यत क्वपि ।

11 काकवर्ण शैशुनारिश्च नगरोपकण्ठे निचकृते निखिशेन ॥

1 Bombay Edn, page 197 200

2 This is Sankara's gloss. काकवर्णो यवनान् विजित्य तैश्च स्वपुरुषानुपायनकृत्य
यन्त्रयानैस्तद्वतै परदारदीन् गच्छन्त्यवनैरात्मदेश प्रापय्य निहत इति ॥

12 अतिस्त्रीसङ्करतमनङ्गपरवश शुक्लममात्यो वसुदेवो देवभृतिदासीदुहित्रा देवीव्यञ्जनया वीतजीवितमकारयत् ।

13 असुरविवरव्यमनिन चापजहूरपरिमितरमणीमणिनूपुरक्षणझाङ्गादरम्यया गोधनगिरि-सुरङ्गया स्वविषय मेकलाधिपमन्त्रिण ।

14 महाकालमहे च महासांसविक्रयवादवातूल वेतालस्तालजङ्घो जघान जघन्यज प्रयोतस्य पौणकिं कुमार कुमारसेनम् ।

15 रसायनरसामिनिवेशिनश्च वैधव्यञ्जना सुबहुपुरुषान्तरप्रकाशिनौषधगुणा गणपतेर्त्रिदेह-राजसुतस्य राज्यक्षमाणमजनयत् ।

16 स्त्रीविश्वासिनश्च महादेवीगृहगृहमितिभाग्भाता भद्रसेनस्याभवन्मृत्यवे कालिङ्गस्यवीरसेन ।

17 मानुषयनीयतूलिकातलनिषण्णश्च तनयोऽन्य तनयमभिषेक्तुकामस्य दध्नस्य करुषाधिपतेरभवन्मृत्यवे ॥

18 उत्सारकरुषि च रहसि ससचिवमेव दूरीचकार चकोरनाथ शूद्रकदूतश्चन्द्रकेतु जीवितात् ॥

19 मृगयासक्तस्य च मशतो गण्डकातुङ्गण्डनद्वलनलवननिलीनाश्च चम्पाधिपचमूचर भटाश्चामुण्डीपतेराचेष्टु प्राणान् पुष्करस्य ।

20 बन्दिरागपर च परप्रयुक्ता जयशब्दमुखरमुखा मङ्गा मौखरीमूर्ख क्षत्रवर्माणमुदखनत् ॥

21 अरिपुरे च परकलत्रकामुक कामिनीविशेषगुप्तश्च चन्द्रगुप्तश्चकपतिमञ्चातयदिति । प्रमत्तानां प्रमदाकृता प्रमादा श्रुतिविषयमागता एव देवस्य, यथा ।

1. मधुमोदित मधुरकसलितैर्लाजै सुप्रभा पुत्रराज्यार्थं महासेन काशिराज जघान ।

2 व्याजजनितकन्दर्वदर्पा च दर्पणेन क्षुरधारार्पितान्तेनायोध्याधिपार्ति परन्तप रत्नवती जारुथम् ।

3 विषचूर्णचुम्बितमकरन्देन च कर्णेन्दीवरेण देवकी देवानुरक्ता देवसेन सौहृदम् ।

4 योगपरागविरसवर्षिणा च मणिदूपुरेण वञ्जमा सपत्नीरुषा वैरन्त्य रन्तिदेवम् ।

5 वेणीनिगूढेन च शस्त्रेण बिन्दुभती वृष्णि विदूरथम् ।

6 रसदिग्धमन्थेन च मेखलामणिना हसवती सौवीरं वीरसेनम् ।

7 अटश्यागदलितवदना च विषवारुणीगण्डूषपायनेन पौरवी पौरवेश्वर सोमकम् ॥

1 On that Sankara's glores says चन्द्रगुप्तभ्रातृजायां श्रुवदेवीं प्रार्थयमानश्चन्द्रगुप्तेन श्रुवदेवीविषधारिणा स्त्रीविषजनपरिवृतेन रहसि व्यापादित इति ।

459 Dandin was the son of Viradatta and Gaurī. His father was Manoraṭha and Manoraṭha's father was Bhāravi.¹ They lived at Kāncī.² Dandin lost his parents in childhood, but as he has himself well described it, the place of the lost parents "was taken by Sarasvatī and Sruta".³ After Kāncī was besieged by the Chalukya king Vikramāditya I⁴ about the year 655 A.D., the city became deserted and Dandin roamed through various seats of learning and attained high proficiency in the Vedas and the arts. When the Pallava king Narasimhavarman⁵ vanquished his foes and regained his capital Kāncī, Dandin came

1 See para 48 *supra*.

2 In commenting on Kāvyaḍaśaṭṭha.

नासिक्यमध्या परितश्चातुर्वर्णविभूषिता ।

अस्ति काचित्पुरी यस्यामष्टवर्णाह्वया नृपा ॥

This verse is found in Mahendavarman's Mamandur inscription also. Fremyondra interprets it as *Pundrala* instead of *Pallava* in this verse (*JMy*, X 366).

Tarunavācaspati says that this enigma refers to Pallavas ruling at Kāncī.

काञ्चीनगर्या पल्लवानाम क्षितिपतयस्सन्तीति विवक्षितः ॥

8 स बाल एव मात्रा च पित्रा चापि व्ययुज्यत ।

अयुज्यत गरीयसा सरस्वत्या श्रुतेण च ॥

Anantavarman, Kāñchīnagara, I

4 Vikramāditya I was the son of Pulakeśin. In A.D. 655, he captured the Pallava capital Kāncī (see V Smith, *BI*, 427, 436 Kielhorn, *BI*, VIII App., 14, VII 219).

5 Narasimhavarman I ruled between 680-668 A.D. After the siege of Kāncī he regained his sovereignty. During his reign Hsien Tsang visited Kāncī and stayed there for a considerable time (see V Smith, *BI*, 473, 436, G. J. Dubreuil, *Ann. Hist. of Deccan* (Pondicherry), 67-70, (*The Pallavas*, 70). If Hsien Tsang visited the court of Harṣavardhana Śiṣāḍitya of Kanauj, it follows that Dandin and Bāna might have been contemporaries. Were they friends? Compare these passages.

अरत्नलोकसहार्यमवार्य सूर्यरास्मिभि ।

दृष्टिरोधकर यूना यौवनप्रभव तम ॥ *Kāvyaḍaśaṭṭha*, II 197

केवल च निसर्गत एवामानुमेद्यमरत्नालोकोच्छेद्यमप्रदीपप्रभापनेयमतिगहन तमो यौवनप्रभवम् ॥ — *Kāḍāmbari*

Peterson (*Int. to Das*) infers from this that Dandin must have been later than Bāna and places him in the 8th century A.D.

back and was given a place of honour at the royal court¹ Māṇḍattā² and Rāmasārma³ were his intimate friends⁴

1 M Govindapai (Jl of Andhra H R Socy VII 1, 146, VIII 1), discusses the Pallava chronology from Kalābharṭṭi to Paramaśvaravarma II and tabulates it as follows

- | | | |
|----|--|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | Kalabharṭṭi, 87 107 A C | |
| 2 | Chuta-Pallava, 107 127 A C | |
| 3 | Virakurcha, 127 147 A C | |
| 4 | Skandasishya, 147 167 A C
(alias Skandavarma I) | |
| 5 | Kumaravishnu, 167 200 A C
(alias Sivaskandavarma) | |
| 6 | Buddhavarma, 200-228 A C
(alias Skandavarma II) | |
| 7 | Viravarma, 228 258 A.C | |
| 8 | Skandavarma, III 258 296 A C | |
| 9 | Simhavarma I, 296 315 A C | 10 Vishnugopa I, 315 340 A C. |
| 11 | Skandavarma IV, 340 364 A C. | 12 Simhavarma II, 364 389 A C. |
| 13 | Nandivarma I, 414 437 A.C. | 14 Vishnugopa II, 389-414 A C, |
| | | 15 Simhavarma III, 437 472 A C |
| | | 16 Simhavishnu, 472-520 A C |
| | | 17 Mahendrarvarma I, 520 555 A C. |
| | | 18 Narasimhavarma I, 555 595 A C |
| | | 19 Mahendrarvarma II 595-630 A C. |
| | | 20 Paramaśvaravarma I, 630 660 A C |
| | | 21 Narasimhavarma II, 660 685 A C |
| | | 22 Paramaśvaravarma II, 685 750 A C |

2 Māṇḍattā is the author of a commentary on Hitayakesi's Śrouta and Grhya Sūtras (GOS) He was probably a Nambudri Brahmin of Malabar

3 Rāmasārma is the author of Acyūtoṭṭara Kāvya. Bhāmaha refers to him and criticises his verse

सपीतवासा प्रगृहीतशार्ङ्गो मनोह्रमीम वपुरा न कुष्ण ।

शतह्रदेन्द्रायुधवानिश्चया ससृज्यमानश्शशिनेव मेव ॥—(II. 58).

4.

मित्राणि मातृदत्ताया केरळेषु द्विजोत्तमा ।

Dandin was a specialist in the art of architecture. One day one Lalitālaya requested Dandin to go to Mahāmallapuram¹ and inspect his jointure of the broken arm of the idol of Trivikrama in the temple *then* touching the waters of the sea. Dandin went to Mahāmallapuram and appreciated the imperceptible conjunction of the broken parts of the arm. While he was offering his worship, a full-blown lotus was wafted by the waves of the sea, and when it touched the feet of the Lord, there arose from it the splendid figure of a Vidyādhara. The Vidyādhara bowed gracefully and vanished. Dandin's curiosity was awakened. His mind was set upon discovering the secret of the occurrence and on returning to Kāncī, he sat in penance and in the trance of meditation, the story of Avantisundarikathā was revealed to him. Such is the autobiography prefixed to the narrative of the splendid romance of Avantisundarikathā.²

Dandin may therefore be safely assigned to the period 635-700 A D.³

1 This is now called Mahābaliapuram in Chingleput District, Madras Presidency.

2 In an anonymous commentary on Kāvyaṭṭarā (I, 28) this work is mentioned as an ākhyāyikā आख्यायिकेति कादम्बर्यवन्तिसुन्दर्यादि । and Vāḍiganghāla says

आख्यायिका शूद्रकचरित्रप्रभृति सां आदिर्येषामवन्तिसुन्दर्यादिकथानाम् ।

and Vāḍiganghāla lived about the year 969 A D.

It is interesting to note that in Svapnavāsavadattā (Tirav. Edn., p. 59) Vidyāsaka says

मादाणिमवं अत्ताण ओहसि अकादु । किन्तु इमस्सि राजउळे अवन्तिसुन्दरीणाम्
जक्खिणी पड्विसदि ॥

The epithet Yakṣiṇī for Avantisundarī has a parity in that Maṇḍākinī and Tārā valī are described here as Yakṣa women.

3 R. V. Kṛṣṇamācārya (*Sah.* XIX 232) says Dandin lived in 6th century, as he criticises Bhāmaha and is criticised by Vāmana. He says Daśakumāracarita is Dandin's work. R. C. Dutt (*Ch.* I 18, 25, II 298) says Dandin was an old man when Śiṣaditya (570-620 A D.) reigned, M. Rangācārya (Int. to Kāvyaṭṭarā, 9) gives date 6th century A D. V. K. Chuplankar, *Essay on Dandin* (Bombay) says ("From a comparison of the story in Chapter V of Daśakumāracarita and Aot V of Mālatīmādhava, he infers that Dandin must have been prior to or contemporary with Bhavarābhūti").

Weber (*IL*, 213, 232) mentions the possibility of Dandin having lived under an earlier Bhoja in the 8th century. For a similar view, see F. E. Hall, *Pref. to Vasavadattā*, 19 ff. Wilson (*Essays*, I 346) relies on the mention of the race of Bhoja in the Daśakumāracarita and of the rarity of allusions to Yavanas and says that Dandin must have lived during the time of one of the immediate descendants of king

460 This specimen of poetic art was long lost in oblivion and the fall of the Pallava kingdom must have been the cause of it. The existence of the work had so far been gone out of recollection, that even among rhetoricians, it has been rarely noticed and Dāsakumāracarita, almost an epitome of it, has come to be regarded as Dandin's original work.

Avantisundarikāthā relates almost the same story as the Dāsakumāracarita, except that in the former, the descriptions are very elaborate and narrative very complete, so that we have it in the tales of Śūdraka, Vararuci, Kādambari and Samudradatta¹ and Saunaka and Bandhumati².

Only a fragment of the work was till recently available in print, but the whole work has been recovered by M R Kavi in Madras and is now being prepared for print.

Bhoja of Dhar, so that he places Dandin about the end of the 11th century. For a criticism of this view, see Kale (Int to Edn).

On Dandin generally, see Weber, *IL* 213, 231, *Essays on the Ramayana*, 76, *ist* XIV 65, and *Int to Dis* I 311, F W Thomas, *Kav* 42, Peterson, *Subh* 101, 130, Macdonell, *SL* 331, Pischell, *Int to Śrīyāratilata* (Kiel) 13 ff Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, *LXII*, 31-5, *CC*, I 213, *Int to Vasuvilitta* (Ool Un series), Buhler, *Id* IV 83, Telang, *JBRAS*, *XVIII* 153 Petersen, *Pref* to *Dis* also *Id* III 82, R C Dutt *Civ*, II 298, Maxmüller, *Int*, 332, 353 Ramakrishnakavi, *Mahākavi Dandin* (*Kālā*, I) which contains the latest and the most learned account), M R. Kale, *Int to Dāsakumāracarita* (Bombay), Agashe, *Int to Dāsakumāracarita* (BSS), S K De *SP*, II 58, II 74, Collins, in his *Geographical Data of the Raghuvamśa* and *Dāsakumāracarita* (Leipzig) places Dandin's literary activity before 535 A D Moyer, *Dāsakumāracarita* (Leipzig) B Bhattacharya (*Ji Dep of Letters*, LX, 80-1) places him in the last quarter of the 7th century A D.

1 Samudradatta is the hero of the drama Puṣpābhū(du)śiṣaka, see chapter on Sanskrit Drama *post*.

2 Śaunaka was the pupil of Somaśrīṣṭa. Once when they were on a visit to the court of the Kosala king, Śaunaka fell in love with the princess Bandhumati and had secret intrigues with her. In the meantime the king of Trigarta to whom the hand of the princess had been promised came to take her, but Śaunaka managed to clope with her unseen in a boat down the Sarayu. The boat was wrecked and he lost sight of her. Lamenting her loss, he saw the corpse of a fair woman on the banks and taking her to be the princess, he cremated the body. He then resolved to give up his life and when preparing for it, he met a Tāpasi and in her hermitage Bandhumati was safe. On hearing Śaunaka's voice, Bandhumati came out and the lovers met. Bandhumati explained that she was rescued by a cowherdess, but the latter was bitten by a snake and died at once and it was her corpse that he had cremated. There, by chance the father of Bandhumati came, having been deprived of his kingdom by the king of Trigarta and at the loss of Bandhumati's hand, Śaunaka fought and restored his father in law to his kingdom.

It is suspected that there must have been a drama somewhere of the name Bandhu

Brhatkathā appears to have been the model for the construction Vararuci is Kātyāyanā's son and lived in the days of King Mahāpadma Saunaka, the lover of Bandhumatī who was reborn as Sūdraka, reappears here as Kāmapāla. Likewise, Bandhumatī who transmigrated as Vinayavatī, queen of Sūdraka, is reborn here as Kāntimatī. Bandhumatī's maid who was born as the wife of Sūdraka becomes Tārāvalī here. Thus, Dandin maintains an intimate connection with the ancient narratives and attempts as if to frame a sequel.

461 Chronology does not make it impossible that Dandin knew Bāṇa and the proximity of dates suggests that Dandin was Bāṇa's younger contemporary and probably a friend too. In *Avanṭisundarī* Dandin narrates the story of Kādambārī and his narrative follows Bāṇa's *Pūrvabhāga* and diverges widely from the Pulinda's (Bhūṣana's) *Uttarabhāga*. It is therefore inferred that Dandin wrote his *Avanṭisundarī* before Bāṇa's son thought of concluding the narrative.

It is fairly certain that Dandin studied and admired Kādambārī. He mentions it by name with the usual device of paronomasia.

बहुलभाषिणो बृहत्कथाजलाशया सेतुबन्धलग्नाश्च, नम्रमदस्पृश कादम्बरिरिसान
दृश्य समन्दाक्षाश्च, विधुतबहुधुताश्च रामायणादि * * * भिक्षाश्च दृष्टमहामारता भौमगदामि-
चातवार्तासुग्धाश्च ॥

A reading of Kādambārī by the side of *Avanṭisundarī* will display a conscious elaboration by Dandin of Bāṇa's ideas, fancies and descriptions. Same situations are adopted, but the delineation is unique and the fault of the loan of situations is excused by the resplendence of amending shots of poetic imagery blended with the sweetest melody of expression. Extracts are printed at the end of this chapter.

462 Apart from the merit of the Kathā as a piece of literary art, it contains a laudatory preface in praise of several poets which furnishes a clue to some lost works and makes it a landmark in literary history. Reference is made there to Vyāsa,¹ Subandhu, Guṇādhya, Mūladeva,

matī or Bandhumatī, Saunaka. The conjecture is strengthened by the following verse in *Kaumuḍimahotsava*.

शौनकमिव बन्धुमती कुमारमविमारक कुरङ्गीव ।

अर्हति कीर्तिमतीय कान्त कल्याणवर्माणम् ॥

1. The verse in praise of Vyāsa

मर्त्येभ्यन्तेषु चैतन्य महाभारतविद्यया । अर्पयामास तत्पूर्वं यत्तस्मै मुनये नमः ॥

is quoted as Dandin's in the anonymous *Subhāṣitāvalī* (para 373 supra.)

Sūdraka, Bhāsa, Sarvasena, Pravarasena, Kālidāsa, Nārāyaṇa, Bhāravi (?) Bāṇa and Mayūra, in a manner very probably indicating a chronological order among them.¹

463 Avantisundarī-kāthāsāra is a poetic summary of the katha, which in the merit of composition rarely falls short of the original which

1. सुबन्धु किल निष्कन्तो बिन्दुसारस्य बन्धनात् ।
 तस्यैव हृदय बद्ध्वा वत्सराजो * * * ॥
 * * * * तमानवदेवया ।
 गोमुखान्वितया जाति का बृहत्कथयोजिता ॥
 सनारायणदत्ताया देवदत्ताश्रया कृति ।
 मूलदेवोदि * * * * ॥
 शूद्रकेणासकृत्स्वा खच्छया सङ्गधारया ।
 जगद्भूयोऽभ्यवष्टब्ध वाचा स्वचरितार्थया ॥
 सुविभक्तमुखायङ्गैर्व्यक्तलक्षणवृत्तिभि ।
 परेतोऽपि स्थितो भास शरीरैरिव नाटकै ॥
 राज्ञाश्रीसर्वसेनेन * * * * ।
 * * * * विजय हरे ॥
 लिप्ता मधुद्रेवणासन्यस्य निर्विवशा गिर ।
 तेनेद वर्त्म वैदर्म् कालिदासेन शोभितम् ॥
 चक्षु क्षति * * * * ।
 * * * * ॥
 व्याप्तु पदत्रयेणापि यश्चक्षतो भुवनत्रयम् ।
 तस्य काव्यत्रयव्याप्तौ चित्र नारायणस्य किम् ॥
 भिन्नस्तीक्ष्णमुखेनापि चित्त बाणेन निर्व्यथ ।
 व्याहारेषु जहौ लीला न मयूर. * * * * ॥
 * * * * चित्तीयते मम ।
 वर्णहीनापि या जाता जात्युत्कर्षणस्पदम् ।
 धवळप्रभवा रागं सा तनोति मनोवती ।
 कविगन्धर्गजैरेभि * * * * ।
 * * * * न दामोदरवशज ॥
 आवर्जने तिरश्चामप्येति ह्य इव ध्वनि ॥

Sarvasena's Harivijaya is mentioned by Hemacandra (KS, 335) Nārāyaṇa is probably Bhattanārāyaṇa, author of Veṅṇisambhāra. The verse beginning with चक्षु क्षति probably refers to Kumārādāsa. The verse वर्णहीना probably refers to Kādambarī or Vijjakā.

it sought to epitomise At present the name of the author is unknown It bears the Ānandāṅka at the end of each canto³ and when we see that Bhoja and Hemacandra mention Pancasikha's poem as of that āṅka,⁴ is it possible that the author of this poem was PANCASIKA? The extant work is also incomplete and stops in the seventh canto⁵

464 It is a tradition that Dandin wrote three works⁶ and if we take *Avanṭisundarikathā*, in the place of *Dasakumāracarita*, the two other works are *Dvisandhāna* and *Kāvyaḍarsa*

DVISANDHANA is a poem with a double *entendre* and narrated the stories of *Rāmāyana* and *Māhābhārata* Except in rare references to it by later writers⁷ the work is lost It served as a model for

1 For instance,

मुक्त्वा शय्यां मिलितपुलकव्रातमुत्थाय भूय ।
प्राप्तानन्दो विरतिसमये प्राक्तनीना क्रियाणाम् ॥ Canto I

2 मङ्गलाङ्कता यथा । अम्बुदय कृष्णचरिते, जय उषाहरणे, आनन्द पञ्चशिखस्यशृङ्गकथायाम् ॥—*Kāvyañanūsāṇa* 335

यथाह शुको जरद्विरशृङ्गकथाया ।—*Śṛṅgārāprakāśa*, XI

3 For a complete account of the *Kāṭhā* and *Kāṭhāsāra*, see M. Ramakrishna Kavi, *Danda* (*Kālā*, I) The 7th canto is a *citra-sarga*, in which some particular alphabets are avowedly avoided.

4. त्रयोऽयस्त्रयो देवास्त्रयो वेदास्त्रयो गुणा ।

त्रयो दण्डिप्रबन्धाश्च त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुता ॥ *Hārāvah*

Much thought has been expended on discovering the names of the three works here referred to as Dandin's Fischell thought the third was *Mṛtoakatikā*, because the verse *लिप्तीव तमोऽङ्गानि* is found there as well as in *Kāvyaḍarsa* (see Peterson, *Subh* 180) Others thought that the third work was *Chandoviciṭi*, because in *Kāvyaḍarsa* Dandin says *छन्दोविचित्रा सकलस्तत्प्रपञ्चो निरूपित* . There is no work known as *Chandoviciṭi* at all and it may mean only "a collection of metres" Chapters XIV and XV of *Bhārataśāstra* also go on under the name of *Chandoviciṭi* and *Yāgyavalkya's Bhāṣya* on it is called *Chandoviciṭi-bhāṣya* Even *Varāhamihira* (in his *Bṛhat-samhitā*) says

विपुलमपि बद्ध्वा छन्दोविचितिं भवति कार्यमेतावत् ।

श्रुतिमुखदवृत्तसङ्ग्रहमिममाह वराहमिहरोस्त ॥

On this question, see R. V. Krishnamacharya, *Int to Vāsaḍaṭṭā*, xxxiv v1

5 Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgārāprakāśa* says (in *Prakāśa* VII) *दण्डिनो धनञ्जयस्य वा द्विसन्धाने* and (in *Prakāśa*, IX) *रामायणमहामारतयोर्दण्डिद्विसन्धानमिव* and quotes the verse

उदारमहिमाराम प्रजानां हर्षवर्धन ।

धर्मप्रभव इत्यासीत् ख्यातो भरतपूर्वज ॥

several compositions of that style and even the name was adopted by Dhananjaya and Kavirāja¹

KAVYADARSA, his well-known treatise on poetics, will be noticed in a future chapter

ŚRĪRAMPANCASTAVĪ is a small poem of devotion ascribed to Dandin called Anāmavastōtra²

465 Dasakumaracarita is in two parts, the former Pūrvapīthikā is in 5 chapters and the latter Uttarapīthikā is in 8 chapters Rājahamsa, king of Magadha, had three ministers and in regular succession their sons became ministers too. When a war broke out between Rājahamsa and Mānasāra, king of Malwa, Rājahamsa sent away his pregnant wife to a rendezvous in the Vindhya mountains. He was severely wounded in battle and his chariot was drawn off by the frightened horses into the same forest. There he rested until he became conscious. When the queen heard the news of her missing husband, she resolved to die and as she was offering a prayer before hanging herself to a tree, Rājahamsa recognised her voice, and they were united. She gave birth to a son Rājavāhana. About the same time, his four ministers also got four sons, Pramaṭi, Miṭraguṭṭa, Maṇṭraguṭṭa and Visruṭa. Then the story is related how by chance five foundling boys were brought to the king, and were received by him with kindness. When of age, he sent them out on a campaign of conquest. When the princes were journeying in the Vindhya, Rājahamsa was met by a brahmin Maṭanga and was induced to accompany him to Pātāla through an opening revealed to Maṭanga by Śiva in a dream. When they reached Pātāla, the queen of that land offered her hand and kingdom to Maṭanga and Maṭanga became king. In the meantime, not knowing the movements of Rājahamsa, the nine princes set out in different paths agreeing to meet later at Ujjain. Rājavāhana proceeded to Ujjain, and there married Avantisundarī, the daughter of that king. The princes met each other one after another and narrated their adventures. At the end of the narrative the princes captured Mālwa and proceeded to Puṣpapura and paid homage to the king and queen. The king distributed among them the various kingdoms they had conquered. Rājavāhana became king of the United kingdoms of Puṣpapura and Ujjain. Guided by Rājavāhana the princes ruled over

1 See paras 68 and 86 *supra*.

2. Ed. Madras and elsewhere

their kingdoms justly and "enjoyed pleasures not easily attainable even by Indra"¹

"Dasakumaracarita begins and ends in an abrupt manner and it introduces the reader at once to strange persons and strange events. Pūrvapīthika, preliminary chapter, is commonly ascribed to Dandin himself, but as it is somewhat less ambitiously written, and as the incidents related are, in one or two cases, briefly repeated in the body of the work, and with some contradictions, doubts have been started as to the accuracy of the attribution."

466 Sesa² or supplement to the Carita, a continuation and conclusion of the stories, is the work of Cakrapāṇi Dīkṣita, a Mahratta Brahmin. It displays an elaborate construction with an expression fairly equal to its precursor. Cakrapāṇi was the son of Candramauli Dīkṣita.

Because Pūrvabhāga differs in various manuscripts and in some even the story is altered (See *Tanj Cat* VII, 2998-3007), the oldest commentaries are only on Uṭṭarabhāga and there is much similarity between Uṭṭarabhāga and Avantisundarī. M. R. Kale (Int to Edn) thinks that Dandin's work was lost and the story was re-written as Pūrvabhāga from materials available in translations or from tradition. He adds "Of the translations of Dasakumaracarita, the oldest is in Telugu by Ketana of about 1250 A.D. A comparison of his work with the original shows that the Pūrvabhāga corresponds exactly with the Telugu portion except that the story of Somadatta comes after the meeting of Rajavahana and Avantisundarī, but before their marriage and that Uṭṭarabhāga is very much condensed in Telugu. Most of the idioms peculiar to Telugu are also crudely found in Sanskrit in the Pūrvabhāga. Ketana states that he was writing in chapters the story

1. Ed. by H. H. Wilson, by Peterson (Bombay), by Buhler (Bombay), by T. Tarkavācaspati (Calcutta) with notes, by G. J. Agashe (Bombay) with introduction and notes. For a complete summary in English and notes, see Edn. by M. R. Kale (Bombay). See also Meyer, *Dandin's Dasakumaracaritam, die Abenteuer der zehn Prinzen*, Leipzig; Collins, *Geographical data of Raghuvamsha and Dasakumaracarita*, Leipzig; Tr. by Meyer, O. O. and by Haberland (Munich); by M. R. Kale (Bombay), by P. W. Jacob (*Hindu Tales*), by Wilson (*Essays on SL*, II 160), by Jānakinātha, (*IOC*, VII 1551). For Agashe's doubt on the identity of the authors of Dasakumāracarita and Kāvyaṇḍaśa, see *IA*, XLIV, 67.

2. *IOC*, VII 1552

M. R. Kale says that the Uṭṭarapīthikā printed in his edition is not the same of Cakrapāṇi's work. But Uṭṭarapīthikā is the Dasakumāracarita proper intended by Wilson. In *CC*, I 247 it is said that Padmanābha wrote Uṭṭarapīthikā.

of Dasakumaras (ten young men) as related by Dandin in his prose work. These facts suggest whether the *Purvabhaga* was translated from Telugu putting Somadatta's story a little earlier in the Sanskrit rendering, Kanarese translation has quite a different story for this portion. Thus we are tempted to say that the first portion of *Avanti* was lost and was re-written by several unknown writers. Perhaps the friends of Dandin might have taken copies to Malabar and the ghats have protected them from the ravages of time and political catastrophes."¹

But S. K. De takes a contrary view and says that *Dasakumāracarita* is the real work of Dandin and *Avantisundarī* is the work of some later author. He says "It is well known that Dandin, the author of the *Kāvyaṭṭharsa*, refuses to admit the fine distinctions made by theorists between a *katha* and an *akhyayika*, but his own definition of these two species of prose composition is entirely negative and does not help us in fixing his conception of them. It is not until we come to Rudrata, who has accepted and generalised the characteristics of Bana's two works into universal rules governing the composition of the *katha* and the *akhyayika* respectively, that we find these two species entirely stereotyped in theory. It is possible, therefore, that the *Avantisundarikatha* was composed before this fixing of characteristics in Rudrata's time, and this would explain the apparent confusion of the characteristics of a *katha* and an *akhyayika* made by its author. But he could not have been very far from the time of the author of the *Dasakumāracarita* whose work he utilised and whose biographical details were not yet entirely lost in his time."²

467 There are poetic versions of *Pūrvapīṭhikā*, one by APPAYA DIKṢITA, the author of *Kuvalayananda*, printed at Serampore in 1804 and another by VINAYAKA GOPINATHA Mahārājādhirāja undertook "the bolder task of ameliorating (*samśodhana*) the text. Like the two preceding, his introduction is in metre and in three sections, but they contain six hundred and seventy nine slokas and are therefore much more diffuse. In the body of the work the author reverts to prose, where his so called improvement—really a disfigurement, consists in the occasional amplification or explanation of the incidents of the original,

1 *Int. to Edn.* See also Agasthe's *Int. to Dasakumāracarita* (BSS)

2 *IEQ*, III 161

3 *IOO*, 1764, VII 1558 Printed as appendix to Colebrook's edn. of *Hitaopadeśa*

4 *IOO* 586, VII 1558 It is in three chapters and begins with the story of Rājahamant Puṣpapura

the text of which with such occasional interpolations or substitutions, is given without any alteration. The story is also carried on to completion."²

468 There are commentaries on *Dasakumāracarita* by Sivarāma,³ Gurunāṭha Kāvyaṭīrtha,⁴ Kavindrācāryasarasvatī,⁵ Haridāsa Siddhanta-vāgīśa,⁶ Haripādachattopadhāya,⁷ G. K. Ambedkar,⁸ A. B. Gaṇḍara-gaṭkar,⁹ Revatikāṇṭha Bhaṭṭācārya,¹⁰ Jibānanda,¹¹ Tārānāṭha,¹² and some anonymous.¹³

There are epitomes, *Dasakumāracaritaśaṅgraha*, anonymous¹⁴ and the other by R. V. Krishnamacharya.¹⁵

469 The greatness of Dandin as a poet has a traditional recognition. He has been known as Ācārya Dandin.¹⁶ It is said that Sarasvatī declared him a poet¹⁷ and that with Vālmīki and Vyāsa he was of the same rank.¹⁸

1. *IOC*, 1850, VII 1554

2. Ed. Bombay. This is on the *Purvaṭīthika* only. He was the son of Kṛṣṇarāma and grandson of Trilokācandīa and brother of Govindarāma, Mukundarāma and Kesavarāma. His commentary *Bhūṣiṇa* (Ed. Bombay) relates only to *Dasakumāracarita* (8 Uchavasas) and not *Purva* and *Uṭṭarapīṭhikas*. He has also commented on *Kādambarī* (See *Rajagraha Library Cat.*, 60). Ed. by N. B. Godbole and K. P. Parab (Bombay).

3. Printed, Calcutta.

4. Printed, Bombay.

5. Printed, Calcutta.

6. Printed, Calcutta.

7. Printed, Bombay with glossary.

8. Printed, Bombay with introduction and appendices.

9. Printed, Calcutta.

10. Printed, Calcutta.

11. *SKO*, 81.

12. Ed. Bombay *CO*, II 52.

13. *Opp*, II. 3165.

14. Printed, Srirangam.

15. So say the colophons of his works, as well as Bhaṭṭa Gopāla in the commentary on *Kāvyaaprakāśa*.

See S. Pattabhiram *Acarya Dandin as a critic*. Paper read at the Oriental Conference, Madras, 1924.

16. In a rivalry between Kālidāsa and Dandin, Sarasvatī was called to declare merit. She said कविर्दण्डी कविर्दण्डी कविर्दण्डी न सद्यः but when Kālidāsa asked, कोऽहं रण्डे she said त्वमेवाहं त्वमेवाहं त्वमेवाहं न सद्यः.

17. जाते जगति बाल्मीकौ कविरित्यभिधाञ्जवत् ।

कवी इति ततो व्यासे कवयस्त्वयि दण्डिनि ॥

470 Subandhu. The age of Subandhu as a writer of Sanskrit romance has been a matter of literary speculation. His name is associated with VASAVADATTĪ. In the introductory verses to *Harśacarita*, Bāṇa has a eulogy of poets and poems and there he mentions a Vasavadattā. It has been considered from this reference that Bāṇa had in mind Subandhu's writing, so that Bāṇa's date being known, the age of Subandhu was anterior to him.

In a similar preface to *Vāsavadattā*, Subandhu deplors the decay of poetic aesthetics after the days of Vikramāditya, the generous patron of letters.

सा रसवत्ता विहता नवका विलसन्ति नो कङ्क ।

सरसीव कीर्तिशेष गतवति भुवि विक्रमादित्ये ॥

(On the identity of this Vikramāditya there has been a display of original research. But two considerations chiefly lead us to conclude

1. On Subandhu generally, see Hall, *Int. to Vasavadatta*. R V Krishnamacharya (*Int. to Vasavadatta*) thinks Subandhu was a Vaishnavite following Mīmāṃsa philosophy. Weber, I 271 quoting Cunningham (*JASB* XVII, 98-9) says there is a legend that Subandhu was a Kashmirian Brahmin.

2. R V Krishnamacharya thinks this verse here an interpolation as it is not found in some manuscripts. *Introduction to Vasavadatta*, xxxix.

Vāmana in his *Kāvyālaṅkāra* has passage

सासिप्रायत्वं यथा—

जातो भूपतिराश्रय कृतधिया दिप्यता कृतार्धेश्वरम् ।

कृतधियमित्यस्य च(व)सुबन्धु ॥

Some scholars have preferred the reading वसुबन्धु to च सुबन्धु. In Ms. No 4 B 820 of Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, the reading is the latter. The discovery of *Avantisundarikathā* has set the difficulty at rest, for it is stated there that Subandhu was attached to Binḍusāra, the son of Candragupta.

सुबन्धु किल निष्क्रान्तो बिन्दुसारस्य बन्धनात् । तस्यैव हृदयं बध्वा ॥

The available *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu is unconnected with Udayana Vātsarāja. There are no data to connect this Subandhu with *Vāsavadattā* mentioned by Patañjali. M. Ramakrishna Kavi (*Kaśī*, I 70) however says so. R V Krishnamacharya (o c xlvii) says that there was one Vasubandhu, pupil of Manoratha, in the court of Vikramāditya Candragupta II. Takkakusu in his *Paramartha's Life of Vasubandhu* finds a passage that King Vikramāditya of Ayodhya sent his crown prince Bālāditya to Vasubandhu to learn Buddhism [*JRAS* [1908], 44]. Smith (*EH*, 292, 290) and Pathak take this Vikramāditya to be Skandagupta. But Bhandarkar says he was Candragupta II who lived in Gupta era 93 or 411 A D and identifies Bālāditya with his son Govinda Gupta [see also *IA* XLI 15]. Subandhu, therefore, it is suggested, saw that the ancient romance of *Vāsavadattā* so highly praised of Bāṇa was lost and with confidence in his literary ability, he set out to make up this loss. On this question, see R. Saraswati, *JMy*.

that Vāsavadattā mentioned by Bāṇa was not the work of Subandhu. Paṭanjali instances Vāsavadattā as an Ākhyāyikā and speaks of readers as Vāsavadattīkas.¹

In this allusion to Vikramāditya² there is express indication that Vikramāditya so lamented was the patron of the 'nine gems' and if as tradition says the patron of 'nine gems' was the founder of the Vikrama era in 56 B C, Paṭanjali who flourished far earlier than that date could not have referred to this Subandhu's romance.³ In his Śrngāraprakāśa, Bhoja mentions an Ākhyāyikā Līlāvatī, now lost. But Nemināṭha Kavirājakunjara, the Canarese poet, has written a romance of that name, probably an adaptation of the Sanskrit original. It describes the love of Kāndarpaketu and Līlāvatī and the story is almost similar to that found in this work, except that the name of the heroine had been altered from Līlāvatī to Vāsavadattā. Is it possible that the source of Subandhu's plot was the original Līlāvatī and that he narrated the same story in a new form, so as to illustrate the power of Sanskrit paranomasia? But Subandhu, the author of Vāsavadattā, is not a late writer. He is quoted by Vāmana in his Kāvyaṭīkā. An anonymous commentary on Vāsavadattā begins with a verse, which commences Bhāmatī, the commentary on Śāṅkarabhāṣya by Vācaspaṭimisra. It is therefore likely that this commentary was the work of Vācaspaṭi, who lived in the 9th century A D and Vāmana was in the Court of Jayāpīda (779-819 A D). Subandhu mentions Baudhhasaṅgaṭi, Uddyotaṭakāra and a story of Śakuntalā (apparently as represented by Kāṇḍāśa). Baudhhasaṅgaṭi was a rhetorical work by Dharmakīrti,⁴ and

1 See para 460 supra

2. For the view that Paṭanjali's Vāsavadattā was not this Subandhu's, see Peterson's Introduction to Kāṇḍamāni, 72 and R V Krishnamacharya, l c. xxxvi.

3 "The romance of Vasavadatta referred to in Malatīmādhava as in like manner that found in Kathasaritsagara and which has been dramatised in Ratnavali resembles in scarcely a feature, barring the common appellation of their respective heroines." Hall.

4 बौद्धसङ्गतिमिव अलङ्कारभूषिताम् Śivavarāma in his commentary says that Baudhhasaṅgaṭi was the work of Dharmakīrti. Hall (Int to Edn.) accepts this statement. R V Krishnamacharya adopts the reading सत्कविकाव्यरचनामिवालङ्कारभूषिताम् and says that Alankāra was the name of a work by Dharmakīrti. Levi says that Dharmakīrti has not been known to be a rhetorician at all, (*Bulletin de 'Ecole Française d' Extrême Orient*, III 45). Thomas accepts this opinion (Int to Kav 48). S K De does not mention Dharmakīrti as a writer of rhetoric (SP 48), but says that Bhāmatī adopted Dharmakīrti's Buddhist doctrines, placing Dharmakīrti in the middle of the 7th century. A D., because he is not noticed by Hsien Tshang (630-648 A.D.), but mentioned by I Tsing (673-695 A.D.) as a recent author. (See Takakasu, *Record of*

Uddyotakāra,¹ the great logician, was the author of Nyāyavārtika and these writers lived in the 6th century A.D.

471 "Subandhu's version of the story of Vasavadatta is quite different from that which Bhamaha criticises as quite incredible and opposed to the usage of the world and to the dictates of political science (lokasastra viruddha) concerning the conduct of a conqueror (Vijigishu). The story of Vasavadatta is as old as Patanjali, inasmuch as he refers to it in his commentary on Panini IV 3 57. One of the versions of the story based upon the Brihalkatha is found narrated in Somadeva's Kathasaritsagara and it seems to be the Brihalkatha version that Bhamaha has condemned as incredible and opposed to the usage of the world and to the dictates of political science. Chandamahāsena, the king of Avanti, made a large artificial elephant similar to the one reared by Udayana, the king of Vatsas. After filling it with armed soldiers, he sent it to the Vindhya forest bordering upon the Vatsa country with a view to entice Udayana to come out of his capital for capturing the elephant. As expected, Udayana came along to see and capture it, was himself caught hold of by Chandamahāsena's soldiers and taken as a prisoner to Avanti where he married Vasavadatta. Bhamaha condemns this story as incredible and opposed to the usage of the world, inasmuch as no king like Udayana who was well informed and had able ministers to advise him could be believed to go out with no assistance to elephant forest at sunset, however fond he might be of elephants. It is also opposed to the dictates of political science inasmuch as no king like Udayana ever bent on making extensive conquests would be foolish enough to enter upon a risky adventure as he is said to have done. Subandhu's version of the story of Vasavadatta is not

the Buddhist Religion) Taranatha (*Geschichte*, 1845) makes him contemporary of the Tibetan king Strong tsan sgam po who died in 650 A.D. So does Kern (*Manual of Indian Buddhism*, 180). Peterson and Hall (*Subh 47 Int to Vas*) say that Dharmakīrti the writer on Alankāra, was identical with the Buddhist philosopher of that name. Anandavardhana quotes verses by Dharmakīrti. Dharmakīrti is now generally placed between the 6th and 7th century A.D. Telang (*JBRAS*, XXVII, 147, places Dharmakīrti in the middle of 6th century A.D. See Aufrecht, *ISI*, XVI, 2047, *ZDMG*, XXVII, 44, CC, I 288, Peterson (*JBRAS*, XVI, 1728); Bhandarkar (*BB*, (1897) xxx), Max Muller (*India*, Index); Duff, (*Chronology*), *JBRAS*, XVIII, 18, 88 96, 148 150. For works and verses of Dharmakīrti in the anthologies, see Thomas *Kav*, 47 50 and Peterson, *Subh* 46 8).

1 Uddyotakāra's work is meant to be a refutation of Dignāga's heterodox views. If Dignāga lived in 6th century, A.D. Uddyotakāra must have lived later. (On Dignāga's date, see para 17 *supra*).

liable to such charges. If that work had existed in Bāṇa's time he would not have failed to notice it in this connection."¹

The posteriority of Subandhu to Bāṇa is confirmed by internal evidence. To Bāṇa's works Subandhu was indebted at times for words, expressions, passages and situations, bordering on plagiarism.² The use of the word *Indrāyudha* indicates an allusion to the *Candrāpīda's* horse³ of that name. The resolves of *Mahāsveṭa* and *Kādambarī* to give up their lives when their lovers were dead and the sudden interruption of their attempts by the intervention of a heavenly voice have their counterparts in a similar situation created for *Kandarpakeṭu* when he missed his sweetheart *Vāsavadatta*. Above all Subandhu has appreciated *Bhavabhūti* by drawing upon him for his fine expressions of poetic fancy. The instance given below is too glaring⁴ to avoid the inference that Subandhu lived after *Bhavabhūti* and was a student of his plays. Bāṇa and *Bhavabhūti* were too original in their ideas and too conscious of their genius that a contrary inference is not possible. Subandhu appears therefore to have flourished between Bāṇa and *Vāmana*, that is, about the end of the 8th century A.D.⁵

1 Mys Arch Rep (1927), 25.

2 For instance, see the use of the phrases किं बहुना, देव प्रमाणम्, अचिन्तयच्च, आसीन्वास्य मनसि ।

3 वज्रेणेवेन्द्रायुधेन मनोजवनाम्ना तुरगेण सह नगराभिर्जगाम । (Srinangam Edn 989)

4 Compare लीनेव प्रतिबिम्बितेव लिखितेवोत्कीर्णरूपव सा
प्रत्युसैव च वज्रलिम्पघटितेवान्तर्निखितेव च ।
सा नश्चेतसि कीलितेव विशिखैश्चेतोभुव पञ्चमि
चिन्तासन्ततितन्तुजालनिबिडस्यूतेव लग्ना प्रिया ॥—*Malalimadhava*

हृदये विलिखितमिव उत्कीर्णमिव, प्रत्युत्तमिव कीलितमिव, निगलितमिव वज्रलेपवटितमिव, अस्थिपञ्जरप्रविष्टमिव, मर्मान्तरस्थितमिव, मञ्जारसशबलितमिव कन्दर्पकेतु मन्थमाना ॥

Srinangam Edn 191 2.

5 Hoernle identifies *Vikramāditya* with *Yaśodharman* and dates Subandhu about 608 612 A.D. the latter being the date of Harṣa's coronation, see *JRAS*, (1903) 845, (1909) 89, 144, and see *contra* Fleet, [*JRAS*, (1904) 164] V Smith, [*ZDMG*, LVIII 781 96] places *Yaśodharman*, as founder of Malva empire, in 538 533 A.D., Grey (Int. to Edn.) places Subandhu between Bāṇa and *Uḍyotākāra*, at least a century latter than Dandin between 550 A.D. and somewhere after 606 A.D. For this priority see Weber, *LXX*, I 211 315, R. V. Kṛṣṇanāmacharya puts Subandhu after Bāṇa and before *Vāmana* Hall (Int., to *Vas* 11) places Subandhu before Bāṇa (see also Cowell's Preface to *Nyayakurumanjali*, VI); Cartellieri (*Das Mahabharata Subandhu and Bāṇa*, *VOJ*, II 115, III 145, XIII 72) says Bāṇa knew Subandhu and composed his

472 Prince Kandarpaketu son of king Cintāmanī, saw the image of a fair damsel in dream and enamoured of her he not set with his friend Makaranda in quest of the original of that image. Halting under a shady tree for a night, he overheard the tale related by a parrot to its spouse, that Vāsavadattā daughter of king Śrṅgārasekhara of Kusumapura dreamt of a young man of splendid attractions and would not therefore choose any out of the several princes that were assembled at her Svayamvara. She now sent out her own maid Iamālikā as an emissary to gather news of that young man, who had captured her heart. Kandarpaketu was delighted and made friendship with Iamālikā. He accompanied her to Vāsavadattā's harem, and to avoid her proposed marriage with Puspaketu, a Vidyādhara prince, the lovers secretly eloped. On their way they felt tired and fell asleep. As Vāsavadattā awoke and went out to gather fruits and flowers she saw two rival Kīrāṭa chiefs with their forces in pursuit of her, but in a fight between themselves they destroyed each other. But the Sage in whose garden Vāsavadattā had entered was incensed at the havoc made by the rival armies and cursed her to become a lifeless statue, as the real cause of the whole trouble, but at her importunities he limited the curse to the day of the casual contact of her lover Kandarpaketu. Kandarpaketu rose to find his sweetheart missing and when in despair he approached the waters of the sea to give up his life a heavenly voice assured him that he would soon be united with Vāsavadattā. So he rambled through woods and awaited the uncertain day, when by chance he happened to pass by a statue and discovering in it some likeness he embraced it, the statue gained animation and Vāsavadattā stood before him in all her original glory.

473 Subandhu has been praised by later writers,¹ Mankha, Rājasekhara, Vāmabhaṭṭa Bāṇa² and is quoted in the anthologies

work to eclipse Subandhu's fame. Telang (*JRRAS*, XVIII 147) puts Subandhu at the end of the 6th century or beginning of the 7th century and before Bāṇa and Dandin also. "At the time when Vāsavadattā was composed the teachings of Kumāra, had already borne fruit against sects, but in Kādambarī, Harṣacarita and Daśakumāracarita, we find allusions to Mīmāṃsā, Bauddha and Jain systems though there is no allusion of contest between them." See also his introduction to *Mudrārākṣasa*, 55 note.

1 And probably by Vākyāṭi in *Gauḍavāho*. See *CC*, I 746 and R. V. Krishna-macarya's *Lot to Tāṇu* xli.

प्रतिकविभेदनबाण कवितारुगहनविहरणमयूर ।

सहृदयलोकसुबन्धुर्जयति श्रीमद्भवाणकविराज ॥

In his *Vāsavadattā*, Subandhu's sole aim was to illustrate the potency of expression of the Sanskrit language and his dexterity in framing discourse made of equivoques in every syllable. To him the choice of the plot and ingenuity in its development was of secondary importance. In this field of literature Subandhu is without an equal. All nature and all art is familiar to him. There is not one mythological incident to which he has not alluded, not one word whose significance he has not understood, not one style of prose writing which he has not adumbrated and not one mode of expression which he has not invented for the glory of his tale. "What with the comprehensive range of his hagiology," says Hall, "his familiarity with the bye-paths of older days, his matchless command of Sanskrit vocabulary, and his mastery over the anomalies of its grammar, he is indeed not seldom an enigma to his scholiasts. There is true melody in the long, rolling compounds, a sesquipedalian majesty which can never be equalled save in Sanskrit, and the alliterations have a lulling music all their own to ears weary of the blatant discords of vaunted modern 'progress'. There is, on the other hand, a compact brevity in the periphrasies, which are, in most cases, veritable gems of terseness and two-fold appropriateness, even though some are manifestly forced and are actually detrimental to the sense of the passages in which they occur."¹

There are commentaries on *Vāsavadattā* by Jagaddhara,² Trivikrama,³ Timmayasūri,⁴ Rāmadevamisra,⁵ Siddhacandragapī,⁶ Narasimhasena,⁷ Nārāyana and Śṅgārāgupta,⁸ Sarvacandra,⁹ Sivārāma,¹⁰ Prabhākara,¹¹ Sarvarakṣita,¹² Kāśirāma,¹³ Ranganātha,¹⁴ R. V. Kṛṣṇamācārya,¹⁵ and some anonymous.¹⁶

1 On Subandhu generally, see Gray, 'Sivarama's Commentary on the *Vasavadatta*,' in *JAOS*, XXIV 57-63. Manning, *Ancient and Mediaeval India*, II 844-846, Mazumdar, A brief outline of the plot of the *Vasavadatta*. 'Who were the *Kankas*?' (*JRAS*, 1907, 406) Strehly, 'Un Roman indien, *Vasavadatta de Subandhou*' in *Revue politique et litteraire*, LIV, 805-811; Telang, 'Subandhu and *Kumarsila*' (*JRAS*, XVIII, 147-167), Cartellieri, 'Das Mahabharata der Subandhu und Bana,' (*WZKM*, XIII 57-74), *Subandhu and Bana* (*WZKM*, I 115-182).

2 *DC*, XXI 8582, *Tanṣ*, VII 801. He gives his genealogy.

3 *DC*, XXI 8829, *Tanṣ*, VII 8018. He calls himself *Medhavi Trivikrama*.

4 *DC*, XXI 8880.

9. *IOC*, 548, 998.

5 *CC*, I 566.

10 *Oudh*, XV, 44.

6 *PR*, IV, 29.

11 Hall's *Edn* 196-214.

7 *Omṣ* 156.

12 *SEK*, 81.

8 *CC* I 566; *Uttar*, 967.

13 *IOC*, 548.

14 *CC*, III 120.

15 Printed, Srirangam with a long introduction.

16 *DC*, XXI, 8881 *IOC*, 548; *CC*, III 120, *Tanṣ*, VII 8020, 8022, 8028.

In *Vāsavadattākathāsāra*, T. Narasimha Iyengar gives an epitome of the story

474 “Bāna’s reference to *Vāsavadattā* probably refers to *Vāsavadattā Nṛtipāra* of Subandhu or some other romance of the name mentioned in *Mahābhāṣya* IV iii 87. The available *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu does not relate the story of Udayana’s wife and has references to later authors as Bāna, Bhavabhūti etc.”¹

“Subandhu’s version of the story of *Vasavadatta* is quite different from that which Bhamaha criticises as quite incredible and opposed to the usage of the world and to the dictates of political science (*loka-sastra-viruddha*) concerning the conduct of a conqueror (*Vijigishu*). The story of *Vasavadatta* is as old as *Patanjali*, inasmuch as he refers to it in his commentary on *Panini* IV 3,57. One of the versions of the story based upon the *Bṛhatkatha* is found narrated in *Somadeva’s Kathasaritsagara* and it seems to be the *Bṛhatkatha* version that Bhamaha has condemned as incredible and opposed to the usage of

1 (a) To Kālidasa—

विफलमेव दुष्यन्तस्य कृते दुर्वाससश्चापमनुबभूव शकुन्तला ।

Rhetoricians like Kuntalaka assert that Kālidasa introduced the curse of *Durvasas* into the story of *Śakuntalā*

(b) to Bhāravi—

ताळफलरस इवापातमधुर परिणामे विरस ।

Compare

“शरदन्तुधरामाया गत्वयो यौवनश्रियः । आपातरम्या विषया पर्यन्तपरितापिन ॥”

(*Kirātārjunīya*, xi-12)

(c) to Bāna—

अनवरतदङ्गमानकालागरुधूपपरिमल्लोद्वारेषु ।

is found in *Kādambarī*

(d) to Udayotakāra—

न्यायविधामिषोद्घोतकारस्वरूपाम् ।

(e) to Jaimini—

जौमनिमतानुसारिण इव तथागतध्वसिन ।

This refers particularly to *Kumārila*

(f) to Bhavabhūti

प्रियतमे मागच्छ मागच्छेति दिष्टु विदिष्टु च विलिखितामिव, उत्कीर्णामिव चक्षुषि, निखातामिव हृदये, प्रियतमां जुहाव हृदये विक्लिखितामिव उत्कीर्णामिव प्रत्युसमिव निगलितमिव वज्रशरघटितमिव ।

Of *Mālatīmādhava* (V-10) लीनेव प्रतिविम्बितेव etc., quoted in page 469 *supra*

the world and to the dictates of political science Chandamahāsena, the king of Avanti made a large artificial elephant similar to the one reared by Udayana, the king of the Vatsas. After filling it with armed soldiers, he sent it to the Vindya forest bordering upon the Vatsa country with a view to entice Udayana to come out of his capital for capturing the elephant. As expected, Udayana came alone to see and capture it, was himself caught hold of by Chandamahāsena's soldiers and taken as a prisoner to Avanti where he married Vasavadattā. Bhamaha condemns this story as incredible and opposed to the usage of the world, inasmuch as no king like Udayana who was well informed and had able ministers to advise him could be believed to go out with no assistance to elephant-forest at sunset, however fond he might be of elephants. It is also opposed to the dictates of political science, inasmuch as no king like Udayana, ever bent on making extensive conquests would be foolish enough to enter upon such a risky adventure as he is said to have done. Subandhu's version of the story Vasavadattā is not liable to such charges. If that work had existed in Bhamaha's time he would not have failed to notice it in this connection. As Subandhu refers to Vikramaditya (i.e. Chandragupta Vikramaditya) in whose court Kalidasa, also said to have been a poet, it follows that the capital of Chandragupta Vikramaditya was a haven of poets and scholars like Kalidasa, Bhamaha, Subandhu and others and that each poet or scholar was familiar with the literary productions of others living in the place. Accordingly Bhamaha may be presumed to have been earlier than Subandhu and a little later than Kalidasa, as he refers to Kalidasa and not to Bhamaha."¹

475. Narayana Sastri of Kāśyapagoṭṭra and of Vattipalli family was a professor in the Sanskrit College, Tirupati about 1900 A.D. Many of his poems are said to be locked up at Kalahasti. Besides stotras on Sri Venkatesa and Gṇāśaprasūnāmbikā, which have been printed, his summary of the story Abhinava-Vasavadattā in śrīṣṭ metre is a running narration.²

476. Anandadhara's Madhavanalākṣṇī relates the story that Vikramaditya regaled himself in an enigmatic conversation between his friend Māhavanala and Kāmakaṇḍalā, a damsel of his Court, and when the latter was overcome, she was given away to the victor. The

1. *Mys Arch Rep.* (1927), 25.

2. His pupil B. Sesha Sastri has written lyrical poetry, and lives at Tirupati.

prose is interspersed with occasional poetry. It appears to be older than the 10th century A D.¹

477 Dhanapāla was son of Sarvadeva and brother of Sobhana of Kāśyapagoṭṭa. Alienated from his family on some domestic differences, he gave up his home and rambled through the Universities of India. In a few years he grew well-versed in literature and arts, and when he returned he was received by his brother with remorse and affection. He calls himself son of Goddess of Learning. He seems to have been a convert to Jainism with all his family. He was a contemporary of of Halāyudha,² Padmaguṇṭha, Dhananjaya and Devabhadra³ and at the durbar of kings Siyaka and Vākpaṭi of Dhāra was hailed as the foremost of the learned of his day.

He composed his romance of *ṬṬAKAMAṆJARĪ*⁴ to please his royal patron, who though versed in all art and literature was anxious to have an idea of the stories of the Jaina theology. This long romance was being handed over part by part to the king and once when yet it

1 CC, II 104, OAL, B 133, IOC, VII 1558, SKO, 81, Tr. of 9th oriental confes., I, 480. There are plays of the name of Māḍhavāṇalā (CC, I 118), by (1) Ananāḍhara (u) Kaviśvara (CC, I 450, PR I 113, V 423) and a Māḍhavāṇalā Kāmakāṇḍalā kathā (PR, V, 429, CC, III 97).

2 Sobhana was a staunch Jain and converted his brother Dhanapāla into his faith after prolonged efforts. He was known as Sobhanamuni. He lived in the Court of Dhāra in the 10th century. His stūṭi also called Caturvimsatīkā consists of 4 groups of verses, the first in praise of 24 Tīrthankaras, the second in praise of all the Jinās, the 3rd in praise of the Jain doctrine, and the fourth in praise of various deities. The verses are so constructed that the second and fourth line of each agree to the letter in sound, but bear different meanings. Dhanapāla wrote a commentary on it. Translated and edited by Jacob (ZDMG, XXXII 509). On the com. see Buhler, *Sb. Abad. Wien*, (1882), 570. 2. See PR, I 69, app 101, III, app 22, iv 121. Weber, *IST*, II 944. Śāntisūri's *Prabhāvakacarita*, xvii, 814.

3 On Dhanapāla generally, see PR, III Ap 91, 138, IV, 141, Weber, *IST*, II, 1117. Buhler, *Sb* (1882), 568-72, Hall's *Int. to Daśārūpa* (Col. Un. series, xxiv-v, Bhāvadatta's *Int. to ṬṬakamaṇjarī*,

4 Dhanapāla, the author of *Bhavisayaṭṭakā* is different from this author. He was a member of the Dhakkada Boma family of Dhanasuri. See *Int. to Bhavisayaṭṭakā* (*Ed. GOS*, Baroda, by C. D. Dalal and P. D. Gane).

M. Duff (*Chronology*) says he was a protégé of kings Munja and Bhoja. See also *IA*, II 166 and IV 59, and Paṭyalacobi, 277. Meruṭunga in *Prabandhaśiṅgamaṇi*, (Ed. Calcutta), 52-62, mentions Dhanapāla and Sobhana as at the court of king Bhoja. Buhler calls this wrong (*Rep.* IV, 73-75).

5. Author of *Kavirahasya*.

6. Author of *Kaṭhāraṇakosa*, see PR, III, App 91.

7. Ed. Bombay.

was incomplete the king fell out and ordered the manuscripts to be burnt away. Dhanapāla was inconsolable, but his young daughter Ṭīlakamanjarī had without his knowledge committed to memory every line of the story and she accosted him with a smile and could transcribe the work by her recitation and the beloved father gave her name to his work.¹

Ṭīlakamanjarī is an elaborate tale. It describes the love and union of Ṭīlakamanjarī and Samarakeṭu, and is a regular image of Kādambarī and every occasion of note in Kādambarī finds a parallel here. Easy in expression and full of imagination, Dhanapāla was a successful follower of Bāna. The prefatory verses are laudatory of great poets² and the Paramāra kings, and among these are Bāna, Bhavabhūṭi, Rājasekhara, Rudra, Mahendra, Kardamarāja. There is a fine epitome of it by R. V. Kṛṣṇamācārya.³

His other works are in Prakrit. Rābhapancāsikā,⁴ a collection of 50 verses in honour of Rābha, the first prophet of the Jains, Paiśyalacchi Nāmamāla,⁵ which was completed in Samvat 1029 (A.D. 972-3), a Prakrit vocabulary and Pancamīkahā.

478 Soddhala was the son of Soora, grandson of Sollapeya and great-grandson of Candrapati. He belonged to Valabha branch of the Kāyastha Kṣātrīya caste, of which Kālāditya, brother of Śīlāditya, was the founder. He lost his father when yet a child and was brought up by his maternal uncle Gangādhara. He studied under Candra, and

1 See Merutunga's *Prabandhaśaṅkṣā*, PR, IV 1xii.

2 The following reverses are interesting

प्रसन्नगन्भीरपथा रथाङ्गमिथुनाश्रया । पुण्या पुनाति गङ्गेव गां तरङ्गवती कथा ॥
केवलाऽपि स्फुरन् बाण. करोति विमदान् कवीन् । किं पुन क्लृप्तसञ्चानपुलिन्दकृतसन्निधि. ॥
निरोद्धु पार्यते केन समरादित्यजन्मन । प्रथमस्य वशीभूत समरादित्यजन्मन. ॥
मद्रकीर्तैर्ब्रमत्याशा कीर्तिस्तरागणाध्वन. । प्रमा ताराधिपस्येव श्वेताम्बरशिरोमणे ॥
सूरिर्महेन्द्र एवैक वैदुधाराधितक्रम । यस्यामलौचितप्रौढिकविविस्मयकद्वच ॥
समबान्धकविध्वसी रुद्र. कैर्नामिनन्धते । सुखिष्ठललिता यस्य कथा त्रैलोक्यसुन्दरी ॥
सन्तु कर्दमराजस्य कथ दृष्ट्वा न सूक्तय । कविस्त्रैलोक्यसुन्दर्यो, यस्य प्रज्ञानिधिः पिता ॥

These last two verses show that Kardamarāja was the son of Rudra who wrote the romance *Trailokyasundarī*.

3 *Sah.* XIII

4 Ed. by Klatte (*ZDMG.* XXXIII 445), PR, I. Ap. 85, 92, III Ap. 28.

5 Ed. by Bühler (*BB* IV 70 186) It was written as Dhanapāla says to please his sister Sundarī 'who was walking in the blameless way.'

then went to the Court of *Śāpaka* (Ihana), the capital of *Konkhaya*. He was patronised by three royal brothers *Chitarāja*, *Nāgārjuna* and *Mummuni Rāja* who succeeded each other on the throne. Chitta and his brother lived in the 11th century A. D.¹ He was also honoured at the Court of *Vaṭsarāja*, the *Calukya* King of *Lāla*. His *Udayasundarikathā* was probably composed between 1026 and 1080 A. D. during the reign of *Vaṭsarāja*.² It seems that *Vaṭsarāja* once taunted *Soddhala* that the composition of stray verses was of no merit and the real joy was in the making of a poem, 'a garland of precious pearls'.³ *Soddhala* took the hint and in a few days composed his *Kathā*. He glories in his *ksatriya* descent and calls himself equal to *Bāna* and *Vālmiki*. His ideas, fancies and expressions, all admirable, rank him foremost among the writers of romances in Sanskrit literature.⁴

UDAYASUNDARIKATHA is a tale in 8 *Uchavasas* and describes the events that led to the marriage of *Udayasundarī*, daughter of *Sikhandaṭṭila*, king of the *Nāgaloka* and *Malayavāhana*, king of *Pratiśthāna*. In the first chapter the poet describes his own geneology and the greatness of his race, and the occasion for his composition, and the story begins in the second chapter.

479 *Vadibhasimha* was an ascetic of the *Digambara* *Jaina* sect, pupil of the Sage *Puṣpasena*. His real name was *Odeyadeva*. "He puts down his interlocutory antagonists as the lion does the elephant and so was he *Vadibhasimha*." His tutor is the sole object of worship to him, "whose greatness transforms fools into geniuses." He lived in the southern Districts of the *Madras Presidency*, where some of the *Tinnevely* sects have such appellations.

In his *GADYACINTAMANI*, a narrative in 11 *lambhas* he describes the life of King *Satyadhara* and his son *Jivandhara*, culminating in the latter seeking peace in asceticism. Based on the *Gunabhadra's Uttarapurāṇa* the plot runs in easy language, in close imitation of the situations and descriptions of *Kādambarī*. The ethical import is all-supreme, that "vice ever faileth." His *Kṣītracūdāmaṇi* is a poem in

1 See for their inscriptions dated 1026 A. D. and 1060 A. D., *IA*, V 277 and *JHRAS*, XII 329. See also *IA*, IX 88.

2 *Vaṭsarāja* probably died before 1050 A. D. because his son *Tillocatapāla* made gift in 1050 A. D. as king (*IA* XII 196).

3 एकैकश्च प्रकीर्णैः सुकृतमणिभिः किमिरेभिस्तु ।

यस्सृजति हन्त हार तस्यान्य कोऽपि परिमोगः ॥

4. Ed. *GOS* Baroda, with a valuable introduction.

11 chapters on the life of Jivandhara and is in most places a Sanskrit rendering of the Tamil work *Jivakacintāmaṇi*.¹

The similarity of thought and expression between two sets of general advice addressed to the royal princes in *Gādyacintāmaṇi* and *Kāṇḍambari* and the close resemblance in the construction of their narratives furnish a test for the date of *Vāḍibhasintha*. On hearing the false news of Bhoja's death, Kālidāsa is traditionally known to have exclaimed अथ धारा निराधारा निरालम्बा सरस्वती, these words were repeated in the talk of the mob, on the untimely demise of the king Saṅgandhara caused by the treacherous policy of minister Kāthāṅgāra. King Bhoja flourished in the 11th century A. D. and *Vāḍibhasintha* who must have therefore come after him may be assigned to the 12th century A. D.²

480 Vidyacakravartin's Gadyakarnamrita "deals with the 90 days' battle of Śrīraṅgam between Narasiṃha II, son of Tribhuvanamalla Viraballāla of the Hoysāla dynasty and the combined armies of the Pāṇḍya, the Magadhas and the Kādavas (Pallavas) about a few years before Virasomesvara's marriage and accession to the throne in 1234 A. D. Kailāsa the abode of Śiva is the scene of the narration and Vyāsa reads the work before Śiva and his followers in Kailāsa." True to its name, it is an ambrosial solace to the hearers.³

"The poet traces the cause of the war between the Pandya and the Hoysala kings to a mythical feud between Parasurama, Siva's disciple, and Skanda, Siva's son, who, owing to their mutual curse to be born as human beings, were born on the earth, one as the Pandya King and the other as Hoysala Narasiṃha II and entered into a terrible war with each other. The real cause of the war seems to be the rivalry between the Pandya King and Tribhuvanachakravarti Rajarajadevachola in alliance with Narasiṃha II of the Hoysalas. Just when Narasiṃha was about to celebrate the marriage of Somesvara, his son by his first wife Kalavati, who died about three years after his birth, Rajarajachola's territory was invaded by the combined army of the Pandyas, the Magadhas, and the Kadava. Before Narasiṃha could send his army to help Rajaraja against the combined army, Rajaraja was taken prisoner by the Kadava King and imprisoned in the fortress of Jayantamangala. On hearing the news, Narasiṃha made

1. Ed. Madras, *TC*, II 1642

2. Ed. Madras by T. S. Kuppusami Sastri with an introduction

3. *Mys* 361

a hurried march to Jayantamangala and defeating and slaying the Kadava king (called Njahu ?) released Rajaraja. Then marching with his army to Srirangam, he engaged the combined army in battle for 90 days at Srirangam, and routed it out. Thenceforward the Pandyas became tributary vassals to the Kuntalesvaras, i.e. the Hoysalas.

The portion of the manuscript in which the genealogy of the bride is given is wanting in the Library copy. All that can be made out from what is contained in the manuscript is that Nandideva and Kshemaraja, sons of Vallabha king of Guzrat, were driven out of their kingdom on account of their wickedness, that while Nandi married a princess of Paramaia dynasty, Kshemaraja married Surapala's daughter and that both lived under his protection. When on the death of Surapala Guzrat fell into the hands of enemies, Nandideva migrated to Kanchi and lived there. The manuscript abruptly ends here. It may, however, be safely conjectured that the bride selected for Somadeva was a descendant of the family of Nandideva of Guzrat. The information thus supplied by the manuscript regarding the fall of the Pandyas and the revival of the Cholas corroborates that recorded in the inscriptions of the Hoysalas. No inscription of the Hoysalas fails to mention the part played by the kings of this line in putting down the Pandyas and rendering the power of the Cholas firm.¹

481 *Agastya's Kṛṣṇacarita* relates the story of Śrī Kṛṣṇa as narrated in Bhāgavata. Agastya's identity with Vidyānātha has been noticed along with his other works. Agastya's prose is not less enchanting than his poetry. So it is said at the end of a manuscript.²

अनादस्य श्लाघ्यान् भुवि कविनिबन्धामिव तर्ति
कृतो वैयासिक्या रचयितुरगस्त्यस्य विदुषः ।
वसन्ती वाग्देवी कृतिनिरसनाग्रे वितनुते
निपर्यङ्क पङ्केरहि महति रुक्मे विहरणम् ॥

Agastya lived in the court of king Prabāparadradeva of Warangal who ruled in 1294-1325 A.D.³

482 *Vamana's* ambition was to emulate Bāna of Kādambari fame in the field of romance and, as he says, his resolve was to remove the deep-rooted ill fame that after Bāna there was no poet capable

1 *Mys Arch. Rep* (1924), 12. On the author, see para 100 *supra* and the Journal *Tirupati Sri Venkateswara*, I

2 *Tani*, VII 2894

3 See para 126 *supra*.

of fine writing in prose ¹ Bāna was of the Vastsagotra and in that same goṭra, Vāmana was born. He thought he had a quasi-hereditary claim to gain a name in the same field, he was Bāna incarnate and called himself Abhinava Bāna. Bāna glorified his patron Har-a and this suggested to Vāmana the theme, that is, the life of his patron, Vemabhūpāla, known also as Viranārāyaṇa. Thus came VIRANARAYANACARITA or VEVABHUPAIACARITA ²

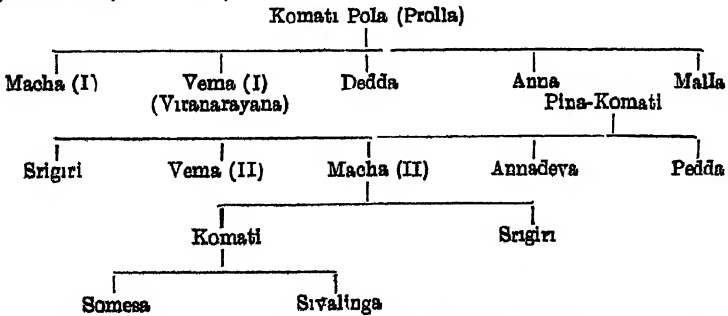
Vemabhūpāla or Viranārāyaṇa was the Reddī King of Addanki. He ruled in 1403-1420 A.D. at Kondavidu. From the progenitor of the dynasty the descent is traced and the genealogy begins from King Prola. The adventures of this King led to his romantic marriage with princess Ananṭa, daughter of King Vikramasimha in Dakṣiṇāpāṭha. Among five sons born of this union was Māca. Māca had three sons of whom Pedakomaṇḍra was the eldest. By the grace of the gods, he had a son Vemabhūpa and he is the hero of this romance. Then follow the expeditions of Vema in all quarters with descriptions of situations full of poetic effusions in language at once melodious and expressive ³

- 1 वाणकवीन्द्रादये काणा खलु सरसगद्यसरणीषु ।
इति जगति रुढयशसो वत्सकुलो वामनोऽधुना मार्षि ॥

2 See para 128 *supra*

3. Ed. Srirangam DU, XXI 8984. For an epitome in Sanskrit by R. V. Kṛṣṇamāchārya, see *Sahurūlaya*, XVII, for a critique by Rāmaṅgaśarma, see *Ibid*, XIX 170.

The genealogy given by Vāmana differs slightly from that given by Śivaliṅga bhūpāla, a scion of this house, in his commentary on Haradaṭṭaśārya's *Griṣaṭṭi-sukṭimāla* (HR, II xi, 91)



In his *Śṛṅgāraḍīpikā*, commentary on *Amaruṭṭaka*, Komati Vema (alias Vira nārāyaṇa) says King Vema, built steps to Śṛīśaila temple and his eldest brother Māca (I) had three sons Reddīpōla, Komalīndra and Nāga (HR, X 68 84-5) *SR*, II 193-4. On Vema's (Annayama's) inscription, see *ET*, III No 10 and No 29

सर्वोत्कर्षेण वर्तमान साक्षाद्वक्ष्येतिमुच्चारितजयशब्द विश्वविश्वम्भरापालमौळिमालाम-
करन्दसुरमितचरणारविन्दो जयति विश्वाधिकविभवो वेमभूपाल ॥

To one who has studied Kādambarī or Harṣacarita, it may seem that Vāmana's performance is not original. That is not Vāmana's fault, for in the province of prose Bāna had probably exhausted all feats of poetic art and expression. There is much that is exquisite and appreciable in Vāmana's work and if it was imitation, it was an imitation by one who was great enough to do it.

483 Devavijayaganī was pupil of Rājavijayasūri of Tapā-gaccha. His RAMACARITA in prose was written at Śrīmālapura in Maruṣṭhālī or Marved in the year 1652 Samvat (1596 A.D.) in the reign of Akbar. In the composition of his work he followed Hemacandra's Rāmāyana and "he wrote it in prose, though there was a Ramacarita in verse in the Prakrit as well as Sanskrit, to divert himself and also to put an end to his karman."

484 Srisaia Dikṣita or Tirumalacarya was the son of Bhāṣyakāra-ācārya and Tiruvengadamma. He was born in May 1809 at Chinnampattu in Chingleput District. He belonged to the Saptagoṭra sect of Śrī Vaiṣṇava brahmins of Tirumaliśai and their home is traced to Tirukandiyur in Tanjore District. His father died when he was a few months old and his mother's father brought him up as his child. He studied at Triplicane and became proficient in literature and philosophy. His exposition of Śrībhāṣya earned for him the appellation Śrībhāṣyam Tirumalācārya. In his 24th year was born his only son Bhāṣyakāra-ācārya. He was tutor to the Kola brothers of Madras, Kṛṣṇama Naidu and Vijayarangam Naidu, and along with them he settled at Bangalore. There he started a Canarese Journal, Karnāṭakāprakāśika under the patronage of Maharaja Kṛṣṇaraja Wodeyar. He flourished amidst a throng of admiring friends and passed away on 23rd February 1877. He was a great musician and set to lyre the verses of Amarusaṭaka. He was an admirer of Bāṇa and his ardent devotion to literary prose brought him the name Kādambarī-Tirumalācārya. He was also good at poetry and among his minor poems are Hanumannakṣatramālā, Virāṇjaneyāṣṭaka and Gopālāryā. Among his minor prose works are Bhṛātivilāsa, an adaptation of Shakespeare's Comedy of Errors, and Kāverīgandya, a description of his pilgrimage to Talakāveri in Coorg.

By far the monument of his glory is *SRIKṚṢṬABHYUDAYA*¹ In exquisite prose, he narrates in two parts the whole story of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, of whom he was a devotee, and his inimitable manner of expression, rendered resplendent by the solemnity of the theme, can scarcely be surpassed in literature Like many poets who as votaries of Kṛṣṇa wrote about him, his prose seems inspired and by its merit will make up for the scanty of the volume of Sanskrit prose literature

485 Timmakavi was the son of Jaggakavi of Kucimanci family and of Kaundinyagoṭṭra and lived at Candrampālayam near Pītāpur His son Venkatrāyudu died about 60 years ago He attained his skill in composition by the grace of Kukkuteswara (near Pītapur) and was proficient in all the Sastras His *SUJANAMANAH-KUMUDACANDRIKA* is a Sanskrit rendering of a Telugu work *Rasikajananamanobhīrāma* written by his great-grand-father Timmakavi The story is related by Indra to Mahābhāga of Kerala in which Karālavalakṛta, a king of Kerala, falls in love with a girl in the course of a hunting expedition and marries her, while attempting to pursue a parrot, which she liked to have, into a Siva's temple, he fell down and died muttering the name of Sankara and thereby obtained salvation²

486 Ahobila Nrisimha was the son of Rāmakṛṣṇādhvarin and grandson of Nāyanasūri of Kāśyapagoṭṭra a brahmin of Telugu Veginati Sect His was a family of poets patronised for seven generations by the kings of Mysore He was in the Court of King Kṛṣṇarāja Odeyar III (born 1795 A.D.) of Mysore Taunted by one Nārāyaṇapandita with ignorance of Sanskrit poetry, he vowed to produce a work equal to Kādambarī which Nārāyaṇa happened at the moment to be teaching his pupils and wrote his *Abhinava-Kādambarī* or *Ṭimūrti-kalyāṇa* In two parts it relates the adventures of his patron Kṛṣṇa Rāja and is interspersed with verses The name *Abhinava-Kādambarī* has no meaning except that the poet expected to vie with Bāṇa in his composition³

1 The *Purvabhāga* has been edited in *Sahitya*, XIII and XIX with an introduction where his letters are also printed The manuscript of the second part is with Mr B Ramaswamy, 45, Hospital Road, Bangalore to whom the reader is referred for more details on the author's life.

2 TC II 2274 In Veeresalingam's *Telugu Poets* there is a confusion between the two Timmakavis B Ramaswamyulu (*Bhūrai* II 17, 25) places him in the beginning of 17th Century A.D

3. *Mys* 268 See para 287 supra.

487 Appasastrin was born at Rasivade in Kolhapur in a family of learned Brahmins. Early in his life he completed his studies. His first writings were contributions to the Sanskrit Journal *Sanskṛta candrikā* of which he later became the editor. Along with it he conducted the paper *Sūnṭavāḍin* on general topics, in which he demonstrated the capacity of Sanskrit being a general Vernacular. He bore the titles *Vidyāvācaspaṭi* and *Vidyālankāra*. He passed away in his 40th year in 1913 A.D. He wrote easy commentaries on some plays.¹

His *LAVANYAMAYI* is a Sanskrit adaptation of Bankim Chandras' Bengali romance of that name.²

488 Kṛṣṇamacarya R (M A) was the son of Paravastu Rangācārya of Śrīvatsagotra. He lived in 1869-1924. He was superintendent of Sanskrit Studies in Madras. His critiques on Kālidāsa's poems are unique and well-known. His Sanskrit prose is enchanting and his writings abound in his Sanskrit Journal, *Sahṛdayā*. Among his minor prose pieces are *Pāṭivratya*, *Pāṇigrahana* and *Varuruci*. His *Susīlā* is a romance inculcating social morals on the standards of Hindu ethics.

489 Anantacharya is a lineal descendant of Mudamṇi Nambī, one of the seven spiritual successors of Rāmānuja. He was born in 1874 in the house of Prativadibhayankara of Kāncī. He is learned in all the Śāstras and his disciples are all over India, for their ministration he tours round India, lecturing on Vaiṣṇava philosophy and theology on which he has written a number of works. He is the editor of a series of works on Nyāya and Vedānta and a literary journal, *Manjubhāṣi*.³ His *Valmīkibhāvadīpa*⁴ is an exposition in verse of the real spiritual meaning of Rāmāyaṇa with a gloss of his own added to it. His *SANSARACAKRA* is a Sanskrit rendering in easy prose of a Hindi novel of Jagannāthprasāda.⁵

490 Kṛṣṇamacarya (R. V) is the son of Venkatesa of Śrīvatsagotra. He was born about 1874 and is was the chief Sanskrit Pandit in the Government College, Kumbakonam. At a very early age, he became proficient in all the śāstras and Vyākaraṇa is his special

1 For a short account of his life see *Sahṛdaya*, LVIII 274

2 Ed, Bombay and Madras.

3 He lived in 1862-1864 A.D.

4. For further information about him, see his of tours is not from time to time from Kanchi

5 Ed, Conjeevaram. See page *supra*.

study His discourses in Sanskrit, Tamil and Malayalam have been highly appreciated and in one of the assemblies of Cochin he was awarded the Maharaja's medal and a title Panditarāja Above all the agility of his prose is unique and by applying it to critical and historical essays, he has demonstrated that the Sanskrit language is capable of expressing modern ideas with as much ease, as did the glossators in their controversial philosophical literature Trained in an atmosphere of inquiry and research, he has enriched literary history by his tracts on the authorship of Pārvatīparipāya, and Priyadarsikā, on Vāmana's Kavvāṅkārāsūtravṛtti, on Vāsavadattā and on Meghasandesa, prefixed as introduction to the Vanī Vilas editions of these works His abridgements of Kādambarī, Harṣacarita, and Vemabhūpālarita have made these romances accessible to the indolent adult and the unlearned youth Besides several works on grammar and logic he prepared anthologies Mahākavisubhāṣita, Subhāṣitaśaṭaka, Bhartṛhari-subhāṣita-sangraha, and composed the rhetorical works, Praśutāṅkuravimarsa and Īrīluptakauṭuka and glosses on Vṛttivārtika and Citramīmāṃsa and the minor poems, Vāṇivilāpa, Anyapadesa, Kalāpivilāpa, Vāya savaisasa, Śrī-Deśika-trimsat, Dharmarājavimsati, and Bhāratagīta (ode to India) and Cakravartīcatvāriṃśat (India's coronation song) He wrote commentaries on Vāsavadattā, Priyadarsikā, Acyutarajābhayadaya, Vemabhūpālarita, Kūrātārjuniya, and Gaḍyatraya Of these, his commentary on Vāsavadattā has evoked much praise and it was described as "an earnest attempt to bring out what Subandhu might have really meant and to minimise the necessity for resorting to forced interpretation" Sāhityaratnamanjūṣa is a treasury of chosen quotations from various writers on the lines of Bartlett's 'Familiar quotations from English Writers.'

491 Rajagopala Cakravartīn (of Keṭāṇḍipatti) was born in 1882 His father Cakravartī Gīṭācārya¹ was a professor of Mīmāṃsa in Sanskrit College, Mysore Rājagopāla inherited the poetic instinct and early in life he visited the courts of several Indian States and was honoured by them with titles and presents² In 1922 he became the head of the Department of Sanskrit Literature in the Central College, Bangalore, the chief institution of the Mysore University By the romances of SAIVALINI³ and KUMUDINI, semi-original in plot,

1 Among his works are Kṛṣṇarājodayasampū

2. Among his titles are Saralakavīsuri, Kāvyaśāraṇa, Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Vidyāvā-
caspaṭi, Mahāvidyān, Gnāṇagunākara

3 Printed, Mysore

partly based on vernacular tales, his name is well known. These are also his works in prose, *Vilāsakumārī* and *Sangara*, and in verse *Tripod* (on the Oracle of Delphi), *Padisaharsacarita*, *Gangūtiranga*, *Madhukaradūta* and *Viyogivilāpa*, and *Iirthātanam* is a poem in 4 chapters describing his pilgrimage through India. His *Kavikāvya-vicārī* is an original work combining literary history and poetic criticism and incorporates the results of latest historical research. He passed away in October 1934.

492 Kalyanarama Sastri (P K) is the son of Subbalakṣmī and Parithiyur Kṛṣṇa Sastri, the famous scholar of Rāmāyana of South India. He is a retired officer the Registration department in Madras, and now lives at Tanjore. He inherited his father's talents and among his works a romance *KANAKALATA*,¹ an adaptation of Shakespeare's *Lucrece*, is a specimen of simple but eloquent expression.

Parithiyur Kṛṣṇa Sāstrin, his father, was the second son of Rāmasvāmī Śāstrin. He was born in 1842 at Kadagambudi, Tanjore District. His father and grandfather held high offices in the Tanjore State and were well known for their piety and learning. He studied under *Vidyānātha Dīkṣita* of Sengalipuram. Learned in all the sastras, he was particularly good in poetic literature. His exposition of Rāmāyana and Purāṇas was exquisite and he was accorded the highest appreciation. He passed away in 1911. His *Rasaṁśyandinī*, a commentary on select passages of Rāmāyana, has preserved for us a glimpse of his exposition. His *KAUMUDISOMAM*, a play² themed on love, reflects Rāmāyana in its grandeur. His *Mīnakṣīsatika*, *Mālinīsatika*, *Hanumat-satika* and *Lakṣmīṁśimhasatika* are poems of devotion and *Kalivilāsa-maṇḍarpaṇa* is satirical.

493 Kapisthala Kṛṣṇamacārya (B A) was the son of *Raṅgācārya* of *Kausikagoṣṭha* of *Tirupati*. His father's brother *Kapisthala Desika Acārya* is an authority on dialectics and philosophy. *Kṛṣṇamācārya* was born in 1883 and among in 1934 poetic instincts manifested themselves at a very early age. Besides critical essays on various topics of Sanskrit Literature, which have been noticed in relevant contexts, he wrote the poem *Vilāpaṭarangiṇī* and a bhāna *Rasarnāvaṭarangiṇī*. His romance *MANDARAVATI* is a loveable composition. Modelled on the design of the well-known romances, it has

1 Printed partly in *Sahitya* and partly in *Tanjore*

2 Printed, Madras

an originality of narration and description and a graceful blend of classical and modern imagery. He passed away in 1933.

His father Rangācārya was a great rhetorician. He lived 1856-1918. His *Āṅkārasaṅgraha* is a lucid exposition of the principles of poetics, and among his poems are *Subhāṣitasataka*, *Sṛṅgāranayikātilaka* and *Pādukāśahasrāvātārakathisaṅgraha*. On *Godā* he wrote a *Cūrnikā* and like *Bhujagovinda*, his *Rahasyatrayasīratnāvalī* and *Sanmatīkalpalatā* is philosophical.¹

494 Jaggu Alwar Aiyangar known otherwise as *Kavivara Jaggu Sri Vakulabhūṣana* belongs to the family of "Bala Dhanu" (*Komandur Elayavallī*) of Melkote, Mysore. He is the son of *Tirumīrājana*. Alwar is a living poet of high order. His *JALANTIKA* is a romance like *Kādambarī* of exquisite beauty written when he was 20. Of his two dramas as *Svamanṭika* and *Adbhutaṁsuka*, the latter is almost an introduction to *Venīśambhāra*. Among his minor poems are *Karunārasataranginī* and *Hayagrīva-stūti*.

His brother **Singratyengar** wrote *Srīkṛṣṇarājacampū*, *Yadusaila-campū*, *Kṛṣṇakathārahasya*, *Citrākūtodanta* (*Yamaka*). His uncle *Venkatācārya* born in 1873 wrote poems *Granthūvaracarita*, *Rāmānujamatābhāṣavilāsa*, *Kaverīmahīmāḍarsā* or *Srīkṛṣṇarājaseṭubandhana* (on *Kannambadi* dam), *Yādavagiri-māhātmyasaṅgraha*, *Vyāghratīlākabhūvivaravartana* (on *Hulikeri* tunnel works), *Kākānyokṣimālā*, *Campakānyokṣimālā*, *Kaṣṭhīkānyokṣimālā* and some others. His *Dīvyasūriyābhava* is in prose. His grandfather *Singrācārya* lived in 1831-1883 and wrote *Sampatkumārastotra*, *Kalyāṇipancaka* and *Vṛttamukṣa-āravālī*.

495 Rajamma was born at Bangalore in 1877. She is fifth in descent from *Pradhānī Gopālayya*, minister of *Tipu Sultan* of Mysore. Her parents were *Gangādharayya* and *Rāmālakṣmī*. She married *A. Sambasiva Ayyar*, a lawyer of Mysore. She is the *Sanskrit Pandit* in *Lady Willingdon Training College*, Madras. Her *CANDRA-MAULI* is a novel on modern lines depicting social life and evils.²

496 Narayana Sastri Kṛṣṇa, *Sāhityācārya*, is the son of *Bhairavanāyaka*. He is the librarian of *Saraswati-Bhavan* at *Kasi*. He wrote the lives of five great scholars, *VIDYATCARITAPANCAKA* in simple and elegant prose, interspersed with verses which make a

1. He wrote an exposition on *द्वय सीता* verse of *Rāmāyaṇa*.

2. Printed, Madras.

pleasant reading of imaginative poetry¹ These pieces were composed about 1928

(1) **Manavalli Gangadhar Sastri C. I E** was an Andhra Brahmin and son of Nrisimha Sastri He was born at Vasaragatta near Bangalore in 1854 Nrisimha settled at Kasi and wrote *Kavya-masamsodhana* Among the learned men under whom Gangadhar studied were Rajarama Sastri and Bala Sastri whose lives he wrote in exquisite verse He became a professor of Sanskrit in the College at Kasi in 1879 In a great assembly convened to see his *Satavadhana*, he was asked to complete a *Samasya*

बसौ मयूरो लवशेषसिंह

He framed the verse at once, displaying the regular series of Sanskrit consonants and thus illustrated the ductility and pliability of the Sanskrit language

अनेकवर्णक्रमरीतियुक्त कखागघाङ्छजज्ञा बटौ ठ ।

अङ्गणस्थोऽथ दधौ न पफुल् बसौ मयूरो लवशेषसिंहः ॥

Here is the commentary

मपरिकरस्य शिवस्य वाहनेषु कतमो वर्षासु मोदते इत्येवं पृष्ठ कोऽप्युत्तरति, अनेकेति ।

अथ निदाघोत्तरम्, अनेकवर्णानां क्रमरीत्या युक्तं पीतनीलादिविविधवर्णविशिष्टं कखागघाङ्गा कवेन ह्रासेन अनायासेनेति यावत्, अका कुटिलगामिनां सर्पाणां अध, भक्षणरूप-मृचति, पूजयत्याद्रियत इति तादृश, अञ्छ शोभनं जातो यो भूषणरूप यस्य सोऽञ्छजज्ञः, जाना विराविर्णा, ठ ध्वनिं खरवमाधुर्येण ठति प्रतिहन्ती तिरस्करोति यस्तथाभूत, अङ्गणस्थोऽथ पल लवौ न्यूनौ नानावर्णवत्त्वादिगुणैः शेषसिंहौ यस्माच्चाहम् मयूरोऽपरपक्षिहस्तादिवत्, त क्षीणतां वेदमिति यावत् । नदधौ, प्रत्युत पफुल्सन् प्रमोदातिशय भजमानौ बसौ ॥

This composition must enchant any reader, as it did that assembly Later he wrote works on Grammar and a gloss on *Rasagangadhar* He became *Mahamahopadhyaya* in 1887 at Queen Victoria's first Jubilee, and a C I E at King Edward's Coronation He passed away in 1914

1 Sar Bhar Series (No 27), Benares.

For instance

विद्वत्कुलप्रसवभूमिरितिप्रसिद्धा कैलासत प्रियतरा शिवराजधानी ।

यस्या पदाब्जनिर्गटे विलुठत्यजस्र मन्दाकिनी शिवशिरोवरवैजयन्ती ॥

राकाशशाङ्कहिमकुन्दमृणालनालकैलासकाशसदृशी जनिताऽन्यकीर्ति ।

व्याप्याखिलमपि धराभनवाप्तपारां वाग्देवताश्रवणपूरपद जगाह् ॥

(ii) **Damodara Sastri** was born in the village Ārohana near Kāsi in 1848 A.D. He was the son of Bālakṛṣṇa Sāstri of Bhāradvājagotra. In 1879 he became professor of Vyākaraṇa in Benares Sanskrit College and a Mahāmahopādhyāya in 1899. He passed away in 1909.

(iii) **Kailāśacandra** was born in 1830 in Rādhiya family of Bhāradvājagotra in the village of Dhātri in Bengal. He was the son of Ghanasyāma and Ādaramaṇi. He became professor of Nyāya in Benares Sanskrit College in 1869 and became Mahāmahopādhyāya. He was known generally as Mahāsaya. He passed away in 1908.

(iv) **Sivakumara Sastri** was born at Undi near Kāsi in 1848 A.D. He was the son of Rāmasevakamiśra and Maṭirāpi. Lakṣmīśvaraḍeva, the Chief of Dvāravanga was his patron. The story of the House of Lakṣmīśvara from the days of its founder Mahesa Takkura was described by Sivakumāra in his poem Lakṣmīśvarapratāpa. So was the life of the great Yogin Bhāskarānanda in his poem Yatindrajiṇa-carita. He bore many titles, such as Vidyāmārṇānda, Panditārāja. He passed away in 1919.

(v) **Ramakrishna Sastri**, known as Tātya Sāstri, was born in 1846 A.D. at Naghur. He was the son of Mahādeva of Pattavarḍhana. He lost his parents when yet very young and he was brought up by his uncle Nageswara Bhatta and educated at Kāsi. He was for some time in the Sanskrit College of Lakṣmīśvaraḍeva and latterly professor in Benares Sanskrit College. He became Mahāmahopādhyāya in 1909. He wrote works on Grammar and passed away in 1916.

497 Sesasayee was a Sanskrit Pandit of Trivadi College and Madura College and died in 1932 at Kumbakonam. He wrote the story Aṣṭāvākriyam in prose.¹

498 Srisaīla Tatacarya or Tīrumalai Tātācārya, son of Venkatavarada, lived at Kāncī 63 years and died in 1925-6. His genius was versatile. Besides the plays of Yugalāngulīya and Vedānta-desīkacarita, he wrote Durgēśanandini and Kṣātrīyāramaṇi, translations of Bengali novels.²

There is Sanskrit rendering of Indranāṭha's Bengali story Gauracandra.³

1 Printed, Kumbakonam.

2 Printed, *Sah*, Vol. seq., XIII.

3 *Jl. of Sam. Sah*, Par., XV, 380.

499. Haricarana Bhattacharya, Vidyāratna, Kāvya-Vyākaranā-tīrṭha, was born in March 1879, of a learned Brahmin family of Kanargaon, Vikrampur in East Bengal. He is Professor of Sanskrit, Metropolitan College Calcutta. His father, Pandit Īurgācaraṇa Smṛitīrṭha, settled in Calcutta in 1910 and has since been residing there with his family. His KAPALAKUNDALA composed in 1918 is a Sanskrit translation of the famous Bengali novel of Bankimcandra. Besides his poems Karṇadhārā and Rūpasunīrḥara his rendering of Fitzgerald's version of 'Omar-Khaiyam' in Sanskrit verse in 75 stanzas in the Sārdulabikrīḍita metre is superb. Haricarana has been graciously serving in the Metropolitan Institution founded by the illustrious Pandit Iswarachandra Vidyasagar¹

500 Narasiṃha (acārya) is son of Mahābala of Koṭiśvara in South Canara, a Brahmin of dvaita persuasion. He was born in Śubhakṛt (1902-3) and having lost his father in childhood he was bred up and educated by his uncles. He is a Sahityasiromani of the Madras University and professor in Sri Chamarajendra Sanskrit College, Bangalore. His novel SAUDAMINI in 8 chapters describes the secret marriage of king Śūrasena of Magadha with Śaudāmini, daughter of king Kānapāla of Vidarbha, the loss of his kingdom at the hands of a rival suitor Vijayavarman, the wanderings of the married couple in distress, the unswerving loyalty of the princess to her lover in his woes, and the reconquest and restoration to fortune and pleasure. Among other works of this author, are Bhāratakaṭhā and a Vyāyoga Prāṭīnā-Bhārgava and an epitome of Kīrāṭārjunīya of Bhāravi.²

501 Sarvabhauma's Arṭhasangraha describes the story of Rāmāyana, but the peculiarity of its composition is that the narration is in the form of qualifying adjectives with instrumental endings in relation to Rāma.³ Mahābhārata-Kaṭhānaka is a prose summary of the story.⁴

Virincināthacarita is a long work by Virincinātha of the Dindima family relating the greatness of the Deity of that name at Virincipuram.⁵

Ravivarmastuti⁶ is a eulogy in prose of Mṛṭyunjayaswāmi of Tīrūnāva in Malabar and Ravivarman was probably the well-known

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1. Printed Calcutta
 2. Printed, Bangalore
 3. BTO, No. 1014.
 4. CC, III 95
 5. See CC, I 578.
 6. OML,

king, who patronised Vāsuḍeva, the poet. He also wrote a poem *Damayanṭiparinaya*

In *SAMYOGITASWAYAMWARA* in 6 pairs *Parasurāma*, surnamed *Vaiḍya*, describes the marriage of *Samyogitā*, daughter of *Jayacandra*, a *Rastrapala* King.¹ He also wrote a small prose piece *Parihāsācaryā Varadakānta* *Vidyaratna* wrote *Gadyāḍarsa*.²

Vijayapurakathā, a brief history of the Muhammadan kings of *Bijapur*³ and *Vellapurisagadya*, an account of *Vellore* and its ruler *Kesavarāja*⁴ are in prose. So is *Mahesa Thakur's Sarvadesavṛttānta-sangraha*, which contains a history of *Akbar's* reign.⁵

Among short pieces published in *Sahṣṛdayā* must be mentioned the story of *Othello*,⁶ *Maḍālasācariṭa*,⁷ *Avikṛitacarita* and *Svārociṣacarita*,⁸ *Amsumālicarita* (story of *Hamlet*),⁹ *Anuhlādacarita*,¹⁰ *Moghapāḍacarita* and *Pracyutacarita*,¹¹ *Sriṣṇanilāyita*,¹² *Aṭirūpacarita*,¹³ *Raṭivilāpa*,¹⁴ *Udayanakathā*¹⁵ by *Venkataramasarma*, *Udayanacarita* by *Ananta-cārya*,¹⁶ and *Pṛthivīrājacarita* by *K. V. Subramanya Sastrin*,¹⁷ *Vidhivilāsa* by *Sāṅkara-Subrahmaṇya Sāstrin*,¹⁸ *Vijayinī* of *Parasuramasarma*,¹⁹ *Manmathonmathana* by *Muddu Vittalācārya*,²⁰ and *Rajani* by *Renu Devi*.²¹

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1. *Sah*, XIII.
 2. Printed Calcutta.
 3. *IO*, VII 1578.
 4. *Taylor*, I 22.
 5. *CO* I 701, *IO*, VII 1578.
 6. III 55.
 7. IV 35.
 8. IV 110, 148.
 9. VI 37.
 10. VI 67.
 11. VII.
 12. XIV & XV, by *Pandita Śaṭāvadhāni Śrinivāsācārya*.
 13. XIV & XV, by *Gopālaśāstrin*.
 14. XVI 105, 172.
 15. XXII 326.
 16. XXIII, 97.
 17. XXIII, 116, XXIV.
 18. XXIII, 249.
 19. XXIII, XVI. 25.
 20. XXII.
 21. *Jl. Sam. Sah. Par*, XI,

CHAPTER XX

Gadyakavya—(contd)

502 Curnaka etc Among minor styles of gadya or prose are Mukṭaka, Vṛttagandhī, Utkalikāprāya and Cūṛṇakā or Cūṛṇikā. There are defined and illustrated by Viśvanātha.

Chandomanjari divides Gadya into three classes (i) Vṛṭṭaka (ii) Utkalikāprāya and (iii) Vṛttagandhī and defines them thus

अकठोराक्षर खल्पसमास वृत्तक मतम् ।
तत्तु वैदर्भरीतिस्थ गद्य हृद्यतर मवेत् ॥
मवेदुत्कलिकाप्राय समासाढ्य दृढाक्षरम् ।
वृत्तैकदेशसम्बन्धाद्वृत्तगन्धि पुनस्त्वृत्तम् ॥

and gives the following instances

(i) स हि त्रयाणामेव जगता गति परमपुरुषोत्तमो दत्तदानवमरेण मयुराङ्गीमवनि-
मवलोक्य करुणाद्रहदयस्तस्या मारमवतारयितु रामकृष्णस्वरूपेणाशितो यदुवशेष्वततार, यस्तु
प्रसङ्गेऽपि स्मृतोऽभ्यर्चितो वा गृहीतनामा पुसां ससारसागरपारमवलोकयति ।

(ii) प्रणिपातप्रवणसप्रधानाद्येषामुरादिवृन्दसौन्दर्यप्रकटकिरीटकोटिनिविष्टस्पष्टमणिमयूख-
च्छटाच्छुरितचरणनखचक्रविक्रमोद्भासवामपादाङ्गुष्ठनखशिसरखण्डितप्रङ्गाण्डविवरनिस्तरच्छर-
दमृतकरप्रकरमासुरसुरवाहिनीप्रवाहपवित्रीकृतविष्टपत्रितयकैटभारे क्रूरतरसंसारसागरनानाप्रकारा-
वर्तमानविग्रहं मामनुगृह्णाण ॥

(iii) जय जय जय जनार्दन सुकृतिमनस्तडागविक्रसरचरणपद्म पद्मपत्रनयन पद्मा-
पद्मिनीविनोदराजहंस मास्वरयशःपटलपरिपूरितभुवनकुहर हरकमलासनादिवृन्दारकबृन्दवन्दनीय-
पादारविन्दद्वन्द्व निर्मुक्तयोगीन्द्रहृदयमन्दिराविष्कृतनिरञ्जनज्योतिःस्वरूप नीरदरूप विश्वरूप
अनाथनाथ जगन्नाथ मामनवाधिमवदुःखव्याकुलं रक्ष रक्ष रक्ष ॥

503. Dandakas are abnormal poetic compositions beyond the ken of ordinary versification. They read like prose, but the arrangement of the words follow a melodious setting. Vṛṇṇarajānākara defines them thus .

यदिह मयुगलं ततः सप्त रेफास्तदा षण्डवृष्टिप्रपातो मवेद्वण्डकः ॥
प्रतिचरणविबुद्धरेफाः स्युरर्णवम्यालजीमूतलालिकरोद्गमसद्वर्यादयः ।
प्रचितकसममिधौ धीरधीमि. स्मृतो दण्डको मद्रयादुत्तरैः सप्तमिर्यैः ॥

Nārāyaṇa in his commentany mentions other classes thus

(i) नयुगलगुरुयुगेवयकारा कवीच्छानुरोधात्तदा यत् वक्ष्यन्त एषोऽपरोदण्डक पण्डितै-
रिरित सिद्धविक्रान्तनामा ॥

(ii) यत्र रेफान कविस्त्वेच्छया पाठसौभाग्यसापेक्षयारोपयत्येष धीरैस्स्मृतो दण्डको
मत्तमातङ्गलीलाकर ॥

(iii) लघुर्यस्य क्रमेण यत्र यत्र बध्यते सुधीमिरिच्छया सदण्डकस्त्वनगशेखरस्मृतः ॥

(iv) स्नेच्छया रजौ क्रमेण सन्निवेशयत्युदारधी कवि सदण्डकस्स्मृतो जयत्यशोकमञ्जरी ॥

(v) सगण सकल म्वलु यत्र मवेत्तामिह प्रवदन्ति बुधा कुसुमस्तवकम् ॥

(vi) यकारं कवीच्छानुरोधाभिबद्धै प्रसिद्धो विशुद्धोऽपरो दण्डक सिद्धविक्रान्तनामा ॥

एव मेघमालाकुसुमास्तरणोत्तरकामबाणादयो दण्डका षड्विंशत्यक्षराधिकाक्षरपदा
कविप्रयोगानुसारेण ज्ञेया ॥

504 Syamala-dandakam is a proso-poetic piece in praise of Sarasvatī. Like many works of that species, dandakam, the recital of it is melodious. The authorship is attributed to Kālidāsa, but in a manuscript of the work discovered by T. S. Kuppusami Sastrī of Tanjore PURĀṆTAKA is distinctly named as the author. Purāṇtaka was the son of Mādhava. He was the worshipper in the temple of Mahākālī. When King Bhoja of Dhār vanquished the mlecchas who were plundering the treasures of the Sankara Math at Dvāraka, he saw this work of Purāṇtaka and granted him a hundred agrahārams on the banks of the Narmadā and this was in Sāka 923 (1101 A.D.)²

1 See *Andhra Patrika*, Annual number (1917-8) 224.

धाराधीथो धराधीशो धारायां धनदोपम ।

वसार राज्यं मोजाख्यो दानमानैश्च पण्डितान् ॥

स्नेच्छानमोचयद्दीरो द्वारकाया विराजितम् ।

शकार्यगुण्यां समोषिणो मतदूषिणः ॥

लोकाक्षिरससख्याक (९२३) शकाब्दे पूर्णिमातिथौ ।

श्रावणे मासि विप्रैर्म्य कविभ्यो व्यतरन्मुदा ॥

ग्रामान्सोमोद्भवातीरे शत यो गिरिशप्रियः । सरस्वतीकण्ठमूर्धा सरसालङ्कृतिं कृतिं ॥

प्राणयत्कीर्तिकायस्य प्रायच्छत्सस्य निलतां । जीयतां तदधो नित्यमाचन्द्रांकद्युमूषण ॥

महादेवद्विजशैवो महाकालस्य पूजकः । पुरान्तकस्तस्य पुत्रः पुरारेः कृपयामवत् ॥

श्यामलायां प्रसादाद्य श्यामलादण्डकं व्यधात् । वाग्देवी यस्य वक्ष्यामूढाचो वाचस्पतेरिव ॥

तस्मै ग्रामान् शतमदात् * * * * *

माणिक्यवीणासुपलालयन्तीं मदालसां मञ्जुलवारिविलासाम् ।
 माहेन्द्रनीलोत्पलकोमलाङ्गीं मातङ्गकन्या मनसा स्मराभि ॥
 जय मातङ्गतनये जय नीलोत्पलद्युते ।
 जय सङ्गीतरसिके जय लीलाशुकप्रिये ॥

जय जननि सुधासमुद्रान्तरुधन्मणिद्वीपसरूढबिम्बावलीबद्धकल्पदुसाकल्पकादम्बकान्तार-
 वासप्रिये कृत्तिवासप्रिये ।

* * * * *

वपु श्यामल कोमल चारुचन्द्रावचूडान्वित तावक ध्यायतस्तस्य लीलासरो वारिधि-
 स्तस्य केलीवन नन्दन तस्य भग्नसन भूतल तस्य गीर्देवता किङ्करी तस्य चाङ्गाकरी श्री स्वय
 सर्वमन्त्रात्मिके सर्वयन्त्रात्मिके सर्वतन्त्रात्मिके सर्वशक्यात्मिके सर्वविद्यात्मिके सर्वपीठात्मिके
 सर्वगो सर्वरूपजगन्मातृके पाहि मां पाहि मां पाहि देवि तुभ्य नमो देवि तुभ्य नमः ॥

An imitation of this work is Komalādandakam by Varada Kṛṣṇamā-
 cārya of Valattur, Tanjore District. He died 50 years ago. He also
 wrote Kacasatakam and Vidhavāsaṭakam.

505 There are Dandakas relating to Rāma (*DC*, XVIII 7125),
 Nṛsiṃha (*Ibid*, 6707, 7034), Ranganāṭha (*Ibid* 6840, 7105),
 Śrīranga (*Ibid* 7106), Lakṣmī (*Ibid* 6872), Komalā (*Ibid* 6866),
 Arbujavallī (*Ibid* 6862), Karigiri (*Ibid* 6707), Hayagrīva (*Ibid* 6844,
 7208, *TC*, IV 4642), Gopāla (*Ibid* 6969), Garuda (*Ibid* 6705, 6893);
 Hanūmatī (*Ibid* 6695, *TC*, III 4129), Ṭyāgarāja (*DC*, XIX, 7447),
 Acārya (*Ibid* 7265, XVIII 6707, 6862), Akhilāndanāyaki (*TC*, IV,
 5820), Vedāntadesika (*DC*, XIX 7266), Varadadesika (*Ibid*, 7262);
 Varavaramuṇi (*Ibid* 7272, *TC*, IV 4737), Candī (*TC*, III, 4063),
 Sūrya (*TC*, IV 5813), Śiva (*Ibid* 5451).¹

1. A composition in the Daṇḍaka metre in praise of the goddess Lakṣmī.

जयतु जयतु शेषशैलाधिपामन्दलालामहानन्दवेलातिगाम्भोधिडोलायमानोर्जिजालार्भ-
 तोल्लसानालापमालासुधालालनीयोरुबालामृतांशूपमासक्तफाला मदोधन्मरालाङ्गनाचारुहोलाप्रचारा
 मदालानमाधदघटालामेदापाङ्गजालाभिरग्मा प्रवालायिताङ्घ्रिर्विनीलालका क्षोणिनीलासपत्नी
 दुसालावलीकुञ्जशालाचरद्गोपबालावलम्बा मदम्बा श्रियै कल्पताम् ।

* * * * *

जय जय जगद्गन्ध दासोऽस्म्यहं ते रमावाप्तकाम्ये त्वमेवाखिलस्य प्रपञ्चस्य मातेति
 वाण्या पुराण्या महत्यापि सत्यापित सोऽहमेवं भवत्या. किञ्चोरोऽस्मि मृलोऽस्मि दासोऽस्मि
 तस्मात्कृपणैरपन्नैः प्रसन्न शिष्टैः सा कुर्वेद् चान्नवचात्ममक्तोऽस्मि सद्योतसे त्व पर ज्योतिरित्यम्ब
 मय दयेया सुधाराशिकन्ये रमे पद्महस्ते प्रसीद प्रसीद प्रसीदाम्ब मे ॥

506 Gadyas Among Gadyas are those relating to Siva (*DC*, XIX 7567), Mahādeva (*Ibid* 7507), Namassivāya (*Ibid* 7502), Mallikesvara (*Ibid* 7592), Lakṣmī (Ed Bombay),¹ and Gadyasatkam on Pūrṇaśṣiṭṭesa, Rughuvīra, Ādinātha, Sathagopa, Kurukāvallī and Srī-vīresa (*DC*, XIX, 7272, *TC*, IV 4651), Candraprabhā (*DC*, XVIII, 6735), Mahāvīra (*Ibid*, 7101), Śrīnivāsa (*Ibid*, 7168)², Pancaprahāsa (*Ibid*, 6792, 7667), Ṭirṭhankara (*Ibid*, 7648), Basava (*Ibid*, 7439, 7687, *DC*, XVIII 6792, 793, called also Udāharanagadya), Vedānta-deśika (*Ibid*, 7272, *DC*, XVIII, 6873), Varadadesika (*Ibid*, 7261), Akṣaramāla (*Ibid*, 6799), Ācārya (*Ibid*, 6862)

507 Curnika (चूर्णिका) There are Cūrnikas on Devī (*DC*, XVIII, 6815), Śrīnivāsa (*DC*, XIX, 7385), Venkatesa (*Mys* 262 probably by King Ṭirumalarāya of Vijayanagar), Nigamāntācārya (*DC*, XIX, 7272, 7281), Śvetārāṇya (*DC*, XXVI, 9771, XIX, 7637), and Anugraha-cūrnika (*DC*, XVIII, 6844, 6815)³

508. Tunaka (तूणक)

पङ्कजासनार्चितं ब्रह्माङ्गशोभिताननं कङ्कणादिव्यभूषणाङ्कितं वरप्रदम् ।

कुङ्कुमाङ्कितोरसं सङ्कञ्चकनन्दकं वेङ्कटेशमिन्दिरापदाङ्कनं भजामहे ॥

DC, XVIII, 7169.

1. The author of this piece Purusa: Śrīrangācārya of Tirupati was a great scholar, an authority in dialectics and philosophy. He died about 1927. His Sanskrit rendering of the Tamil lyrics Tiruppāvai is classical, like which there is another work (*DC*, XVIII, 7292)

2. अयं किल सकलचराचरदिगन्तसन्ताननिरन्तरान्तर्बहिर्व्यापिश्रेष्ठाखण्डब्रह्माण्डप्रपञ्चपञ्चशरप्रपञ्चकोटिसुषुमाविलासवशीकृतस्त्रिविष्टपत्रिविष्टपेशकनरकिंपुरुषसिद्धविधाधराप्सरोयक्ष-रक्षोगन्धर्वगरुडपद्मगविलासिनीगणम् ।

* * * * *

लोकेश्वरसाध्याधिकारवरदावनरक्षणपरं परादपि परं श्रीमद्वेङ्कटादिनिकेतनं हरिं भजे ॥

DC, XVIII 7168.

3. श्रीमत्त्रालेयशैलराजकुमारि, कौमारि, क्षीरपारावारकन्यामाणिमनोहरगम्भीरदक्षिणा-वर्तनामिविवरकजातसजातपुरन्दरबुन्दारकसदोहमस्तकन्यस्तविपुलतटघटितचित्रामूल्यनवरत्नकिरणदीपिकासमुच्चयनीराजिततरुणप्रवाललतानितान्तरुणप्रसापटल[न]विधूतमृदुलकोमलपदाराविन्द-युगले ।

निजमत्तजनानुग्रहकारणश्रीदेशिकस्वरूपिणि श्रीमहाक्षिपुरसुन्दरि पाहि मां पाहि मां नमस्ते नमस्ते नमस्ते नमः ॥

509. Bhujanga (भुजङ्ग) There are poems in Bhujanga form relating to Rāvana (*DC*, XIX, 7535), Viṅhesvara (*Ibid* 7559), Virabhadra (*Ibid* 7545, Siva (*DC*, XVIII 7212 *TC*, IV 5932), Viṣṇu (*Ibid* 7159, 7233), Bhavānī (*Ibid* 6823), Devī (*Ibid* 6815), Gayātrī (*Ibid* 6718, *TC*, II 1195), Hanūmaṭ (*Ibid* 6696), Nṛsimha (*Ibid* 6862, 7033), Rāma (*Ibid* 7120),¹ Sārṅgapāṇi (*TC*, II 2043)

510 Khadgas (खड्ग) are on Pārvaṭī (*DC*, XIX 7252, 7666) and Draupadī (*DC*, XXI 5323)

511 In the Sanskrit Texts available in Bali,² there are some stāvas in prose, which may probably have also a mystical value For instance

विष्णुस्तव

नमोऽस्तु पुरुषोत्तमाय परमरिपुपरपुरहरणपराक्रमाय परमबलमटोलटोललोलित-
गलितमहाबलाय च जाग्रत्सुप्ततूर्यचतुर्भुजाय नारायणाय नरसिंहवामनाय नारायणार्दनाय
नरगदायुद्धेदानवान्तकरिपुमर्दनपाञ्चजन्यसुदर्शनायुधाय दैत्यदानवयक्षराक्षसपिशाचभूतगणधर-
धरणीधरधीरदराय च गन्धर्वमधुरगीतसुरविद्याधरऋषिप्रभृतिसेविताय च परमरिपुरावणा-
र्जुनकधेनुकप्रलम्बकेशराविष्टकालनेमिगजबलतुरगार्भससृगालादिनिधनाय च पुरुषोजन्तसमुद्रा-
श्रय. खरवरवरेन्द्र. श्रीप्रियो धनदप्रियो वैश्रवणाङ्गकोऽस्मान् रक्षतु अस्मन् गोपयतु साहा ॥

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- 1 प्रमो पारिजातस्य मूलं पवित्रे विचित्रे सुचित्रे शुभे हैमहर्ष्ये ।
लसद्भ्रतलपीठे कृतावाससीतासमेतोज्ज्वलाकल्प राम प्रसीद ॥
चण्डकरान्वयमण्डन रक्षोमण्डलखण्डनपाण्डितबाहो ।
कुण्डलमण्डितगण्डवत् ते नाथ नमामि नमामि नमामि ॥

2 Bāliḍvipaṅṅṭha (*GOS* 67).

CHAPTER XXI

Campu

512 Campu A species of composition with mixed prose and poetry came into vogue about the beginning of the Christian era. We have passages in the Purāṇas, where prose comes amidst verse, but there is no instance of classical poetry of this recognised class known earlier. A narrative in mixed prose and verse has been called CAMPU.¹ This variety of composition enlarges the scope and ease of the poet's expression and entertains the reader by the presentation of combination of varying melodies.² Bāṇa mentions HARICANDRA as a writer in prose,³ but it is doubtful if the work Bāṇa had in mind is Jivandhara-campū. The earliest works of this class are not now known, but after the 10th century A.D. Campūs became very popular and they were largely composed in South India.

513 Trivikrama or Simhaditya⁴ was the son of Nemaditya (Devaditya) and grandson of Śrīdhara of Śāṇḍilyagoṭra. He was a

1. Bhoja thus praises Campu style of composition

गद्यानुबन्धरसमिश्रितपद्यसूक्ति इद्यापि वाद्यकलया कलितेव गीति ।

तस्माद्वातु कविमार्गेषुर्षा सुखाय चम्पूबन्धरचना रसना मदीया ॥

Viśvanātha, in *Sāhityadarpaṇa* instances *Desarajacarita* and defines Campu thus

गद्यपद्यमयं काव्य चम्पूरित्यभिधीयते ॥

2. "Outside of India the commingling of prose and poetry in the same composition is found in the Chinese romance *P'ing Chan Ling Yen* (Tr. Julien), *P'ing Chan-Ling-Yen*, (Les Deux Jeunes Filles lettrées, 2 Vols., Paris, 1660), in Sa'di's *Gulistan*, in *The Thousand Nights and One Night*, in the Old Picard *Aucassin et Nicolette*, in *Morse Sagas* and in Middle Irish tales and histories (cf. Windischon, *Irische Texte*, 8, 447-449, Leipzig, 1891-1897), and in Boccaccio's *L'Amete*, as well as in the *Saturnae Menippae* of Marro (cf. MacGillivray, *Childhood of Frodon*, London, 1905, pp. 480-481."

3. See para 47 *supra*.

पदबन्धोज्ज्वलो हारी कृतवर्णक्रमस्थिति ।

महारहरिचन्द्रस्य गद्यबन्धो विभाव्यते ॥

4. M. Duff (*Chronology*) conjectures that he was probably the sixth ancestor of the astronomer Bhāskara of the court of Bhoja but this seems to be wrong. Trivikrama composed the inscription in Nausari grant (*JBRAS*, XVIII, 257).

Trivikrama, author of *Kuvalayaśāvilāśacampu* (printed *Grantharaṇamālā*), Trivikrama, author of *Vyaṅgiśāṭaka* (*CC*, II 147), Trivikrama, author of *Rāma kirtī*-*Kumudāvalī*, (*PR*, III, ap. 395), Bhāvaṣa Trivikrama (*Subh*), Trivikrama, the lexicographer, Trivikrama of *Punya-grāma*, author of *Pancāyudhaprapancabhāṣa* (*Opp*, 9050) and Trivikrama, author of *Śāntaśloki* (*PR*, I 119, III. 398) are different persons.

poet of the court of the Rāstrakūta King Indra III (914-916 A.D.)¹ who captured Kanauj and gave the final blow to the Prāṣihāra dynasty then under King Mahīpāla. He mentions Bāna in the introductory verses of his *Damayantikathā* and is himself quoted by Bhoja in the *Sarasvatīkanthābharapa*. Once during his father's absence from court, an adversary challenged competition. The king sent for Trivikrama and ordered him to answer. Contemplated with devotion, Sarasvatī blessed Trivikrama with the poetic instinct until his father arrived and with this gift he overcame his adversary by composing Nala's story *ex tempore*. The father returned while yet the story was incomplete and in that unfinished state, in 7 chapters, the work has come to us and that is *DAMAYANTIKATHA* or *NALACAMPU*.²

His language is avowedly involved and ordinary expression was in his view not appreciable poetry.³ His object was in part to illustrate the merit and potency of verbal forms in Sanskrit and in this respect he approved of Subandhu. For the beauty of a particular fancy, he has been known as *Yamunā-Trivikrama*.⁴

There are commentaries by Candapāla,⁵ Ganavinayagani,⁶ Dāmodarabhatta,⁷ Nāgadeva,⁸ and one anonymous.⁹

1 *BI*, I 340, VII 80, 86, 43, IX 18 *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1924) 62; V. Smith, *EH*, 429, 437

2 There is a *Damayantīpariṇayakāvya* anonymous (*GC*, I. 58).

3 किं कवेस्तस्य काव्येन किं काण्डेन बहुस्पत ।
परस्य हृदये लग्न न घूर्णयति यच्छिरः ॥
अप्रगल्भा पदन्यास जननीरागहेतव ।
सन्त्येके बहुलालापा कवयो बालका इव ॥—*Nalacampu*, I 5, 3.

4 उदयगिरिगतायां प्राक्प्रमापाण्डुताया-
मनुसरिति निशीथे शृङ्गमस्ताचलस्य ।
जयति किमपि तेजः सांप्रतं व्योममध्ये
सलिलमिव विमिश्रं जाह्नव यागुर्न च ॥—*Ibid* VI 1

See Candapāla's commentary thereon, *IA*, XII 224

5 He was the son of Yaśodāja, *PR*, IV 86, VI. 384, *SKC*, 68, *IOG*, 1520 Ed Bombay. He probably lived about 1280 A.D. See *Weber's Cat.*, II. 1205.

6 It was composed in 1590 A.D. He is the same as the author of the commentary on *Raghuvamśa* and *Hatuman Kavi's Khandanāṣṭikāvyā* (*Mys* 244). He was the pupil of Jayasenafuri, who composed his *Vicārārasānagraha* in *Sam*, 1569 (See *PR*, IV. xxv, *IOG*, 1924, *Tanj* VII. 3056)

7 Mentioned in preface to Bombay Edn

8 *BTC*, 159

Opp, 211.

Madālasācampū is also attributed to him ¹

Besides works noted in paras 78-85 Lakṣmidhara's Nalavarṇana-kavya,² Śrinivāsa Dīkṣiṭa's Naṣadhānanda, the plays Vīdhivilasita and Nalavikrama³ embrace the story of Nala ⁴

"The earliest reference to PRAGVATA dynasty of kings is found at the close of Chandapala's commentary on Trivikramabhatta's NALACHAMPU. Speaking of himself the commentator styles himself as the brother of Chandasimha, the eldest son of Yasoraja of the Pragvata dynasty. The Guruganaratnakara furnishes some more interesting details about the history of the Pragvata line of kings. Their capital is said to be Samadhika in Guzrat. The Guruganaratnakara begins the line with Chaitrasimha, the elder brother of the father of the famous Somasundaragani. Their genealogy is stated to be as follows: (1) Chaitrasimha (2) Indrajit or Ilabutada, son of (1), (3) Kala, son of (2), (4) Kala had six sons called (i) Nada, (ii) Veda, (iii) Sadagangude, (iv) Samala, (v) Dhira and (vi) Vira. Samala had four sons called (i) Sajjana, (ii) Nimba, (iii) Mana, and (iv) Lampaka. (5) Sajjana is said to have migrated to Malava with the family of Nimba when kings chased and driven out by enemies to hills and caves perished in numbers and when Sajjana was the only protector of the Aryas against the Mahammadan invaders and thieves. He resided at Parna Vihara. His wife was called Purnadevi. (6) Karma, son of (5) married Somi in A.D. 1446. He became the head of the Jaina Sangha and changed his capital to Agara. He had three sons, called (i) Ratna, (ii) Sujesa and (iii) Megha and also three daughters named Khambhi, Maniki, and Charuhiru. Of these Ratna married Revum and had a son called Karma and a daughter named Rahu. Sajesa married Hyaman and had a son called Jiva, while Megha had two daughters Dapu and Ranji. Karma is said to have been a more generous king than Vastupala and others. He is said to have been honoured even by Khans, Khojas, Mirs, and Ummars and to have been ever ready to relieve the distress of the poor by establishing feeding houses. When

1. Ed. Bombay, See *Weber's Cat.*, II 1205. *CC*, I 426. Maḍālasa a poetess is quoted by Śārngadhara. On the story of Maḍālasa, there are also the plays, Maḍālasāparipāya (anonymous) and Maḍālasānātaka by Rāmabhatta (*CC*, I. 426) and Maḍālasā, a romance by Bhavadeva (Printed Bombay). For Maḍālasolīkāraṇa see Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa (*Fl* 480).

2. *CC*, I 280.

3. See Index for other works.

4. Mentioned in *ND*.

there was a drought in Malava, Megha is said to have showered his gold among the poor and is also said to have received the title of Mafer Malik from the Sultan Ratna, Megha, and others are said to have obtained a Farman (order) from the Sultan and made a pilgrimage to Ratnamala, Iladurga, the capital of Bhanu, Jerikapalli, Arbudachala, Sirohika, and other sacred places of the Jainas" (*Mys Arch Rep* 1929, p 14)

514 Somadeva⁵ traces his spiritual descent through Nemiḍeva to Yasodeva⁶ and was a Jain. He was patronised by the eldest son of Prince Arikesari of the Calukya race, a feudatory of the Rāṣtrakūta monarch Kṛṣṇarājadeva⁷. He wrote his YASASTILAKACAMPU in Saka 881 (951 A.D.)⁸. In seven āśvāsas this book relates the story of King Yaśoḍhara, Lord of Avantī, with his capital Ujjain, the machinations of his wife, his conversion to Jain faith, his assassination and rebirth. The last three chapters form a popular hand book of devotion supplementary to, and explanatory of, the sacred texts of Jainism⁹.

As a landmark in the history of poetic literature, it is particularly valuable. Somadeva names several authors¹⁰ who adored the religion

5. Somadeva, the author of Kaṭhasariṣāgara and Somaḍeva, the author of Rasendracoudamani, *PR*, I 81, IV. cxxxv and Somaḍeva, the author of Abhilaṣṭarjha-cintāmani are different persons.

6. See *PR*, II 33-49, 156 IV cxxxv.

7. Arikesari was the patron of the Canarese Jain poet Pampa Bhaṇḍaraka (*JHD*. 56, *PR*, II 47-49) gives the dates 867, 873 and 875 Śaka for this monarch.

8. Ed. Bombay with the commentary of Śrīṣaṅkaragani.

9. The colophon says

शक्रवृषतिकालातीतसवत्सरयतेवेकाशीत्यधिकेषु गतेष्वङ्कत (८८१) सिद्धार्थसवत्सरा-
तर्गतचैत्रमासप्रद्वन्द्वयद्योदय्यां पाञ्चसिंहलचोलचैरप्रभृतीन् महीपतीन् प्रसाध्याम-
मलयटवीप्रवर्धमानराज्यप्रभावे श्रीकृष्णराजदेवे सति तत्पादपञ्चोपजीविन समधिगतपञ्चम-
हाशब्दमहासामताधिपतेष्वलुक्कलजन्मन. सामतच्छासणेः श्रीमदरिकेसरिणः प्रथमपुत्रस्य
श्रीमत् बाधराज्यप्रवृद्धमानवसुधरायां विनिर्मापितमिदम् ।

For a complete account of the poem, see *PR*, IX 33-49.

10. *PR*, IV ii 118 Aṣṣava, Bhāṛavi, Bhavabhūṭi, Bharṣṭhari, Mantha, Kantha, Guṇādhyā, Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Bāna, Mayura, Nārāyaṇa, Kumāra (Kumārādāsa?), Māgha and Rājasekhara and to a Chapter on Kavyam by Bharata. मरतप्रणीतकाव्याध्याये

See also Introduction to Kāvyaśikṣā, G.O.S. No. 1, xv.

of Jina and as an incident of the narrative mentions some ancient poets,¹ whose names we have yet to hear elsewhere

The colophon to his *Nīṭivākyāmr̥ta* mentions another work of his, *Mahendramātaśaṅjalpa Nīṭivākyāmr̥ta* follows Cānakya's *Arthasāstra*²

515 Bhoja was the celebrated king of the Paramāra dynasty³ His capital was Dhāra⁴ He ascended the throne in A D 1018 and had a glorious reign till 1063 A D He was the son of Sindhula His father died when young and on account of his minority, his uncle Munja⁵ ascended the throne The young prince became very popular and learned in all arts and sciences Aggrieved by the prediction of an astrologer that Bhoja would reign for 55 years⁶ Munja conceived the idea of murdering him and ordered his tributary Vatsarāja to carry out the design in the jungle The latter, unwilling though he was, could not disobey He took the boy to his house, and concealed him there So when he presented to the king a sword besmeared with the blood of some animal in proof of his act, the king asked him if the prince said anything before his execution and he gave a green leaf in which was written a verse in the prince's hand, portraying the hollowness of

1 PR, III तरुणीलीताविलास, कविकैमुदीचद्र, विदग्धमुग्ध, नीतिसेन, मानधनजय, कविकोविद, अमिमानमहधिर, अव्याधिदुर्बल, कुसुमायुध, सुजनजीवित, मुग्धांगनाकेलिकुचहूल, विलासिनिलोचनकञ्जल, सरस्तीकर्तवकौतुक, प्रौढप्रियापांगनवोत्पल.

These names seem to be appellations

2 Cat. O P xxxi

3 Bhoja was contemporary of King Ananta of Kashmir (1028-1089 A D) See *Raj.* VII, 190-198, 259 On Bhoja's time, see inscription (IA, VI. 58) dated Sam. 1078 (1091 A D) and Keithorn's calculations, IA, XIX 361, also EI, I 282, IA (1907), 170, *ibid* (1912), 201 On Bhoja generally, see Seshagiri Sastri, IA, I 340, Lassen, *Zeitsch für die Kunde des Morg.* VII 294, *IA*, III 848, *JA*, (1844), 250, 354, *ibid* (1851) 281 Ranaul, *Mon sur l'Inde*, 261 For copper plate grants of rulers of Malwa see *Transactions of Royal Asiatic society*, I 280-289, *IAOS*, VII, IA, XIX 315, *Colbrooke's As. Essays*, II 297-314, 462.

4 Abdul Fazl in his *Ain Akbari* says that Bhoja removed his capital from Ujjain to Dhāra See Seshagiri Sastri's account, IA, I 819

5 On king Munja, see para 395 *supra*

6 The prediction ran thus

पञ्चाशत्यब्दवाणि सप्तमासा दिनत्रयम् । भोजराजेन भोक्तव्यः सगौडं दक्षिणापथ ॥

temporal fortunes¹ The king read the verse and fell down struck with grief and when the secret was disclosed, Bhoja was brought to him he was all repentent He installed the prince on his throne and entered the forest as an ascetic²

Like his uncle Munja, he cultivated the arts of peace and war Although his fights with neighbouring powers, including the armies of Muhammad of Ghazni, are now forgotten, his fame as a patron of learning and man of letters remains undenied and he has been regarded as a model king according to the Hindu standards Works³ on astronomy, philosophy, architecture, grammar, medicine, trade secrets, law and general literature, are attributed to him A mosque at Dhāra now occupies the site of the king's Sanskrit college, in a temple dedicated appropriately to Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning⁴ "The great Bhojpur lake⁵ a beautiful sheet of water to the southeast of Bhopal, covering an area of 350 sq miles formed by masonic embankments closing the outlet in a circle of hills, was his noblest monument and continued to testify to the skill of his engineers until the 15th century when the dam was cut by order of a Mahammadan king and the water drained off The bed of the lake is now a fertile plain intersected by the Indian Midland Railway"

The literary merits and patronage of king Bhoja have been well described by Ballāla (Vallabha⁶) in his Bhojaprabandha An amusing piece of proso-poetic composition, it purports to commemorate the liberal patronage of Bhoja and introduces a number of celebrities like Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, Dandin and, Māgha as interlocutors in short dialogues, in which they display their readiness of wit, brilliancy of imagination and beauty of expression It consists of two parts; the

- 1
 सान्धाता च सहीपति कृतयुगालङ्कारभूतो गत
 सेतुर्येन महोदधौ विरचित कालौ दशास्यान्तक ।
 अन्ये चापि शुचिष्ठिरप्रभृतयो याता दिव भूपते
 नैकेनापि सम गता वसुमती नून त्वया यास्यति ॥

2 The story is dramatised in the Bhojarājānka a piece in one act by Sankara Vitarāghava, TC, II. 3418

3. For a complete list of his works, see OC, I, 41, II 95 See also EDMG, XXVII, 67, BR. (1897), XXXVII, SKO, 376 For all quotations from Bhoja's works in the anthologies, see F.W Thomas, Kav., 65

4. Arch. Sur Rep. (1903-4), 283.

5. Malcolm, Central India, I, 25, Kinclaid, IA, XVII 350

6. V, Smith, EH 395.

former describes the events showing how Bhoja succeeded to the throne of Malavas after his uncle Munja, and the latter has a series of anecdotes about Bhoja and his relations with the many poets and literary lights that thronged his Court ¹

There are works by the name of Bhojaprabandha by Merutunga,² Rājavallabha,³ Vaṭṣarāja,⁴ and Subhāsila,⁵ by Padmagupta,⁶ and anonymous poem, Bhojaprabandhasāra ⁷

Besides are Bhojacariṭra⁸ and Bhojarājāsaccariṭa, a play in two acts by Vedāntavāgīsā Bhattācārya ⁹

1 The author is called Vallabha pandita in a Ms (DC, XXI 8166) Published with a French Translation and commentary by T Pavie in JA, IV 210 et seq., and the composition is there assigned to 18th Century A D Ward (*History of Religion and Literature of the Hindus*, I, 516) calls it a work of Bhoja himself which is obviously wrong See also Hall (Vasavadatta 7), Lassen, JA, III 886, T Pavie (JA, LXIV 185 230, LXV 885 431, LXVI 76 105), L Oster (*De Rezensionen des Bhojaprabandha*, Darmstadt), Seshagiri Sastri (*On some eminent characters in Sanskrit Literature*, JA, I 340), Weber, SL 215, 225 note), see also PR, IV 28, V, 866, G P Quackenbos, (*Sanskrit poems of Mayura*, Col Un Series, New York, 42) assigns it to 16th century following Atfrecht (*C Bodl* 151)

"In his Bhojaprabandha, Merutunga states that in samvat 1078 when Bhoja ruled over the Malava circle, Bhima, the paramount sovereign of the Chalukya race, governed Guzarat This cannot be the date of Bhoja's accession According both to Merutunga and Rājavallabha, Munja, the uncle and predecessor of Bhoja, crossed the Godavari against the counsel of his aged minister Rudraditya and invaded the dominions of Tailapa, the founder of the later Chalukya dynasty of the Dekkan He was defeated and taken prisoner. At first he was well treated by his captor, but when secret intrigues for his release were discovered, Tailapa subjected him to indignities and put him to death. This last fact is mentioned in Tailapa's inscriptions also Now Tailapa, we know, died in 920 Saka or after 919 years of the era had elapsed This corresponds to 998 a d., wherefore Munja must have been slain by Tailapa before that year A Jaina author named Amṛtagaṇi tells us at the end of his Subhāshitaratnas andoḥa, as was first pointed out by Colebrooke, that he wrote or compiled the work in Samvat 1050 or 994 a d while Munja was reigning at Dhara. Munja therefore must have been put to death by Tailapa between 994 and 998 a d., or about the year 996 Bhoja was crowned king after him, and since he is said to have reigned for fifty five years, he must have died about 1051 a d "

2 CC, I 418

3. *Oudh*, VIII 8, *Taylor*, I. 68.

4 CC, I 418

5. PR, III 405

6 It is mentioned in the introduction to *Yuktikalpaṭaru* (Bombay Eḍn),

7. *Opp*. 8667

8 CC, III, 90.

9 CC, I, 418, IO, 584,

In Kavīsamayavilāsa Revana Ārādhyā, the great Vīra Śaīva teacher, who lived about the 10th century A D, relates humorous stories about poets in Bhoja's assembly ¹

Among poetic works² said to have been composed by Bhoja, are an Ākhyāyikā Śṅgāramanjari³ and a poem Vidyāvinoda, a śloka Sivadatta and a commentary on Sivatotra called Sivatatvaratnakalikā. Subhāṣita is an anthology Sangītaprakāśa and Śṅgāraprakāśa, treatises on music and rhetoric, will be noticed later on

516 Bhoja's RAMAYANACAMPU⁴ is a very popular work in poetic literature. It embraces the exquisite story of Rāmāyana and the composition with the blended melody of prose and verse in it has the charm of royalty in it. It is now acknowledged generally that Bhoja's work extended only to the Kiṣkindhākāṇḍ⁵ and that there it was left incomplete, unless the rest of it has been lost. The story of the Yuddhakāṇḍa was made up by Lakṣmaṇakavi later on ⁶

Is this campū the work of king Bhoja of Dhāra? The colophons to manuscripts⁷ call the author Vidarbharāja and do not mention the name

1 Ms., 248

2 These works are mentioned in the introductory portion of Yuktikalpaṭaru

3 The Ms. is preserved in the Jessalmer Library. See para 461 *supra*

4 *Mā* Bombay and Madras

5 There is no truth in the story that the work was composed jointly by Bhoja and Kālīdāsa, unless it can be imagined that Padmagupta alias Parimala Kālīdāsa had any hand in it

6 *DO*, XXI 8207. So says Lakṣmaṇa himself at the end of his work. And Venkatādhvarin says in his Uṭṭaracampu

य काण्डान्निरबन्ध चम्पुविधया पञ्चापि भोज कवि ।

यो वा षष्ठमचष्ट लक्ष्मणकविस्तस्यामुमास्यामपि ॥

and Venkatākṣṇakavi in his Uṭṭaracampu Rāmāyaṇa.

अभोजलक्ष्मणकवीन्द्रकृते प्रबन्धे

लग्न वचोऽल्पमपि मे भविता रसालम् ॥

and likewise Nārāyaṇa in the commentary, Paṭayojanā

लक्ष्मणमहाकवि श्रीमञ्जोरराजप्रणीतचम्पुरामायणस्य परिपूर्तये अवाशिष्टं युद्धकाण्डं प्रारिप्सु ॥ (*DO*, XXI 8215)

and Kāmeśvarasuri in his commentary on the Yuddhakāṇḍa (*TC*, II 2872) says

षष्ठं श्रीलक्ष्मणीयं विषमललितशब्दाभिरामं च काण्डम् ॥

7 *Tanj*, VII, 8120 et seq.

इति श्रीविदर्भराजविरचिते चम्पूरामायणे ।

Bhoja In the manuscripts of *Sarasvatikanthābharapa* &c.¹ admittedly a work of king Bhoja of Dhāra, the name is so mentioned in the colophon Dhāra is in Malwa and Vidarbha is Berar. There is therefore the geographical difficulty against the identification. But tradition has associated it in the Bhoja of Malwa² and how, if at all, any such confusion has come in, it is not now possible to answer.³

517 Lakṣmana⁴ was the son of Gangādhara and Gangāmbikā and lived in Sanagara village probably in the Circars. He wrote also the *BHARATACAMPŪTILAKA*, on the story of the *Māhābhārata*.⁵ It is said Anantabhatta criticised this work and himself wrote a *Rāmāyana-campū*.

Lakṣmana's father Gangādhara wrote a campū *Madrakanyāparinaya*⁶ and Gangādhara's father Daṭṭatṛeya wrote *Daṭṭatṛeyacampū*.⁷

518. Besides Lakṣmana, this work of supplementing the missing story of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* was done by Rājacūdāmana, Dīkṣita,⁸ by Ghanasyāma⁹ and by Ekāmrānātha.¹⁰

- 1 इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराज श्री भोजदेवविरचिते सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरणे ।
इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराज श्री भोजदेवविरचिते शृङ्गारप्रकाशे ।

(*TC*, IV 4873), *Tanj*, IX 4099, also *Ekāmrānātha* (*TC*, IV 4935), *Rāmānuja* (*ibid* 5130). Likewise see for other works of his, (*TC*, IV 4931). Karuṇākara in his commentary (*TC*, IV 5459) says that Bhoja wrote this campū to illustrate his views on grammar contained in his *Sarasvatikanthābhāṣana* (*TC*, IV 4881). But as he couples the name of Bhoja and Kaliḍāsa, his ideas appear unreliable.

- 2 For instance, *Ghanasyāma* (*Tanj* VII 3149) says

अथ विदुर्मदेशाधिपति कविवदान्य. सय कवि भोजराज. पञ्चकाण्डी ॥ * +

3 On several Bhojas, see R. Mitra, *JASB*, XXXII 98, Weber, *IL*, 201 note, *ISI*, I 312, Lassen, *IAK*, III.

4. Lakṣmanakavi in his *Kṛṣṇavilāsa* campū describes the birth of God Vilāsa kṛṣṇa in Gingee (S Arcot Dist.) to confer wealth on Kṛṣṇarāja king of that place. He was the son of Rāmānuja (*DC*, XXI, 8191). There is another work of the same name by Narasimha, son of Anantaśārāyaṇa of Ātreya-gotra in 16 cantos on the story of Bhājavatī with an anonymous commentary (*DC*, XXI 8198).

5. *DC*, XXI 3263.

6. *Mys* 267, *DC*, XXI, 8265.

7. *DC*, XXI 8625.

8. *Adyar*, II 22.

9. See *Int* to *Maṇidarpana* (*TSS*, Trivandrum). In his introduction to his *Kāvya-darpaṇa*, he says he composed it in a day (*DC*, XXII, 8615 16).

10. *HR*, III. No 1681.

11. *DC*, XXI No. 2256.

519 There are commentaries on Bhojacampū by Nārāyaṇa,¹ Rāmacandra,² Kāmeśvara,³ Mānaveḍa,⁴ Ghanasyāma⁵ and one anonymous⁶

520 The sequel to this work embraces the Uttarakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa⁷

There are other Uttaracampūs by Yatirāja,⁸ by Sankarācārya,⁹ Hariharānanda,¹⁰ by Venkatādhvarin,¹¹ by Garalapuri Sastrin,¹² and by Rāghavācārya¹³ They narrate the story of the abandonment of Sītā, the birth of Kusa and Lava, the reappearance of Sītā and the return of Rāma to his divine abode

RAGHAVACARYA¹⁴ was the son of Venkatārya and Srisailāmbā of Śrīvaṣṭagoṭra He lived at Trivellore, Chinglepat District and was a follower of Rāmānuja¹⁵ He was probably also the author of the Bhadrācalacampū, composed at the instance of a local magnate Sundaresa¹⁶

1 *DO*, XXI 8212 Nārāyaṇa was the son of Nageśvara and disciple of Gopālenḍrasarasavaṭi He was the tenth in descent from Mallinātha of Kolacala family and must have therefore lived about the end of the 15th century He says in prefatory verses that Mallinātha was honored by King Virarūdra of Warrangal and his grandson Peḍḍabhatta (Commentator on Naishada etc) was bathed in gold by King Sarvagna (Singa) At the invitation of King Praudhaḍavarāya of Vijayanagar (1414-1446) A D Mallinātha wrote Vaiśyavamśasudhārṇava, *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1927), 26. Peḍḍabhatta's son Kumāraswāmī wrote a commentary on the Praṭāparudrayaśobhuṣana See para 81 *supra*

2 *DO*, XXI 8216 and *TC*, II 1895, 1454 Rāmacandra was the son of Kondapandita of Śrīdīlyagotra He has also commented on Kṛṣṇakarmāmṛta (see para 298 *supra*)

3. *TC*, II 2872; III 8789 Kameśvara was the son of Gangādhara of Kōḍamartī family, and disciple of Viśveśvara, probably of the Oitars

4. *TC*, III. 4020 See para 176 *supra*

5 *DO*, XXI 8219.

6 *HR*, III, No 2170

7. Printed, Mysore. *DO*, XVI, 8180.

8 *NW*, 302.

9 *NW*, 292

10 *NW*, 270.

11. Printed, Mysore.

12 Printed, Mysore His son Kāvyaśilaka Ayyāśāstrin is now living in Mysore.

13 *Race*, 248

14 *DO*, XXI, 8184

15 Rāghava of Vinjimuri family, was author of Śṛṅgārāḍipakabhāṣa was a native of Conjeevaram and was a different person. See *DO*, XXI, 8584

16. See *DO*, XXI 8583 It describes the importance of Bhadrācala, the scene of the well known story of Rāmadās in the Andhra Country

521 Abhinavakālidāsa (of Vellala family, apparently of the Andhra country) has not left us his real name. His pupil Kavikunja in his *Rājasekharacarita* mentions him as a poet of the Court of a South Indian King Rājasekhara whose capital Vidyānagara was on the Pinākinī (north Pennar). Rājasekhara's queen was Bhavānī and his contemporaries were Rajendra Cola (1004-1016 or 1016-1064 A.D.) and Vijayavarma Pāndya. If Rajendra Cola flourished in the 11th century A.D. Rājasekhara must have also lived about that time.¹ This Abhinavakālidāsa wrote *Bhāgavaṭacampū*,² *Abhinavabhāratacampū*,³ *Bhagavat-pāṇḍasaptati*⁴ and *Kalividambana*.⁵

Thus he begins *Bhāgavaṭacampū*

कल्याण न प्रभूत कलयतु ललितालापशैलेशबाला-
लीलाजालातुकूला शिशिरकरकलाभातुमालाजटाला ।
पूषा शेषाहिभूषा परिकलितसुधापूरधारातुकारा
मद्रा मुद्रा विनिद्रा पुरहरणविधौ कापि कारुण्यपूर्णा ॥
प्रालेयाचलमागधेयमवन कल्याणजालास्पद
जाटाटीरतप फल किलकिलङ्गीलाशुकाह्लादितम् ।
विभ्राण परिमौलि कञ्चन सूधाधाराधर सादर
यन्मे भद्रममुद्रमाकलयतामानन्दकन्द मह ॥

It is doubtful whether the poet was identical with Kṛṣṇamūrṭi, son of Sarvasāstrin of Vāsistha-gotra who calls himself Abhinava-Kālidāsa and wrote the poem *Yakṣollāsa*⁶ and the bhāṇa *Madanābhyudaya*.⁷

522 Padmarāja was a Niyogi Brahmin of the Avasārāla family of which it is said he was the progenitor. He was the minister to Nīlādri Rao, Chief of Pittāpuram (Godavari District) who ruled about 1800 A.D. He is also known as Ambhoja or Varādhika Bhoja.⁸

1 See *JMy*, XI, 77

2 Printed, Bombay. The commentator Akkayasuri of Mokṣgunda family calls the poet as of the Vellala family (*DC*, XXI, 8262.)

3 *Rice*, 246

4 This is in praise of Śaṅkarācārya.

5 Or, Ms. Library, Madras

6 See para 819 *supra*, *TC*, II, 2066.

7 *TC*, II, 2078

8 Avanchi Rāmāśāstrin belonged to the family of Padmarāja and wrote commentaries on *Bhāṭṭacampū*, *Kṛṣṇakarmāmṛta* and *Bhojacarita*. He died about 1900 A.D. Rāmāśāstrin the commentator also wrote *Rāmābhyudayacampū* and *Sāhityasāra*. His brother's grandson Subbarayaśāstrin died 12 years ago and wrote *Rāvuvamśamuktāval*.

His *Balabhāgavaṭa*,¹ a *campū* in six cantos, is an exquisite piece of poetry, relieved by flowing lines of prose with a tendency to alliteration which makes the composition musical

या सलीलमपुरस्कृतजीमूता सौदामिन्य इव कामिन्य कमनीयतरकबरीमरा. परिव-
व्रन्त पुरगतमनवरतमखिलभुवनाधारनिजोदर क्षीरोदधिप्रणयिन वनभेनम् । या सहेलमुपवन-
विहारिणीर्हरिणा सह हरिणीदृशो लतालूनावनूनूपकल्पिताकल्पा क्रन्दन्तो द्रुतमनुयुरप-
ह्रियमाणसर्वखा इव रोलम्बा सकुटुम्बा ॥

चिरमधिगतामृद्धिं लुम्पन् पलाशपतेर्भृश
सपादि रचयन्नामोदाञ्चिन्त्य सुमनश्चयम् ।
प्रसवमहिता लक्ष्मीं चैवो लतासिख तासल
युवतिषु हरिस्तन्वन प्रीला शशास जगच्चिरम् ॥

There are commentaries on it by Rāmasvāmi, son of Venkatakrishṇa-
sūri and grandson of Rāmanāthasvāmi of Devulapalli family and of
Kaundinyagoṭṭra² and by Rāghavācārya³

Dharmasudhī mentions a work of his, as *Bālabhāgavatam*⁴

523 There was an Abinavakālidāsa Gopālasaṣṭrī in the Court of
Yuvarāja, a king of Udayārpalayam, 6th ancestor to the present Zamin-
dar He wrote a *Bhāgavaṭacampū* Once displeased by having been
given a last rank in a levee he wrote this verse

मार्जारा इव वशतल्पमसकृत्तन्त्रीं प्ररां प्राप्तिमि
प्रोद्वर्षन्त इमे किलात्र युवरङ्गेन्दोर्विलेख्या. पुर. ।
मन्दस्वन्दसमीरशाबकवलन्मल्लीमतल्लीवना- •
भोगोद्दामपतत्प्रसूनततिवद्वर्षन् गिर दूरत ॥
अज्ञानामवनीमुजामहरहस्स्वर्णामिषेकादपि
ह्लातुश्चयुवरङ्गभुबलरिपो श्लाघैव सम्मानना ।
सारासारविवेकशून्यतदणीसम्भोगसाम्राज्यत
सारङ्गेन्दुमुखीविलोकनसमुत्कण्ठैव यूनां मुदे ॥

Other poets bearing this name are, Nṛsiṃhakavi, author of *Nanja-
rājayasobhūṣana*, Mādhava, author of *Sankṣepa-Sāṅkaravijaya*⁵ and
Kalyaṇakālidāsa, author of *Śṛṅgārasedhārābhāṣa* or *Śṛṅgārakosabhāṣa*

1 Printed Rajahmundry, DC, XXI 2249.

2 DC, XXI, 8251.

3 Ibid, 8255.

4 See TC, III 1100

5. Printed GOS, Baroda.

of Kāśyapagotra¹ Śrīkantha son of the latter wrote Kandarpadarpana-bhāna They lived at Kāncī and were devotees of Śrī Ekāmrānātha there²

524 Somasekhara or Rājasekhara of Kollūri family lived at Perur, Godavari District and belonged to a family of physicians He was grandson of Nārāyaṇa great in Mīmāṃsa He was honoured by Peshwa Madhava Rao (1760-1772 A D) To vie with Sāhityaratnākara of Dharmasudhī, he wrote his Sāhityakalpādruma³ His Bhāgavatacampū relates the story of Kṛṣṇa⁴

Bhāgavatacampū of Rājānātha⁵ and of Cidambara⁶ have been noticed elsewhere

525 Kavikunjara, pupil of Abhinava-Kālidāsa, wrote Rājasekharacarita It is a work like Bhojaprabandha Generally inculcating morals it collects stories said to have been narrated by Rājasekhara, a pupil of Abhinava-Kālidāsa to his friend Subuddhi quoting fine verses of Navīna-Kālidāsa and other poets of King Rājasekhara's Court⁷

अत्र खलु प्रशस्तमतिरभिनवकालिदासस्य सुकवेरन्तेवासी चिरतरतदीयसहवाससमुपचित-
रसिकतोत्सेक श्रीमान् रासकशेखरो नाम । तस्य खलु बालमित्र सुबुद्धिर्नामान्वर्धनामा कदाचित्
सुभाषितशुश्रूषया खमित्र रसिकशेखरमवादीत् ।

सुभाषितामृतास्वादसादरोऽस्मि चिरादहम् ।

परिपूरय काम मे सखे रसिकशेखर ॥

तदेतद्वयस्यवचनमाकर्ण्य रसिकशेखर प्रत्यवादीत् । श्लिष सुबुद्धे यदि तव सुभाषित-
शुश्रूषा, तर्हि ।

राजशेखरभूपस्य समार्या मधुरा गिर ।

नवीनकालिदासादिगदिता श्रोतुमर्हसि ॥

इदमाकर्ण्य सुबुद्धिरवादीत् ।

* * * * *

1 TC, I 989, III 3891

2 HR, III No 1688 Tanj, VIII 2875. He refers to his father as Kalyuga Kālidāsa

3 Ed in part, Amalapur TC, III 8789 There is another anonymous work of that name, Bk, 287

4 TC, III 8145 Introduction gives author's genealogy

5 DC, XXI 8256 The name is differently given in different manuscripts Rāmabhadra and Raghunātha (see Tanj, VII 3085 8).

6 DC, XXI, 8258, Tanj, VII. 3082

7 DC, XXI 8167, JMy, XI, 76 79

स्कन्धे कृषीवल हल कलयन् क्व यासि ?

भाणव्य — गच्छामि ते निकटमेव विमो

राजा — किमर्थम् ?

हो हन्त कर्षणपरास्तव वैरिभूषा

वृत्तिं हरन्ति न इति त्वरयामिधातुम् ॥

राजा नितान्तसन्तुष्टस्तस्मै निजकर्णगते स्वकुण्डले प्रायच्छत् ।

Among the poets that appear in the course of the narrative are many Durjaya, Sūkṣmamati (palmist), Sāranga, Daivagnavallabha (astrologer), Soma, Kāmalīlā (poetess), Kāśīpaṭi, Sānanda Ratnākara (of Srīranga), Kutumbakavi (of Madhurā), Lokānanda, Sūkṣisāgara, Madhurāṅgī and Lalitāṅgī (of Malva), Vimalāṅgī, Kanakavallī, Cātucakravartin Ippāvadhāni, Kavirāja, Kuppa and Lingabhattacha (of Kancī), Saṅṭāna of Kuṇṭāla, Suka, Vasaṅṭa, Lilākara, Kāṇṭisindhu, Sunanda, Lakṣmidhara, Bādhavya.

“Like the Bhojacharitra the Rajasekharacharitra also wholly consists of verses composed in various meters in praise of the king by local and foreign poets named above. Apart from these poetical flights describing the fame of the king’s generosity and bravery there are no other incidents of the king’s life noticed in this Charitra. There is, however, one interesting incident which deserves to be mentioned here, as narrated in this work —

After his arrival at Vidyanagara, Durjaya, a poet of the Chola country, seems to have succeeded in winning the favour of Rajasekhara and becoming the leader of the poets at his court, so much so that no poet would find access to the court without Durjaya’s introduction. When finding it hard to get access to Rajasekhara’s court through Durjaya, Saranga, Somaka, and other foreign poets left the country for good, some poets headed by Navina Kalidasa formed a plot to bring disgrace to Durjaya and get him banished from the Court of Rajasekhara. They went in a body to Durjaya and requested him to introduce them to the king as poets worthy of hearing. When asked by Durjaya what they studied, Kalidasa said that they all studied three cantos of *Raghuvamśa* and four Sandhis in the *Prakriyakaumudī*. As to their poetical skill, Kalidasa sang the following verse —

शृङ्खलवत् बकवच्चैव कुण्डलकुण्डलान्वितम् ।

राजशेखर ते कीर्तिं पुनः काकपुरीषवत् ॥

"Like a white thing, like the bird, like white leprosy, like hen's egg, O ! Rājasekhara, thy fame is also like the faeces of a crow "

Then Śṛṅgārasekhara sang

मर्कटाननवच्चैव रक्ततिक्षिरिचूर्णवत् ।
प्रतापतपनो माति राजशेखर भूपते ॥

"Like the hip of a monkey and like the powder of a red tittu thy valour shines, O king Rajasekhara "

Then pretending to be pleased with the poetical flight of the poets under disguise, Durjaya took them to the king and introduced them as types of poets that then generally laid claim to the gift of poetical talent In reply to the question put by the king about their country and learning Navina Kalidasa said —

"We have been under the patronage of that famous king who is known by the name Punyakoti, devoted to the performance of Vedic rites, learned in the Mimamsa Sastra, a generous patron of learning and now under your protective care Having heard of your generosity towards learned men and having taken the permission of our patron, we are come here O king Rajasekhara to seek your protection. I am called Navina Kalidasa The others are Śṛṅgārasekhara, Mandara Lahtalapa, Śṛikama, Kamalakara, Gunakara, Rājahamsa, Śṛidhara and Kavisekhara As to our learning, we are all capable of composing a drama or a poetical work of the type of the epics in a day, and are well versed in the two Mimamsasastras, the Sankhya of Kapila, the grammar of Patanjali and also Astronomy and Astrology "

Then pleased with the account of the poets the king asked Durjaya to read the verses of the poets in the paper which he held in his hand Accordingly he read the verses 'suklavat', etc mentioned above When wondering at the difference in tone between what he heard and saw from Navina Kalidasa's poetical narration and the verses attributed to the poets as read by Durjaya the king turned his eyes towards Kalidasa The latter said that but for those wretched verses they would have found no access to the king and Durjaya was so jealous of other poets that he had no scruples to misrepresent them to the king, he misrepresented both Arinān and Saranga as poets whose verses would spell untold misery on their own patron and thus got them out of Rajasekhara's court, and he succeeded in getting rid of Somaka also for the latter's guilt of association with prostitutes. Then

Rajasekhara was enraged at Durjaya's bad conduct and banished him from his court "1

526 Anantabhatta is according to tradition a rival of Abhinava Kālidāsa, who wrote Bhāgavatacampū². To vie with his work, Ananta composed a Bhāgavatacampū himself and Bhāratacampū. The latter was quoted freely by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭāṭṭri of Malabar in his Prabandhas and was commented on by Mānaveḍa Nārāyaṇa and Mānaveḍa flourished in the 16th and 17th century³. Ananta must have lived not later than the 15th century and if Abhinava Kālidāsa, lived in the 11th century Ananta must have also lived in the 11th century A D

Bhāratacampū⁴ has been held on high esteem Ananta is rightly proud of his poetry

Thus he begins

शरदिन्दुविकासमन्दहासां स्फुरादिन्दीवरलोचनाभिरामाम् ।
अरविन्दसमानसुन्दरास्यामराविन्दासनसुन्दरीमुपासे ॥
कल्याण वो विधत्तां करटमदधुनीलोलकलोलमाला-
खेललोलम्बकोलाहलमुखरितदिवक्त्रवालान्तरालम् ।
प्रल वेतण्डरत्न सततपरिचलत्कर्णतालप्ररोह-
द्वाताङ्कुराजिहीर्षादरिविवृतफणाशृङ्गभूषामुजङ्गम् ॥

तुहिनकिरणवशस्थूलमुक्ताफलानां विपुलभुजविराजद्वीरलक्ष्मीविभूषणाम् ।
हसितसुरपुरश्रीरस्ति सा हस्तिनाख्या रिपुजनदुरवापा राजाधानी कुरूणाम् ॥

and thus he ends

राज्ञां मौलिपरम्परां चरणयो पाणौ प्रदानश्रिय
बुद्धौ राजनयोदय हृदि कृपां सत्य रसज्ञाञ्जले ।
बाह्वौ सागरमेखलां वसुमतीं मस्ते किरीट मुदा
कुर्वन् धर्मतनूभवधिरमसौ गोपायति स्म प्रजा. ॥

1 CASB, 62, There is a commentary by Nārāyaṇa

2 See para 174-6 supra.

3. Ananta, author of Sāhityakalpavallī (CC, I 18), Ananta, author of gloss on Candrālōka (1635 A D CC, I 18), Ananta, author of Kamāsauruha (IO, 396; PR, III 366) are different authors

4 Printed Madras and Bombay Here are verses in his praise

i उन्मीलदम्बुजकदम्बकसौरमीणामुन्मत्सदीपमुकुटीतटिनीसखीनाम् ।
आचान्तवैरियशसाममृतोर्मिलाना वाचामनन्तमुधियो वसुधैव मूल्यम् ॥
ii दिगन्तरलसत्कीर्तिरनन्तकविकुजर ।
प्राणैस्तुल्यं सरसत्या प्राणैर्विष्णुमारतम् ॥

There are commentaries¹ on Campū-Bhāraṭa by (i) Kuravi Rāma-linga,² son of Ṭirumalaroya of Āṭreyagotra³ (ii) Mallādi Lakṣmaṇa-swāmin, (iii) Nārāyaṇaswāmin, (iv) Kumāraṭaṭārya,⁴ (v) Narasiṃhācārya⁵ and (vi) one anonymous⁶

There are other works on the same theme Bhāratacampūtilaka by Lakṣmana,⁷ Mānavedacampūbhāraṭa by Mānaveda,⁸ Bharatacarita of Bhāgavata Kṛṣṇasarmā,⁹ Abhinavabhāraṭa by Srikantha and Candra-sēkhara¹⁰

527 Cidambara was the son of Anantanārāyaṇa and grandson of Sūryanārāyaṇa He was patronized by King Venkata I (1586-1614) of Vizianagar His Pancakalyāṇacampū and Rāghavayādavapāṇḍaviya (Kāṭhāṭrayi)¹¹ have been noticed elsewhere¹² Bhāgavatacampū relates the story of Bhāgavata by itself¹³ Sabdārthacintāmaṇi narrates the story of Rāmāyaṇa and Bhāgavata at a time¹⁴ Cidambaravilāsakāvya in 5 cantos describes the tales of Lord Natarāja of Cidambaram¹⁵ Sleṣacintāmaṇi, a small poem, displays his skill in paranomasia¹⁶

His pupil Śrīkantha alias Nanjunda, son of Śāmayārya of Āṭreyagotra wrote Madanamahotsavabhāṇa, staged at the festival at Bāla-vyāghrapurī (Sirupuliyur)¹⁷

528 Mitramisra, the author of Viramītrodaya, wrote Ānanda-kandacampū, on the early life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa He was a Sannādhya

1 IO, 1528

2 He was a grantee under King Pedā Venkata of Penugonda in TC, II, 1097, DC, XXI 8203 1632 A D

3 DC, XXI, 8202

4 TC, III 3532, DC, XXI 8204

5 Tanj, VII 3105-15, TC, I 96, DC, XXI 8203. He lived at Kumbakonam.

6 Opp, II, 5240.

7 DC, XXI 86268. He is the same as the author of Yuddhakāṇḍa sequel to Bhojacampū

8 TC, II 2586, DC, XXI 8167 There is a commentary on it, TC, II 2595 In TC, III 8997 there is a Campusankṣepa, a summary in verse See para 176 supra

9 Printed, Madras

10 Mys 268

11 For commentaries, see DC, XXI, 7908

12 See para 92 supra

13 DC, XXI, 8258

14 Tanj VI 2840

15 Ibid VI 2742

16 Ibid VI, 2848

17 DC, XXI, 8442

Brahmin and belonged to the Pancha Gauda class His patron Rāja Virasimhaḍev of Orcca ruled in 1605-1627 A D and was probably identical with Bir Singh Deo, who is said to have killed Abul Fazal, the scholar of Emperor Akbar 1

529 Venkatadhvarin or Venkatācārya was the son of Raghunātha and Sitāmbā of the Ātreya-gotra His grand-father Śrīnivāsa² known as Appayaguru was the nephew of the great Tatacharya (Panca-matabhanjana Ṭāṭācārya)³ of Conjeevaram, a contemporary of Appayadikṣita He was a descendant of Pranatārphara, a desciple of Rāmānuja. The famous Vādhamsāmbuda, the teacher of Vedāntaḍesika, was his ancestor too Venkatādhvarin was born at Arasāpipālai near Conjeevaram (Kāncī) and lived in Conjeevaram. He was a staunch follower Vedāntaḍesika His literary activity was coeval with that of Nīlakantha, who lived in the latter half of the 17th century He was well-versed in all sciences and had a good intinct for poetry He was for some time the chief Pandit at the Court of Pralayakāveri His versatile learning is manifest from the various species of his compositions

His famous work is VISVAGUNADARSANAM⁴ It is a proso-poetic composition Two Gandharvas Visvāvasu and Kṛsānu are supposed to take a birdseye view of countries in their aerial car, the former generous in appreciation of merits, the latter ever censorious This work was intended to expose the faults of the manners and customs of his time⁵

Thus it begins

श्रीराजीवाक्षवक्ष स्थलनिलयरमाहस्तवास्तव्यलोल-
लीलाञ्जामिष्यतन्ती मधुरमधुसूरी नमिपञ्चे सुरारे ।
अस्तोक लोकमात्रा द्वियुगमुसुक्षिधोराननेष्वर्च्यमाणं
शङ्खप्रान्तेषु दिव्य पय इति विबुधैः शङ्क्यमाना पुनातु ॥

* * * * *

1 Printed Sarasvatī Bhavan Series, Benares

2 Śrīnivāsa's second son Varāḍa is the author of bhāṇa Ananga-jīvana and a poem Kṛṣṇābhyaḍaya (DO, XXI. 8842)

3 Ed Bombay. Tr. in English in part, Sahrdaya

4. See para 212 *supra*. This Ṭāṭācārya lived in 1509-1591 A D He adopted his brother's son who is now familiarly known as Kotakanyakāḍānam Ṭāṭācārya (1572-1682 A D)

5. In Saḍḍarṣana-saḍḍarṣana (To. IV. 5437) the poet's criticisms on Thengalai Vaiṣṇava sect are vindicated

विश्वबलोकस्पृहया कदाचिद्विमानमारुह्य समानरूपम् ।
 कृशालुविश्वामुनामधेय गन्धर्वयुग्म गगने चचार ॥
 कृशालुरकृशासूय पुरोमागिपद गत ।
 विश्वामुरभूद्विश्वयुगग्रहणकौतुकी ॥

and thus it ends

प्रकाशदोषप्रचुरेऽप्यमुष्मिन् ग्रन्थे मदीये कृशालुबन्धात् ।
 प्रसादवन्तो न कृशानवन्तु पर तु विश्वासवन्तु सन्त ॥

It is said that in consequence of such censure on the world around him, he lost his sight and his praises of Lakṣmī and Viṣṇu in a thousand verses called Lakṣmīśahasram¹ and Śrīnivāśasahasram² cured him. In these poems, the author has excelled in the display of verbal ingenuity and poetic imagery.

There are commentaries on Visvaguṇādarśa by Kuravi Rāma, a writer of the 19th century who was patronised by the Zamindar of Karvetnagar,³ by Prabhākara, son of Lakṣmīdhara⁴

Venkatādhvarin's works are many. Yādava-Rāghaviyam, which relates the story of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, at a time, by reading the verses in their natural and reverse order.⁵ Uttara-carita relates the tale of the banishment of Sita and the birth of Kusa and Lava and was meant to be sequel to the Rāmāyanacampū of Bhoja.⁶ Varadābhayudaya or Haṣṭagīracampū⁷ describes the greatness and religious glory of the shrine of Devarāja at Kāncī. Ācāryapancāsaṭ⁸ at is a short panegyric of Vedāntaḍḍesika. Śravanānanda is a collection of verses on various topics and displays much originality.⁹ Subhāṣita-Kaustubha¹⁰ is an anthology

1 Ed in Telugu (Karvetnagar, 1890) with the commentary by Kauśika Gopālācārya of Śrīperumbuḍur. There is also a commentary called Surabhi by Vireśvarasamy, son of Venkatasamy of Devarakonda family. TC, III 8048

2. This work is not now traceable

3 His descendant Challaṣa Sastri was living in 1895 at Inamenamellur in North Arcot District. He also commented on Campubhārata, Daśarupa and Kuvalayānanda. He wrote other works in Telugu. See HR, I (1895) xi

4 TC, IV 4626. The manuscript was completed in Śaka 1817

5 See para 90 supra DC, XX, 7956, with commentary on it DC, XX 7957

6 DC, XXI 8180. Printed in Telugu (Bangalore) with a commentary by Tīrimalācārya, Pandit, Maharajah's College, Mysore

7 DC, XXI, 8281, 1st Mysore, 1908 with a commentary by Cakravartī Ayyangar of Nallāncakravartī family

8 DC, XIX. 7267.

9 Printed, JI of Mysore Sans College

10, DC, XX 8096

in five chapters, describing the character of ignorance, vice, virtue etc Pradyumnānanda¹ is a drama in six Acts and describes the marriage of Pradyumna with Raṭi born as the daughter of the demon Śambara Śringārādīpikā is a Bhana Subhadrāpariṣaya is a play of which two acts only are found now at Arasānūpalai

530 The device of description planned in Viśvagunādarsam has been adopted in some later works Taṭvagunādarsam² describes the comparative merits of the tenets of Saivism and Vaiṣṇavism in the form of a dialogue between Jaya and Vijaya The author Annayārya was the son of Śrīnivāsa Ṭātārya of the Srisaṭa family He was the brother of Śrīnivāsācārya, the author of Iṭamārīṇḍa and Jyṇāsādarpaṇa and Pandit of the Court of King Venkata, son of Rāghava of the Kosala race

531 Dattatreya Sastri was son of Vāsudeva and Ambikā His grandfather was the famous Janārdana Nigudakara He lived in the village of Pangrada in Konkana in 1863-1918 In 1891, he was made Principal of Sanskrit College at Rajpur He bore the title Vidyāraṭṇa Besides a poem Raghuvamsasāra, and glosses on Janakīharana, Buddhacarita and Ratnāvalī and a play Rukminīharana, he wrote a campū Gangāgunādārsā There on the plan of Viśvagunādārsā, demerits and merits of the Ganges are espoused in a dialogue by two Gandharvas, Hāhā and Hūhū and the greatness of Gangā finally asserted³

532 RAGHAVACARĪYA was the son of Śrīnivāsācārya and grand grandson of Venkatācārya of Śrīvatsagotra He was a disciple of Ranganāṭha, apparently a head of the Ahobilam Mutt The poem teems with alliteration In Vaikunṭhavijayacampu⁴ the gives a description of the various shrines visited by Jaya and Vijaya in the course of a pilgrimage

533 NILAKANTHA, was the son of Rāmabhata of Kaundinya goṭṭa and a disciple of one who bore the title of Ḍaṇṭīdyoṭi-ḍivāpraḍīpa⁵ In his Kasikāṭṭilakam, two Gandharvas are sent out by

1 DC, XXI 8422 This was composed in the year Prajōṭpaṭṭi which is likely equal to 1571 A D

2 DC, XXI 8228 There is a commentary on it by the author himself (Ibid 8225)

3. Printed Bombay

4 DC, XXI 8298

5 TC, III 2768.

Kubera in search of Śiva, who had, as Nārada informed him, gone to Avimukṭapuram, and in the guise of mortals, they visit various sacred shrines, which they describe as they go

534 SAMARPUNGAVA Dīkṣita who was the son of Venkatesa of Vadhūlagōṭra and brother of Suryanārāyaṇa and Dharma He lived at Tīruvalangadu in North Arcot District, Madras, about the middle of the 17th century His Tīrthayātrāprabandham¹ describes the holiness of several sacred shrines and waters visited in the course of a pilgrimage

535 VENKATAKAVI was the son of Vīrarāghava of Bālasayana or Ilampalli family and lived at Ginjee in South Arcot District He salutes Vedāntadesika and was therefore of the Srī Vaiṣṇava sect² In Vibhūdhānandaprabandham he describes various sacred shrines of India visited by two persons Bālapriya and Pnyamvada in the course of their journey to Badarikāśrama to attend the marriage there of Śilāvatī and Makaranda son of Kandarpa, king of a place called Kamalini The story is a fiction and is narrated in a conversation between two parrots

536 In Srutakīrtivilāsacampū SURYANARAYANA of Bhāradvāja-gōṭra describes the several places visited by a Brahmin Sruṭakīrti a native of Vīrncipūram near Nellore³

537. RAMACANDRA was the son of Kesava and fifth in descent from Raṅgakheta Śrīnivāsa⁴ must have therefore lived the latter half of 17th century A D His Keralābharaṇam describes the merits and demerits of various countries and their usages in a dialogue of two spies Mūlinda and Makaranda who were sent out on a tour of inspection, in the course of a debate between Vasistha and Viśvāmītra in the Council of Indra⁵

538 Sankara Diskita, son of Bālakṣṇa of Bhāradvājagoṭra, was a poet of the Court of King Sabhāsimha of Bundelkand He died

1 DG, XXI, 8226

2 DG, XXI, 8285

3 DG, XXI 8598

4 *Tanṣ.* VII §8035 Raṅgakheta had three sons Keśava, Arḍhanārīśvara and Rājacūdāmaṇi Keśava's son was Paṭanjali, his son was Keśava, and Keśava's son was Rāmacandra

5 On Rāṅgakheta, see para 151 *supra*.

in 1780 A D Besides the play Pradyumnavijaya,¹ he wrote Gangā vatāracampū on the story of the Ganges and Sāṅkaracetovilāsa, a campū on the life of Maharāja Cetasimha (Cheytsingh) who was a magnate of Benares in 1770-1781 A D in the time of Governor-General Warren Hastings²

539 Sonthi Bhadradrī Ramasastry (1856-1915) was a Velanati Vaidiki Brahmin of Pithāpur in Codavary District. He was the son of Gangārāmāyā of Gauṭamagoṭra. A great Sanskrit Scholar and poet, he adorned the Courts of the Zamindars of Urlam and Lakkavaram. Besides Mukṭāvalī a drama and Śrīrāmavijaya, a poem, his Sāmbarāsuravijaya, a Campū, is a favourite of pandits as a work of literary art.

540 In **Jayarama's** Rādhāmadhavanilāsacampū, the loves of Rāmā and Kṛṣṇa are depicted and in the latter the court life of Sahajī Bhosle³

541 On Ramayana Campūrāghava of Āsūri Anantācārya (*Printed*, Bezvada composed, in 1868 A D) with the commentary of Āsūri Venkatanarasimhācārya, Rāmayaṇacampū by Sundaravallī, daughter of N Narasimha Aiyangar, Mysore (*Printed*, Bangalore composed in 1916 A D), Campūrāmāyā of Āpivivilla Sītārāmāśāstrin⁴ of Kākaraparṭi, Kṛṣṇa District (*Printed*, Madras), Amogharāghava by Divākara, son of Viśvesvara (*TC*, V 6365)⁵

1 *CC*, I 852, Wilson's *Theatre*, II 402 Śaṅkara, author of Śaraḍāṭīlakabhāṣa (*CC*, I 642, Wilson's *Theatre* II, 884) and Śaṅkara, author of Gāurīḍigambara (play, *CC*, III 37) are different authors

2 See Hamilton's *Gazetteer*, II 455

3 Printed Bombay. There is an introductory essay on the rise of Maharata kingdoms. See also Puruṣottama's Śivakāvya on the subject of Maharata history. Ed. by J B Modak, Bombay

4 He also wrote Sītārāmaḍayālaharī, printed there

5. He was different from Divākara, son of Udbāhusundara who wrote the play Lakṣmīmānavaḍam (*TC*, V 6351). Amogharāghava was composed in Śaka 1221 (1299 A D). There are five verses in praise of Valmiki and Kālikāśa

वाणी वासमवाय यस्य वदनद्वारि प्रतीक्षेव ह-
 त्पद्मस्थाम्बुजनामनामिनिवसल्लोकेशसेवासुखम् ।
 वल्मीकप्रमवाय कल्मषमिदे तस्मै परस्मै नमो
 रामोदात्तचरित्रवर्णनवच-प्रोद्योगिने योगिने ॥
 रम्यास्तेष्वती प्रसादमधुरा शृङ्गारसङ्गोज्ज्वला
 चाद्रुतैरखिलप्रियैरह रहस्संमोहयन्ती मन ।
 लीलान्यस्तपदप्रचाररचना सद्गर्णसंशोभिता
 माति श्रीमति कालिदासकविता कान्तेव तान्ते रता ॥

Raghunāthaviṇaya by Kṛṣṇa Kavī (*Printed*, Bombay), Rāmacaryā-mṛṣa by Kṛṣṇayāngārya (*Printed*, Mysore), Kusalaṇvacampū by Venkaya Sudhī (*Mys* 264), Rāmākathāsudhoḍaya by Śrīnivāsa (*Ibid* 269), Rāmābhīṣeka by Ḍevarājadesika (*Ibid* 269 TC, II 21), Sītāviṇaya by Ghantāvatāra (*Ibid* 272), Rāmacandracampū (i) by Rāmacandra, son of Patanjali and great-grandson of Ratnakheta (*HR*, II vii) and (ii) by Viṣvanātha [*Mitra* 1870], Rāmābhuvdaya by Rāma, (TC, II 1818) of Devulapalli

Kakusthaviṇaya by Vallisāhāya of Vādhūlagotra (*IO*, 1539), Sītā-campū of Gundu Rāmaswāmī Sāstrin of Agastyaotra,¹ Mārutiṇiṇaya of Raghunātha (*Tanj* VII 3115), Hanūmadapadāna (TC, IV 4397), Ānjaneyaviṇaya by Nṛsimha (*Mys* 261) Lakṣmanābharaniya (*Opp* II 3361)

Uttarakānda of Rāghava of Śrīvaṣṣagoṭra (*Mys Arch Rep* 1918), Rāmacampū of Bandlamūdi Rāmaswāmī (*Printed*, Madras), Uttara-campū (i) of Brahmapandita, (ii) of Rāghavabhatta, and (iii) of Bhāga-vaṇṭa (*Tanj* VII 3031), Rāmābhīṣeka of Ḍevarāja, son of Padmanābha (TC, II 2127, *Mys* 269),² Abhinava-Rāmāyaṇa by Lakṣmana Ḍāṇṭa composed in Sāka 1789 (*Bhandarkar's list*, 1893, Part I), Rāmāyaṇa of Rāmānuja of Vādhūlagotra (*DC*, XXI 8504)

542 On Bhagavata Bhāgavaṇṭacampū of Rāmabhadra³ (*Tanj* VII 308), Kṛṣṇacampū (i) of Sēṣasudhī,⁴ and (ii) of Parasurāma (*Gough*, 106), Ānandadāmodara of Bhuvanēsvara (*CASB*, 23), Vasu-devanapḍini of Gopalakṛṣṇa⁵ (*CC*, I 161), Praṇayimādhava by Mādhavabhatta (*Bhandarkar's list* (1893), I 110), Mukunḍacārṇa by Śrīnivāsa (*Mys* 268), Kṛṣṇānandakānda by Mitramisra (*CC*, I 258), Ānandabṛndāvana (i) by Paramānandaḍāsa (*Printed*, Benares) (ii) by Kavikaṇṭapūra (See para 223, *Supra*), (iii) by Kesava (*NW*, X 16) and (iv) by Mādhavananda (*Oudh*, XXI 92), Bālakṛṣṇacampū by Jivanajisarma (*Printed*, Bombay), Māḍhavacampū by Ciraṇjīva⁶ and Mandāra-maranda by Śrīkṛṣṇa (*Printed*, Bombay), Śrīkṛṣṇācampū (*Mys* 271), Gopālacampū (i) by Jīvarāja (*CC*, I 161), (ii) by Kisoravilāsa

1 He died at Velangi near Cocanada in 1918-19. He also wrote a play *Uṣāparṇaya*

2 He also wrote *Kirāṭārjunīyacampu* and *Aryāmanjari* (*CASB*, 26)

3 Completed in Durmaṣi year.

4 The manuscript is with P V Subramanya Sastri, Rajole, Godavari Dt

5 Among his other works there noted are *Ambādvīṣaṭi*, *Āryāvarṇanamālikā*, *Kumārakarṇāmṛta*, *Saubhāgyalahari*, *Pancadāśavarnamālikā* and other *śṭavas*,

6. He also wrote *Vidvanmodaṭarangiṇi* (*Printed*, Calcutta)

(CC, III 35), (iii) by Visvanāthasimha [*Mitra* (1870)], Kṛṣṇavilāsa (i) by Lakṣmana (*DC*, XXI 8191) and (ii) by Narasiṃhasūri, son of Anantārāya (*DC*, XXI 8193), Yādavacampū (*Opp*, 5140), Kṛṣṇavijaya (i) by Viresvara (*TC*, II 2260), (ii) by Kṛṣṇa Sāstrin (*Rice*, 248) Rukmiṇīcampū by Govardhana, son of Ghanasyāma (*CC*, I 527), Saṅtanagopālāprabandha (*DC*, XXI 8307), Kāṇḍimukunda (*DC*, XXI 8186, 8567),¹ Jayarāma Pande's Rādhāmādhavavilāsa (*Printed*, Bombay)

543 On Mahabharata Bakavadha (*TC*, III 0411), Kumārābhūdaya (*TC*, III 3521), Subhadrāharana (*TC*, III 3422), Pañcendrōpākhyāna (*TC*, III 3420) on the marriage of Dṛaupadī, Kumāravijaya by Bhāskara, son of Sivasūrya (*TC*, IV 5818), Kumārodaya (*TC*, IV 5894), Nayanārsana (*Trav* 80)

544 On Puranas Vallīparinaya of Yajnasubrahmanya (*Printed*, Madras), Padmāvātiparinaya of Śrīsaila (*Printed*, Karvetnagar), Madrakanyāparinaya of Gangādhara (*Mys* 267, *DC*, XXI 8265), Rukmiṇīparinaya by Ammal (*Mys* 270) and by Venkatācārya of Prativādi-bhayankara family (*TC*, II 3599), Parvatīparinaya by Rāmesvara of Kandukūri family (*TC*, III 4138), Saṭṛājyūtiparinaya by Kṛṣṇadāsa Gangaya, son of Rāmesvara of Saunakagoṭra* (*TC*, III 2732)

Kalyāṇavallīkalyāṇa by Rāmānuja of Vādhūlagotra (see *DC*, XXI 8275), Uśāparinaya (*DC*, XXI 8185), Kalyāṇacampū by Pāpayarādhya and Gaurīparinaya by Pinnavenkatasūri on Pārvaṭī's wedding (*TC*, V 6575, III 3081); Mīnākṣīparinaya by Ādinārāyaṇa (*Mys* 267); Rukmiṇīvalabhāparinaya by Nṛsiṃhatāta (*Ibid* 170), Pāncālīswayamvara (*DC*, XXI 826), Mīnākṣīkalyāṇa by Kaṇḍukūri Nāganātha of Maḍura (*DC*, XXI 8270), Padmāvātiparinaya by Śrīsaila (*Printed* Karvetnagar), Damayantīparinaya (*TC*, V 6415), Godāparinaya by Vedādhinātha (*DC*, XXI 8196)*

Tripuravijaya (i) by Aṭṭarāyayavan⁴ and (ii) by Nṛsiṃha* (*Tanj*, VII 3044-6), Karṇānanda by Kṛṣṇadāsa (*Uttar*, 1552), Kalākamuḍī by Cakrapāṇi (*CC*, I 777), Kāvyaakalāpa by Mahānandadhīra, Kumāra-

1 The author's great-grand-father wrote a commentary on Naisadha of which manuscript is dated 1894 A D

2 He was patronised by Amarendra Sobhanāḍin, Zamindar of Nuzvid

3. About Āṇḍal of Śrīvillupattūr (Śrīrāghavavijayapuri) For a play on the same theme, see *DC*, XXI 8999

4 See para 1 65 supra For Tripurādhānācampū, see *Tanj*, VII, 8048

5. See para 154 supra,

sambhava by Sarabhoji¹ (*Tanj* VII 3033), Śivavilāsa by Virūpākṣa (*Tanj*, VII 3166), Sivacampū by Kavivādisēkhara on the story of Mārkaṇḍeya (*DC*, XXI 8305, *Tanj* VII 3163), Kīśoracarita (*CC*, I 108), Viracampū by Padmanānda (*PR*, I 101)², Gangāvilāsa and Jagadambā by Gopāla, son of Mahādeva (*CC*, II 32, 37), Bhārgvacampū by Rāmakṛṣṇa (*Printed*, Bombay)

Nṛsimhacampū by (i) Bhattakeśava, son of Ananta of Laugakṣi family of Panyasāmba on the Godāvarī (*Printed* Bombay, *Tanj*, VII, 3079, (ii) by Daivajña Sūrya (*Tanj*, VII 3073, see para 96 supra), (iii) by Sankarṣaṇa (*Tanj*, VII 3076), Śambarāsuraviyaya by Bhadrī Rāmasēstrin of Gauṭamagoṭra, Candrasekharacampū by Rāmanātha (*Printed*, Benares and Calcutta),³ Dattātreyacampū by Dattātreya of Ātreyaḥ, (*DC*, XXI 830),⁴ Bānayuddhacampū by Kochunni Tambiran,⁵ Vikramasenacampū by Nārāyaṇa, son of Gangādhara (*Tanj*, VII 3153)⁶

Anuruddhacarita (i) by Devarāja, son of Raghupatī of Sāndilyagoṭra, (*IO*, 1740, *Oudh*, VIII 8), (ii) by Sāmbaśiva (*Mys* 263, *Rice* 246), Bāpāsūravijaya (*SR*, I 77, *IC*, III 78), by Surapuram Venkatācārya (*Ibid*, 266), Anjanāyaviyaya (i) by Nṛsimhakavi (*Ibid*), Ānandakanda by Miṭṭamīra (*Ibid* *CC*, I 258), Bhāgīrathicampū by Acyutarāman (*Printed*, Bombay, composed 1814 A D), Lakṣmīśvaracampū by Anantaśūri (*Printed*, Bombay), Rameśvaraviyaya by Śrīkṛṣṇa (*Printed*, Madras), Gājendracampū by Panta Vittalā (*Printed*, composed, in 1864 A D),

1 This was probably composed by Cokkannakavi (Cokkanātha) see *BTC*, 157, *CC*, I 111

2 It is not known if Kārtavyāprabandha mentioned] as Asvini Maharāja's in *Trav Oat* 182 is identical

3 He died at Cocanada in 1915-16. He also wrote a play Mukṭāvalī. The manuscripts are with his son Gangādhara Śāstrī, City Press, Cocanada

4 It gives the story of the incarnation of Mahādeva in the house of King Poṣya of Brahmanvarta.

5 See para 180 supra. He was Elayarāja of Oranganore and died about the year 1927. He is the brother of the present Elayarāja Kunjuni Tambiran, who is an authority on Nāṭyaśāstra. He wrote also Kṛṣṇavāṭarādaṇḍaka and completed Rāmavarman's Rāmacarita with Uṭṭara-Rāmāyaṇa of which the manuscript is in the palace at Oranganore. On Rāmavarman, see para 177 supra. He lived in Kollam 976-1026 and wrote also Vallyuḍbhava (poem). Kunjuni Tambiran wrote commentary on Śītāpāḍāḍukeśastava and died 19 years ago. Kunhanrāja wrote commentary on Śrīpādasaptatī and died 14 years ago. Rama Varma M. A. of Oranganore wrote a poem Kaumudī, which is an adaptation of Goldsmith's Hermit

6 See para 164 supra, Nārāyaṇa was another son of Gangādhara son of Tṛyam baka.

Sūdarśanacampū by Kṛṣṇanānda (*Printed*, Bombay), Śrīnivāsavilāsa (1) by Venkatesa (*Printed*, Bombay), (2) by Śrīkṛṣṇa (*Printed*, Madras) [He was latter Parakālasvarāmī, see para 221 *supra*], Jagadguruviṇaya by Yalandur Śrīkantha Sāstrī (*Printed*, Mysore), Indirābhūdaya by Raghunātha (*Mys* 264), Kumārabhārgaviya by Bhānudaṭṭa, son of Ganapaṭi (*IO*, 1340)

Śankaracampū by Lakṣmīpati (*Mys* 271), Śankarānanda by Guru Swayambhūnātha (*Ibid*, 271), Virabhadraṇḍya by (1) Ekāmraṇātha and (2) by Mallikārjuna (*Ibid*, 271, *IC*, IV 6113) Hayavadanaviṇaya by Venkatarāghava (*Ibid*, 272), Saṅgyasandhacārita by Kalpavallikavi (*Ibid*, 271), Cīntāmaṇiṇḍya by Śeṣakavi (*Ibid* 264), Jñānānkura by Lakṣmī-
nṛsiṃha (*Ibid*, 265), Puruṣoṭṭamacampū by Narasiṃha (*Ibid*, 274), Yādavasekharacampū by Bhāṣyakāra (*Ibid*, 269), Viṇayaṇḍya by Vajra-
kānta Lakṣmīnaraṣiṃha (*Ibid* 270)

545 Local Mārgasahāyacampū by Navanīṭa of Vādhūlagotra on the temple of Mārgasahāya at Vīrincipuram (*DC*, XXI, 8265, *TC*, IV, 5828), Dīvyacāpaviṇaya by Cakravartī Venkatācārya, on the myths of Dharbhasayanam (*DC*, XXI 8232), Vyāghrālayeśāṣṭamimahotsava (*Ibid*, 8301), on the shrine at Vykkom in Travancore, Vajramukutivīlāsa (1) by Alasiṅga and (2) by Yogānanda (*Mys* 270), and Yādugiribhūṣana by Appalācārya (*Mys* 270), and Sampatkumāravīlāsa by Ranganātha of Śrīvāṭsagoṭṭra (*DC*, XXI 8850) on the festivals of Melkote, Jāpyeśoṭṭsava by Venkatasubba (*Mys* 264), Bhadrācalacampū by Rāghava of Sathamarṣaḥagoṭṭra¹ (*Saḥ* V), Paḍmanābhacārita by Kṛṣṇa on the shrine at Trivandrum (*Trav*, 81), Venkatesacampū by Dharmaṛāja (*Tanj*, VII 3160), and Śrīnivāsacampū by Śrīnivāsa,² son of Venkatesa of Kauśikagoṭṭra (*Tanj*, VII, 3168) on the shrine at Turupati,³ Asvatthakṣetrayāga (*Trav* 79)

546. Biographical Puraḍevacampū of Arhaṭdāsa (*DC*, XXI, 8247, *Mys* 266) on the life of Jain saint Purudeva, Jainacāryaviṇaya (*DC*, XXVI 9746) on the lives of Mallisena and other Jain saints : Ānandaranga by Śrīnivāsa of Śrīvāṭsagoṭṭra on the life of Ānandaranga,

1 On the same shrine, there are poems Venkatagīrīmāhātmya by Devaḍāsa (*CC*, I 600) and Śrīnivāsakāvya by Tṛyambaka, son of Paḍmanābha (*CC*, II, 180)

2 There are poems Bhadrācalapuravarṇā and Bhadrācalanāṭyātramālā by Vedaṇṭam Śrīrāmasāstrīn (*Printed*, Ocanada and Berwada).

3. He wrote also Sumanoranjana, a poem on Kṛṣṇa. Another Śrīnivāsa wrote a poem Tārakāvali in 27 verses to which the epithet Sapṭatāra is prefixed "because each verse is composed in such a manner as at first sight it deceives the reader regarding its real meaning." (*HR*, II. viii).

Dubash of Duplex (*DC*, XXI 8313),¹ Mṛgayācampū by Kavirāja on the hunts of King Vicitravikrama of Kalati of Ganjam (*TC*, IV 3218), Śrīnivāsacampū by Venkata in praise of a king Śrīnivāsa (*Printed*, Granthamālā), Samarādityakathā (*Printed*, Calcutta), Raṅnasekhara-caritra by Ḍayāvardhanagaṇi (*Printed*, Bombay)

Nārāyaṇa's Vikramasenacampū describes the adventures of King Vikramasena of Pratiṣṭhāna.² He was the son of Gangādhara and grandson of Ṭriyambākā who was the minister to King Shahji (1687-1711 A D) of Tanjore.³ In Ānandakandacampū, Samarapungava Dikṣiṭa treats of the legends of Saiva saints, male and female, their austerities and rewards.⁴ Bāṇesvara composed Citracampū in 1744 A D for his patron Citrasena of Vardhamāna. He was son of Rāmadāsā and was called Vidyālankāra Bhattācārya.⁵

Kṛṣṇabhūṣaṇa gives the life of a merchant Kṛṣṇa of Narkedimalli family (*DC*, XXI 8189)

Maṭṭreya Rāmānūjācārya's Nāthamuniyaya (*DC*, XXI, 8241) Ahobilasūri's Yaṭirājavaya (*DC*, XXI 8271) and Rāmānujādāsa's Rāmānujacampū⁶ (*DC*, XXI 8278) are on the life of Rāmānuja and Govindadāsa and Śrīnivāsarāmānuja wrote Śrīnivāsamuniyāṭrāvīlāsa on Śrīnivāsamuni of the Muniṭraya line of Vaiṣṇava teachers (*TC*, III 2885, 2892)

Viśākhaṭulāprabandha of A R Rāja Rāja Varma,⁷ Viśākhaśeṭuyā-trāvarṇana of Gaṇapaṭisastrin⁸ and Viśākhaśrīnivīlāsa of Rāmaswāmī Sāstrin⁹ relate to the life of Viśākha Mahārāja of Travancore

On the history and royalty of Mysore there are the following Mahīsūrabhivṛddhi by K Venkatarāma Śāstrin, Mahīsūradeśābhuyudaya by Śiṭṭārāmakavi, Śarāvaṭījalapāṭavarnanam (Jog falls) and Śrīkṛṣṇaṇṇapodayaprabandha by Kukke Subrahmanyaśarmā, Kṛṣṇa-rājendrayasovīlāsa by S Narasiṃhācāriar, Śrīkṛṣṇarājābhuyudaya by

1 This work gives the history of dynasties of Vijayanagar and the branches of Candragiri etc

2 *TC*, II 2641, *Tanj*, VII 8164

3. See para 164 *supra*

4. *IO*, 1598.

5. *IO*, VII 1548, (analysed) This is characterised by a long dream and by an unmistakable inculcation of Vaiṣṇavite Vādantism.

6 *Trav*, 184, see para 180 *supra*

7. *Trav*, 184, see para 247 *supra*.

8. *Trav*, 81,

Giṭācārya¹ (*Printed in Mys Sanskrit College Journal, I-IV*) Bhāgavaṭa Kṛṣṇasāstrin wrote the poem Kṛṣṇarājābhayudaya Yadugiri Anantācārya wrote Kṛṣṇarājākalodaya

547 Philosophical Jñānānkura by Lakṣmīnṛsimha, Taṭṭva-guṇādarsa by Aṇṇayārya, Taṭṭvārthadarpaṇa by Appayadīkṣiṭa (*MJS.* 2652)²

SECTION 3

548. Udaharana is a species of quasi-musical proso-poetic composition. It appears to have been in vogue in very early ages. Kālidāsa mentions it in Vikramorvaśī and Raghuvamśa

पत्ने निवेशितमुदाहरण प्रियाया ।
जयोदाहरण बाह्वोर्गोपयामास किन्नरान् ।

Vidyānātha defines it thus

येन केनापि तालेन गद्यपद्यसमन्विताम् ।
जयेत्युपक्रम मालिन्यादिप्रासविचित्रितम् ।
तदुदाहरण नाम विमक्त्वष्टागसमुत्तम् ॥

Bharaṭa thus alludes to this mode of composition

शुरीदिरथ लब्धादिर्युग्म सर्वलघु स्मृत ।
धनुर्मातागणा ज्ञेया पूर्वच्छन्दोविकल्पना ।
पातोऽर्थकलिकान् पातान् कुर्याद्विष्वक्षरेषु च ।
शुर्वक्षरे तालगीतपातास्तु कलिका स्मृताः ॥

It is said in the Pūrāṇas that when Dakṣa composed stutis called Saptagīta the Gods improved on that composition by the introduction of stobha-aḥśaras and used them to eulogise Mahesvara after his Tāṇḍava in the form of songs of varying tālas. In this class of composition, we have only a piece extant Basavodāharaṇa of Somanātha (Pāṭkuriki).

कलिका—अपि च पुरातननूतनशिवगणपादोदकपरिलसदमिषेक ।
क्षपितविषल्लवजगमलिंगसमर्चननिचितविवेकः ॥
सततविकस्वरभासरनिजसुखमडलखंडितरजनीनाथ ।
कृतयुगवर्तनकीर्तननिरसनानिपुणपवित्तक्षरित्सनाथः ॥

1. He is the father of Rājagopala Cakravartin about whom, see previous chapter

2. *DC*, XXI. 8278. He was son of Bhavanācārya of Vāḍhulagoṭra, His paternal uncle Rāmānuja wrote Kalyāṇavallī-Kalyāṇa, Veṇṇāpāda-tāṇḍava etc. He probably lived at Tirvallore, Chingleput District.

CHAPTER XXII

Drśyakavya

(Drama)

SECTION 1

549 “**Manu, Svayambhu**, the emperor of the human world, in days of yore, beseeched his father the Sun to suggest to him some diversion of relief from the cares of sovereignty. Then the Sun related to him a tale —The Creator, soon after creation, approached Mahaviṣṇu with a similar request and at Viṣṇu’s direction the creator went to Siva. Siva commanded Nandi, who has already learnt the Gandharva art from him to teach the creator the principles. The creator came and when he thought of an actor, a muni appeared before him with five disciples. Then in the presence of Sarasvatī, Brahma told them to adopt Nāṭya Veda. They studied Nāṭyaveda in its various applications and delighted Brahma with performances replete with songs and sentiments. Brahma pleased with their interest and devotion, conferred on them the boon that they would thereupon be known to the three worlds at Bharatas and that Nāṭyaveda would also be known after their names, that is, Bharatam. Thus informed by the Sun, Manu resorted to Brahma and made his entreaty, Brahma ordered Bharatas to go with Manu to Bharatavarsha and at Ayodhya, they put on boards the various stories relating to Devarṣhis, as enacted in the theatres of the Gods. The art of the stage was introduced into the various countries of India by the pupils of these Bharatas. Then it was that at the request of Manu that Bharatas embodied a summary of Nāṭyaveda in two works Devadasasāhasrī and Satsahasrī, and this summary has come to be known, after their names, as Bharatam.” This is the account given by Śāradāṭṭhanaya of the advent of music into this world.

In the Śatsāhasrī itself, that is the extant Nāṭyasāstra, there is this version of the origin of Nāṭyaveda. “Soon after creation Indra asked Brahma to create a fifth Veda, available for all the castes, because the four Vedas could not be studied by Sudras. Brahma drew upon the vedas for expression, music, gesticulation and sentiment respectively and made up the Nāṭyaveda. He then called upon Bharata and his hundred disciples to put it into practice and the first play was then

1., The verb मरत is 2nd person plural of the root मृ

staged, with the plot, the destruction of the Danavas by the Devas. So the art progressed in the divine world. When Nabusha occupied the throne of Indra, it was his desire that the art should be imported into his terrestrial dominions and as an obligation, the sons of Bharata were sent down to this world, when they mixed up with the population and created a progeny well versed in the theatrical art. It was then that Kohala, Sandilya and other Bharatas, composed 'this Sastra' for the education of men."¹

"The dramatic representations first invented consisted of three kinds *Natya*, *Nritya*, and *Nritya*, and these were exhibited before the gods by the *Gandharvas* and *Apsarasas*, the spirits and Nymphs of *Indra's* heaven, who were trained by Bharata to the exhibition. Siva added to these two other styles of performance, the *Tandava* and *Lasya*. Of these different modes of representation, only one, the *Natya*, is properly the dramatic, being defined to be gesticulation with language. The *Nritya* is gesticulation without language, or pantomime, and the *Nritya* is simple dancing. The *Tandava* and *Lasya*, which appear to be grafts upon the original system, are merely styles of dancing, the former so named from *Tandu*, one of Siva's attendants, whom the god instructed in it, whilst the *Lasya*, it is said, was taught by Parvati to the princess Usha, who instructed the *Gopis* of Dwaraka, the residence of her husband, in the art, by them it was communicated to the women of Surashtra, and from them it passed to the females of various regions."

"Music, dialogue, gesticulation and imitation were the precursors of Sanskrit drama."² Music in its theoretical and practical aspects may be traced in India to the Vedic age. Besides, the dull recitations of Hotrs or the monotonous recitations of Adhvaryus, there was something to charm the people, in the chants of Udgatrs of the Saman, of hymns borrowed from R̥g Veda and adapted to singing. Dialogue was often employed in the Vedas and the Epics. In R̥g Veda we occasionally find conversations between supernatural beings and R̥sis, for instance, the dialogue between Yama and Yamī and of Indra, Agastya and Maruts.³ The epics often contain dialogues, the whole of

1 *Nāṭyaśāstra*, I 1-25.

2 See Yamī Yama samvāda (*R̥g* X. 10), Pāṇi sarama-samvāda (*R̥g* X 108); Urvasī Pururavas-samvāda (*R̥g* X 85).

3 "In all likelihood, the germ of the dramatic representations of the Hindus as of the Greeks is to be sought for in public exhibitions of dancing, which consisted at first of simple movements of the body executed in harmony with singing and music.

Mahabharata being composed in the form of a dialogue between Suta and his disciples Upanisads contain many dialogues of which the pathetic conversation between Yājñavalkya and his wife Maitreyī on the occasion of their mutual separation, is an instance In the Mahāvratā rite there is "a struggle between a Vaisya, whose color is to be white, and a Sudra black in color, over a round white skin, which ultimately falls to the victorious Vaisya"¹ "It is impossible" says Keith "without ignoring the obvious nature of this rite, not to see in it a mimic contest to gain the sun, the power of lights the Aryan, striving against the darkness, the sudra"² Hillebrandt³ and Konow⁴ asserted that these are indeed ritual dramas, but that they are borrowed by the ritual from the popular mime of the time, which accordingly must have known dialogue, abusive conversation and blows, but of which the chief parts were dance, song and music

550 Gesticulation or abhinaya is a natural and primary instinct of the human race Acting embraces the use of gestures, and laws of gesticulation deduce from observation what is appropriate for the expression of particular sentiments of the human mind Aristotle in his *Poetics* says

"Epic poetry and Tragedy, Comedy also and Dithyrambic poetry and the music of the flute and of the lyre in most of their forms, are all in their general conception modes of imitation They differ, however, from one another in three respects, the

Very soon dancing was extended to include pantomimic gesticulations accompanied with more elaborate musical performances, and these gesticulations were aided by occasional exclamations between the intervals of singing Finally natural language took the place of music and singing, while gesticulation became merely subservient to emphasis in dramatic dialogue" (*Monier Williams*)

1 See Kathaka Samhitā, XXXIV, 5. Pancavimśa Brāhmana, V, 5, 14 Āpastamba, Śrautasūtra, XXI, 19, 9-12

"At the great Mahavratā ceremony, one of the most interesting features of the ritual is the fight of a Sudra and an Arya on a round, white skin which represents the Sun (vide Kathaka Samhitā, XXXIV, 5 and Dr Keith's Samkhya Aranyaka p. 78) Now the Kathaka Samhitā, which narrates the struggle of the Aryan and the Sudra, expressly says (XI 6) that the colour of the Vaisya is white and it is recognised that the colour of the Sudra is black, so that it is almost certain that we have here again another form of the strife of winter and summer in this case, summer or spring represented by the white Aryan prevails over the winter represented by the dark Sudra. The Mahavratā rite is one which continued late in the Sutra ritual and was clearly performed throughout the Vedic Age, being in essence a popular not merely a priestly rite (see Atareya Aranyaka, I and V, Śrauta Sutra, XVII and XVIII)"

2 SD, 24

3 AID, 22.

4 ID, 42

medium, the objects, the manner or mode of imitation, being in each case distinct. For as there are persons who, by conscious art or mere habit, imitate and represent various objects through the medium of color and form, or again by the voice, so in the arts above mentioned, taken as a whole, the imitation is produced by rhythm, language, or 'harmony', either singly or combined. Thus in the music of the flute and of the lyre, 'harmony' and rhythm alone are employed, also in other acts, such as that of the shepherd's pipe, which are essentially similar to these. In dancing, rhythm alone is used without 'harmony'; for even dancing imitates character, emotion, and action, by rhythmical movement."

"Poetry in general seems to have sprung from two causes, each of them lying deep in our nature. First, the instinct of imitation is implanted in man from childhood, one difference between him and other animals being that he is the most imitative of living creatures, and through imitation learns his earliest lessons, and no less universal is the pleasure felt in things imitated. We have evidence of this in the facts of experience. Objects which in themselves we view with pain, we delight to contemplate when reproduced with minute fidelity, such as the forms of the most ignoble animals and of dead bodies. The cause of this again is, that to learn gives the liveliest pleasure, not only to philosophers but to men in general, whose capacity, however, of learning is more limited. Thus the reason why men enjoy seeing a likeness is, that in contemplating it they find themselves learning or inferring, and saying perhaps, 'Ah, that is he.' For if you happen not to have seen the original, the pleasure will be due not to the imitation as such, but to the execution, the colouring or some such other cause."

Imitation, then, is one instinct of our nature. Next, there is the instinct for 'harmony' and rhythm, metres being manifestly sections of rhythm. Persons, therefore, starting with this natural gift developed by degrees their special aptitudes, till their rude improvisations gave birth to Poetry."

Fischel advanced the theory that the Sanskrit drama had its origin in the Puppet play¹ and Luders pointed to the shadow as an essential element in the development of the Sanskrit drama² and thought³ that Saubhikas mentioned by Patanjali spoke in explanation of the moving pictures. But it will be seen that a class of plays, called Chāyānāṭakam, has come to us without being classified by rhetoricians.

551 The Greek connection⁴ Weber started a theory that the Sanskrit Drama had its beginnings 'in the influence of the Greeks wielded on the Hindus'⁵ E Brandes, the Danish Scholar accepted

1 R. Fischel, *Die Heimat des Puppenspiels*, Halle, *Home of the Puppet play*, Translated by M O Tawney, London

2 *SBAW*, (1916), 698, see Hillebrandt, to the contrary *ZDMG*, LXXII, 280. For Rudgway's objections, see his *Dramas and Dramatic Dances of non European races*

3 *Ibid* Winternitz, *ZDMG*, LXXIV 120

4 See Keith, *SD*, 57

5 *IL*, 210 n 1st XIV 194 note Zubaty, *On the development of the Indian drama and its relation to the Greek drama* (in Bohoslavsky) In *Listy filologické* of Prague XIV 1-7, 98-108, 198-205 (Chiefly on the heteron of the Hindu and the Greek drama)

this hypothesis and undertook to prove the reality of the internal connection between the ancient plays and the new Attic comedy of the school of Menandar as chiefly preserved in the Roman adaptation of Plautus and Terence¹ After Pischel's repudiation of this theory,² in his paper before the Congress of Orientalists held in Berlin in 1882,³ Windisch elaborated this view of Brandes and collected various texts that attest Greek representation in the Orient after the conquest of Alexander and concluded that the Indian Drama was first developed in the city as a direct result of the intercourse with Alexandria⁴

Weber laid stress on the use of the words Yavanī and Yavanikā, as indicative of the Greek influence⁵ This is well answered by A B Keith⁶ ' More value attaches to the argument from the use of Yavanika,⁷ or its Prakrit form Javanika, for the name of the curtain which covered the tiring room and formed the background of the stage The word primarily is an adjective meaning Ionian, the Greeks with whom India first came into contact But it was not confined to to what was Greek in the strict sense of the word, it applied to anything connected with the Hellenized Persian Empire, Egypt, Syria, Bactria, and it therefore cannot be rightly limited to what is Greek As applied to the curtain it is an adjective, and describes doubtless the material of the curtain (pati, apati) as foreign, possibly as Levi suggests, Persian tapestry brought to India by Greek ships and merchants The word Yavanika has no special application to the curtain of the theatre, as would be the case, if it were borrowed as a detail of stage arrangement from Greece Nor in fact was there any curtain in the case of Greek drama, so far as is known, from which it could be borrowed, Windisch's contention merely was that the curtain was called Greek because it took the place of a painted scenery at the back of the Greek stage

As little can any conclusion of Greek borrowing be drawn from the Yavanis,⁸ Greek maidens, who are represented as among the body-

1 Lergoven (1870), III, V Smith, *JASB*, LVIII I 184

2 On the differences between Greek and Hindu Dramas, see Gauranganath Benerjee's *Hellenism in Ancient India* Keith, *SD*, 67

3 *Die Rezensionen der Sakuntala*, (1870) III See also *SBW*, (1906), 502.

4 *Sanskrit Phil.* 398

5 *ZDMG*, XIV 269, *ISI*, XIII 492.

6 *SD*, 61.

7 P Konow, *TD*, 5 note, Levi, I 348

8 Levi, *Quid de Græcæ etc*

guard of the king, for this the Greek drama offers no parallel, it represents the fondness of the princes of India for the fascinating hetærae of Greece, and the readiness of Greek traders to make the high profits to be derived from shipping these youthful cargoes "

Levi did not accept the Greek influence¹ and Wilson agrees and has a long examination²

" The Hindu theatre belongs to that division of dramatic composition which modern critics have agreed to term *romantic*, in opposition to what some schools have been pleased to call *classical* This has not escaped the observation of one of the first dramatic critics of any age, and Schlegel observes, " The Drama of *Sakuntala* presents, through its oriental brilliancy of colouring, so striking a resemblance, upon the whole, to our romantic drama, that it might be suspected the love of Shakespeare had influenced the translator, if other orientalists had not borne testimony to the fidelity of his translation " Besides being an entertainment appropriated to the leading or learned members of society, the dramatic entertainments of the Hindus essentially differed from those of modern Europe in the unfrequency of their representation They seem to have been acted only on solemn or public occasions In this respect they resembled the dramatic performances of the Athenians, which took place at distant intervals, and especially at the spring and autumnal festivals of Bacchus, the last being usually preferred, as the city was then filled with strangers, its tributaries and allies According to Hindu authorities, the occasions suitable for dramatic representations are the lunar holidays, a royal coronation, assemblages of people at fairs and religious festivals, marriages, the meeting of friends, taking first possession of a house or a town, and the birth of a son The most ordinary occasion, however, of a performance was, as will be seen, the season peculiarly sacred to some divinity

" Like the Greek tragedy, however, the *Nataka* is to represent worthy or exalted personages only, and the hero must be a monarch, as Dushyanta, a demigod, as Rama, or a divinity, as Krishna The action, or more properly the passion, should be but one, as love or heroism The plot should be simple, the incidents consistent, the business should spring direct from the story as a plant from its seed, and should be free from episodical and prolix interruptions The time should not be protracted, and the duration of an act, according to the

1. *TI*, I 345 II 60

2. *Theatre*, I xi et seq

authority, should not exceed one day, but the *Sahitya-Darpana* extends it to a few days, or even to one year. When the action cannot be comprised within these limits, the less important events may be thrown into narrative or may be communicated to the audience by one of the actors, who holds the character of an interpreter, and explains to the persons of the assembly whatever they may require to know, or what is not conveyed to them by the representation, a rather awkward contrivance to supply the deficiencies of the piece, but one that would sometimes be useful to insinuate the plot into the audiences of more polished communities. The diction of a *Nataka* should be perspicuous and polished. The piece should consist of not fewer than five acts, and more than ten.

"In many of its characteristics, the *Nataka* presents an obvious analogy to the tragedy of the Greeks which was, "the imitation of a solemn and perfect action, of adequate importance, told in pleasing language, exhibiting the several elements of dramatic composition in its different parts represented through the instrumentality of agents, not by narration, and purifying the affections of human nature by the influence of pity and terror." In the expansion of this definition in the "poetics," there are many points of affinity, and particularly in the selection of persons and subjects, but there are also differences, some of which merit to be noticed.

"With regard to the Unities, we have that of action fully recognised and a simplicity of business is enjoined quite in the spirit of the Greek drama. The unity of place is not noticed, as might have been expected from the probable absence of all scenic embellishment. It was impossible to transport the substantial decorations of the Grecian stage from place to place, and therefore the scene was the same throughout, but where everything was left to the imagination, one site was as easily conceivable as another, and the scene might be fancied, one while a garden and another while a palace, as well as it could be imagined to be either. The unity of time is curiously modified, conformably to a principle which may satisfy the most fastidious, and "the time required for the fable elapses invariably between the acts." In practice there is generally less latitude than the rule indicates, and the duration of an act is very commonly that of the representation, or at most "one course of the sun," the night elapsing in the interval. In once piece, the *Uttara-Rama-Charitra*, indeed, we have a more extensive period, and twelve years are supposed to pass between the first and second acts. This was the unavoidable consequence of the

subject of the play, and affords and analogy to the license of the romantic drama¹

"Another important difference from the classical drama, and from that of most countries, is the total absence of the distinction between Tragedy and Comedy. The Hindu plays confine themselves neither to the "crimes nor to the absurdities of mankind," neither "to the momentous changes, nor lighter vicissitudes of life," neither "to the terrors of distress nor the gaieties of prosperity." In this respect they may be classed with much of the Spanish and English drama to which, as Schlegel observes, "the terms Tragedy and Comedy wholly inapplicable, in the sense in which they were employed by the ancients." They are invariably of a mingled web, and blend "seriousness and sorrow with levity and laughter." They never offer, however, a calamitous conclusion, which, as Johnson remarks, was enough to constitute a Tragedy in Shakespeare's days, and although they propose to excite all the emotions of the human breast, terror and pity included, they never effect this object leaving a painful impression upon the mind of the spectator. The Hindus, in fact, have no Tragedy, a defect that subverts the theory that Tragedy necessarily preceded Comedy, because in the infancy of society the stronger passions predominated, and it was not till social intercourse was complicated and refined, that the follies and frivolities of mankind afforded material for satire. The theory is evidently more ingenious than just, for a considerable advance in refinement must have been made before plays were written at all and the days of Æschylus were not those of the fierce and fiery emotions he delineates. In truth, however, the individual and social organisation of the native of India is unfavourable to the development of towering passion, and whatever poets or philosophers may have insinuated to the contrary, there is no doubt that the regions of physical equability have ever been, and still are, those of moral extremes.

"The absence of tragic catastrophe in the Hindu dramas is not merely an unconscious omission, such catastrophe is prohibited by a positive rule, and the death of either the hero or the heroine is never to be announced. With that regard, indeed, for decorum, which even Voltaire thought might be sometimes dispensed with, it is not allowed in any manner "*ensanglanter la scene*," and death must invariably be inflicted out of the view of the spectators. Attention to *bienveillance*

1. A. V. W. Jackson, *Time Analysis of Sanskrit Plays* 1. The Dramas of Kalidasa, 2. The Dramas of Harsha JAOS, XX. 341-359, XXI. 88-103,

is carried even of a serious nature are, hostile defiance, solemn imprecations exile, degradations, and national calamity, whilst those of a less grave, or comic character, are biting, scratching, kissing, eating, sleeping, the bath, inunction, and the marriage ceremony Dramatic writers, especially those of a modern date, have sometimes, violated these precepts, but in general the conduct of what may be termed the classical drama of the Hindus is exemplary and dignified. Nor is its moral purport neglected, and one of their writers declares, in an illustration familiar to ancient and modern poetry, that the chief end of the theatre is to disguise, by the insidious sweet, the unpalatable but salutary bitter, of the cup

“ The extent of the Hindu plays is another peculiarity in which they differ from the dramatic writings of other nations, and even the *Robbers*, or *Don Carlos*, will suffer in the comparison of length The *Mrichchhakati* would make at least three of the plays of Æschylus In actual representation, however, a Hindu play constituted a less unreasonable demand upon the patience of an audience than an Athenian performance, consisting at one sitting of three Tragedies and a Farce If the Hindu stage exhibited a long play, it exhibited that alone ”

SECTION 2

Besides defining and classifying dramas, Bharatamuni composed plays in illustration They were Jāmaḍagnayajaya (Vyāyoga), Kusumaśekharaṇijaya Īhāmṛga) and Sarmīṣṭhāyayāṇi (Anka) The last of these was enacted before Naḥuṣa while he was holding the position of Mahendra among Devas

To Piṭāmaha himself are attributed Samudramathana (Samavakara) enacted at Indradhvajamahotsava and Tripuradāha (dima) enacted before Paramesvara on the northern slopes of Hymālayas Sarasvatī wrote Lakṣmīsvayamvara (nāṭaka) and had it performed in Indra's theatre by Apsarasas trained by Bharatamuni himself

There were other writers on dancing that followed Bharata who are quasi-divine and quotations from their works are plenty in later rhetorical writings Their age is anterior to the Christian era, and according to Indian tradition, some of them are far earlier than the kalī age¹ Vāṭsyāyana mentions earlier writers of remote ages whose works are lost, save in stray quotations In describing the recreations of a nāgaraka, the cityman, he says

1 See chapter on BHARATA, post

पीठमर्दविटिविदूषकायतात्यापारा । प्रदोषे च सङ्गीतकानि । पक्षस्य मासस्य वा प्रज्ञातेऽहनि
सरस्वत्या भवने नियुक्तानां नित्य समाज । कुशीलवाक्षागतव प्रेक्षकमेषां दद्यु । द्वितीयेऽहनि तेभ्य
पूजा नियत लभेरन् । ततो यथाश्रद्धमेषां दर्शनमुत्सर्गो वा ॥

Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata refer to nata, nartaka, nātaka and sūtradhāra and dances and theatricals in cities and palaces ¹

552 Harivamsa (8672-4), makes "direct mention of a dramatic treatment (*nūtakābhr̥tam*) of the Ramayanam mahakavyam, without indeed connecting therewith the name of Valmiki, but with statements so definite as clearly to show that so far as regards its main elements, our present text of the Ramayana existed even at that time, and already in its Vaishnava form We are informed, namely, that the renowned actor, to the eulogising of whom the passage in question is devoted, represents in a drama "the birth of the immeasurable Vishnu for the purpose of fulfilling his wish to put to death the prince of the Rakshasas Lomapada (and) Dasaratha (in the drama) caused the great muni Rishyasringa to be fetched, by means of Santa and the courtesans Rama, Lakshmana, Bharata and Sathrugghna, Rishyasringa and Santa were personated by actors characteristically dressed "

1 *Rāmāyaṇa* (Srirangam Edn)

i रसैश्चत्वारकरुणहास्यरौद्रभयानकै ।

वीरादिमीरसैर्युक्त काव्यमेतदगायताम् ॥ I 49

नाराजके जनपदे प्रहृष्टनटनर्तका । II 67 15

ii श्रेष्ठ्य शास्त्रसमूहेषु प्राप्तो व्यामिश्रकेषु च । II 117.

iii वादयन्ति तथा शान्तिं लासयन्त्यपि चापरे ।

नाटकान्यपरे प्राहुर्हस्त्यानि विविधानि च ॥ II 69 4

iv शैल्युषाश्च तथा स्त्रीभिर्यान्ति । II. 88 15

See also Hopkins, *Great Epic of India*, 55, Hildebrandt, *ZDMG*, LXXII 229,
n 1, Hugh Nevill, *The Ramayana as a play*, (*Tabrobansan*, II 150, 170)

2 See M Winternitz, *The Mahābhārata and the Drama*, *JRAS*, 1908, 571
Mahābhārata (Kumbakonam Edn)

i इत्यब्रवीत्सूतधारस्सूत पौराणिकस्तथा । I 51 15

ii ननुतुर्नर्तकाश्चैव जयुर्गेयानि गायका । I 219 4

iii पश्यन्तो नटनर्तकान् । I 218-10, II 38 40.

iv नाटका विविधा काव्या कथाख्यायिककारका । II. 12-26

v आनर्ताश्च तथा सर्वे नटनर्तकायका । III 15 18

See also XII 69-60, XII 295-5, IV 22 8, 16, IV. 16-48, I 184-10, III. 20-27,
III. 83-12 (as refed to by Hopkins)

553 During the time of Gauṭama Buddha, Saugandhikāharapa, a rūpaka was enacted at Rājagṛha by his disciples Upaṭṭya and Maudgalyāyana.¹ Pāṇini refers to Natasūtras (IV iii 110-1) composed by Śilālin and Kṛśāśva.²

554 To Pāṇini are ascribed the plays Kamsavadha and Balibandha. Śyāmilaka mentions Vararuci as a writer on dramaturgy. Paṭanjali,³ wrote (*Mahābhāṣya*, BSS, II 36)

इह तु कथं वर्तमानकालता कसं घातयति बलिं बन्धयतीति, चिरहते कसे चिरबद्धे च बलौ । अत्रापि युक्ता । कथम् ? येतावेदेते शोभनिका(सौमिका)नामैते प्रत्यक्षं कसं घातयन्ति, प्रत्यक्षं च बलिं बन्धयन्तीति । चित्रेषु कथम् ? चित्रेष्वपि उदघूर्णा निपतिताश्च प्रहारा दृश्यन्ते कसस्य च कृष्णस्य च । ग्रान्थिकेषु कथम् ? यत्र शब्दग्रन्थनमशुमात्रलक्ष्यते तेऽपीहि तेषामुत्पत्तिप्रमुखा । विनाशाद्बुद्धिर्याचक्षाणस्सतो बुद्धिविषयान् प्रकाशयन्ति । अतश्च सत व्यभिचा हि दृश्यन्ते, केचित् कसमक्ता भवन्ति, केचिद्वासुदेवमक्ता । वर्णान्यत्व खलु पुप्यन्ति । केचिद्वक्तृमुखा भवन्ति, केचित्कालमुखा ॥

555 This passage has been the theme of controversy among some European scholars, a controversy that often expressed itself in unseemly personal attacks. While according to Keith the drama there represented is essentially religious in origin, Hillebrandt,⁴ Grosse,⁵ Gray,⁶ and Ridgeway⁷ say that "the imitation of the happenings of life may have given rise to comedy, a fact, which explains the failure of India to rise to tragedy, the play remaining on its original popular line." So that according to them the Indian drama had its origin not in religion, but

1 S F Oldenburg, Ukazaniya na predstavleniye buddiskoi dramy In Zapiski Vostochnago Otdeleniya Imp. Russkago Arkheologicheskago Obschestva, (IV 893-894) [Mention of a representation of a Buddhist Drama. Text from the Avadānaśāṭaka 75], Levi, *TI*, I, 819, Winternitz, *VOJ*, XXVII 88, Schiefner, *IST*, III 488, Keith, *SD*, 42, E Schlaginbweit, *JASB*, (1865), 71, *Buddhism in Tibet*, 288, Lalitavistara, XII 178, Divyāvadāna, 857, 860 Avadānaśāṭaka, II 24. For Jain references, see Keith, *SD*, 44, 'Aṣṭārāṅga Sutta, II xi 14, Rājaprasānya, *IST*, XVI 385, Hultzsch, *ZDMG*, LXXV 59

2 (i) पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां सिद्धनटसूत्रयो ।

(ii) कर्मन्दकुशाश्वादिनि ॥

3 See R G Subrahmanya, *Patanjali and Kavya Literature* (Pr. Or. Confer. 1924), Swami Saradananda, *Poetry and Drama in ancient times* (Brahmavadin, III, 846-55)

4 *Über die anfangs des indischen drama*

5 *Anfänge der Kunst*, 214

6 *HRM*, IV 868

7 *The origin of tragedy with special reference to Greek tragedies*, Cambridge,

on the primitive mime of the Indian popular strolling actors and their wives,

556. Ridgeway propounds the theory that all religion is to be traced to the reverence shown to the dead and that all drama is born from such reverence, but Keith does not agree and he answers Ridgeway's criticism of his views¹ The following extracts from an article by A B Keith in *JRAS*, (1916), 335 et seq with enlighten the reader —

“ But though the theory of Professor Ridgeway must remain a mere hypothesis, which has no probability, it is important to examine his criticism of the rival theory that the Indian drama is an offshoot from the religious practices of early India The criticism of this theory as already set out in this Journal [*JRAS*, 1911, 1001] by me is contained in the following passage (pp 140-2) —

‘ The slaying of Kansa by Krishna, as we shall soon see, was the subject of the earliest dramatic performance recorded for us in Hindu literature According to the *Mahabhasya*, which cannot be later than the first century after Christ, in this performance the *Granthikas* divided themselves into two parties, those representing the followers of Kansa had their faces blackened, those of Krishna had their faces red, and they expressed the feelings of both sides throughout the struggle from Krishna's birth to the death of Kansa On this story alone Dr A B Keith rests his belief in the theory of the origin of tragedy still held by Sir James Frazer and Dr Farnell, and with which I have dealt at length on earlier pages (pp 18-21) ‘ The mention of the colour of the two parties,’ he writes, ‘ is most significant, red man slays black man the spirit of spring and summer prevails over the spirit of the dark winter The parallel is too striking to be mistaken, we are entitled to say that in India, as in Greece, this dramatic ritual, the slaying of winter, is the source whence drama is derived ’ This too is the only reason that he gives for his opinion expressed in the same place ‘ Ridgeway's theory of the origin of drama from the festivals in honour of the dead seems to be still improbable, as an explanation of the origin of tragedy ’ But Dr Keith forgets that the red men who slay black men are themselves led by Krishna ‘ the black ’, and thus red men led by black man slay black men, which on his own principle can only mean that winter aided by summer slays winter Plainly, then, winter is divided against himself and commits suicide. The judiciously minded reader will opine that in the slaying of the

1. *JRAS*, (1911), 1008; *JRAS*, (1912), 421

negro doctor by Punch without the aid of another gentleman of colour we have really more cogent evidence for *Punch and Judy* being a drama of summer slaying winter than that on which Dr Keith bases his theory of the origin of the Hindu drama. Moreover, when we recall the fact admitted by Dr Keith himself of the conquest by the fair-complexioned Aryans of the dark aborigines of Hindustan, and their admixture as time went on, and when we are further told that Krishna the Black was quite different in colour from the rest of his race, it is but natural that the Yadavas should be represented with ruddy faces, and the followers of Kansa as dark-skinned aborigines. Dr Keith might just as reasonably see a combat between winter and summer in any of the many battles between British troops and native armies in the long struggle which eventuated in the conquest of India. Krishna, who eventually was made the eighth Avatar of Vishnu, a god regarded by Dr Keith as the sun, must also be held by that scholar to be the sun-god, or at least the spirit of light and spring. But as all traditions agree in making Krishna black, Dr Keith thus represents the sun-god himself as a black man, which may be regarded as the wildest of all the many vagaries of his school."

The judiciously minded reader will probably opine that this is excellent fooling, but very bad logic. In Professor Ridgeway's own view we have in the slaying of Kamsa merely a representation of doubtless a real episode in the life of the hero Kṛṣṇa. But how on this hypothesis is the difference of colour to be understood? The account given above by Professor Ridgeway is plainly ludicrous. Kṛṣṇa is quite different in colour from the rest of his race, therefore the Yādavas are made red, Kamsa and his supporters black. But Kamsa was the uncle of Kṛṣṇa, who was a Yādava on both sides, his supporters and he are here represented as of the colour of Kṛṣṇa; but the rest of Kṛṣṇa's race is, Professor Ridgeway argues, quite different from Kṛṣṇa, whence it follows that Kamsa should be red. Accordingly the absurdities of my view are even on Professor Ridgeway's own showing at least no greater than those of his own view. That he should be guilty of such a bad piece of argument is undoubtedly due to his forgetting that Kamsa is the uncle of Kṛṣṇa, and that therefore he cannot be treated as belonging to a different section of the population. The forgetfulness is the more amazing in that Professor Ridgeway has himself given the traditional account of the origin of Kṛṣṇa, an account which he does not and obviously cannot criticize. But there is a more amazing blunder still to chronicle. at p 21

Professor Ridgeway asserts that "Dr A B Keith finds the origin of the Hindu drama in the slaying of the dark Koravas by the fair Pandavas But Dr Keith omits the important point that in the Hindu story the fair Pandavas were led to victory over the dark Koravas by Krishna, 'the Black,' a fact in itself fatal to his theory" This remarkable assertion, which of course is wholly untrue, is due not to any deliberate desire to mislead his readers on the part of Professor Ridgeway, but to a confusion between Kamsa and the Koravas—a spelling strangely adopted by the author for Kauravas—and between Kṛṣṇa exploits *per se* and his connexion with the Pāṇdavas, who are not, it may be added, pale at all, but descendants of a man called Pāṇdu

The extraordinary confusion of mind of Professor Ridgeway explains his criticism of my theory, he has overlooked the fact that, so far from not appreciating the question of Kṛṣṇa's name, I was the first¹ to point out the error into which Levi² fell in ascribing to the followers of Kṛṣṇa the colour black, and that I expressly on more than one occasion have refuted the theory that Kṛṣṇa was a sun-god The fact that Kṛṣṇa is an Avatar of Viṣṇu no more proves that he was originally a sun-god than the fact that the Buddha is also an Avatar of Viṣṇu proves that he was a sun-god The fact that Kṛṣṇa's company is mentioned as red is of the utmost importance as a piece of evidence of the real character of the ritual, had it not been traditional, the effect of the name Kṛṣṇa would undoubtedly have carried with it the dark colour of his company, for we cannot suppose that at the time when the *Mahābhārata* relates to us the dramatic performance of the Kamsavadha there was any longer an understanding of the legend in its primitive sense It was a human drama to the actors, understood in purely historic sense, the slaying by Kṛṣṇa of his wicked uncle, and I have laid stress³ on the fact that the existence of this drama is the earliest clear proof we have of the stories of the infancy of Kṛṣṇa, a fact which establishes their anteriority to the Christ-child legend But whereas if we take the story as a mere piece of history we are landed in hopeless difficulties in the explanation of the colours assigned, of which Professor Ridgeway's account affords a perfect specimen, a very clear sense and meaning are obtained if we accept the natural conclusion that in India, as in Greece, we find at the source of drama

1. *JRAS* (1908), p. 172, n. 4

2. *Theatre indien*, p. 315,

3. *JRAS*, (1908), pp. 169 seq., a view now accepted by Garbe.

the old ritual of the slaying of the vegetation spirit in winter as in India or in summer as in Greece, the differing choice of aspect being the cause of the existence in India of no real tragedy, while in Greece tragedy is predominant

Professor Ridgeway argues¹ that if Kṛṣṇa is a sun-god, then his birthday should fall at the winter solstice, but in point of fact he is born according to tradition in July or August. The argument seems singularly without force. Apart from the late date of the tradition of the time of Kṛṣṇa's birth, it seems inexplicable why a sun-god must be born at the winter's solstice. Professor Ridgeway accepts my proof that the Mahāvratā was celebrated at the winter solstice, but I have not suggested at any time that this festival represents the birth of the sun, it is a period when the strengthening of the sun for its tasks is required, and is provided by sympathetic magic in the ritual by which a light takes place for a symbol of the sun which is eventually taken away from the Sudra. But this ritual, though it is interesting and though it is rightly mentioned in any account of the beginnings of drama as one of the ultimate sources from which drama developed—not of course as in itself drama since the element of mimesis² is absent—is not a Kṛṣṇa ritual at all, a fact which Professor Ridgeway should have remembered, as he cites³ with approval my express statement that the Mahāvratā has no vegetation spirit in its ritual and that the prominence of such a spirit may have been due to the influence of the aboriginal tribes, even assuming that it was also Aryan in character. In the case of Kṛṣṇa we have a real vegetation spirit ritual, the killing of a representative of the spirit of vegetation. But we see more than this, we see a conflict in the process of the killing, and curiously enough Professor Ridgeway, who credits⁴ me with following Dr Frazer in my views of the vegetation spirit, is ignorant still, it seems, as he was in 1910, of the contents of the paper of Usener, on which, as I have expressly stated, my views of the origin of Indian drama which were first formulated by me in 1908 are based⁵. The paper of Usener cites instances in which there occurs a mimic fight intended clearly to secure sunlight and to prosper vegetation. In the case of the Mahāvratā we have this fight in a solar form, in the

1 p 144

2 On this point Professor Ridgeway agrees with me, see pp. 154, 156

3 p 145 Of *JRAS*, (1909), pp 203, 204.

4 p 142

5, *JRAS*, (1908), p 172, n, 5

case of Kamsa in a vegetation form, but the fight is an essential feature of both,¹ and it is an essential feature of the drama which is an agon, a contest. Therefore the essence of drama is revealed to us in the very drama of which we have the first distinct record in India, and it is idle sophistry to wave aside this most striking piece of evidence."

557 Elsewhere A. B. Keith says [*JRAS*, (1912), 411]

"The clear evidence of the MAHABHASYA proves the connection of the earliest Indian literary form which was clearly dramatic with the contest of the two figures Kamsa and Kṛṣṇa, and the actors coloured their faces, the followers of Kṛṣṇa being RAKTAMUKHA, those of Kamsa KĀLAMUKHA. It is true that Indian tradition tells us that Kamsa was Kṛṣṇa's uncle, and that we can, if we like, insist that time is a piece of history but such euhemerism is, if at present again fashionable, hardly likely to remain long in vogue. That Kṛṣṇa was divine is, of course, asserted by the earliest texts which refer to him, and the MAHABHASYA parallel is of singular importance in that it shows the drama dealing with a subject which reveals itself clearly as one side of the widespread belief in the slaying of the vegetation spirit, which is certainly found also in India.

On its merits, therefore, and apart from the evidence of the MAHABHASYA, Aristotle's account of tragedy seems to demand full adherence. The evidence of that text adds to the theoretical probability of the Aristotelian version, the unexpected parallel of an actual stage in development, which is not directly recorded in Greek literature. The only way to minimise the value of the evidence is to declare that the MAHABHASYA which dates probably about 145 B.C., perhaps later, is recording a state of affairs introduced from Greece, and it is as well to point out how many improbabilities are involved in such an assumption. The text recognizes the expression of a dramatic theme, the death of Kamsa at the hands of the Kṛṣṇa by two parties of "actors", who do not use action proper, *i.e.*, who are in effect performing a dithyramb, it recognizes also the full action, and it knows of actors who are to sing, and on the other hand we have no reliable evidence of any performance of Greek plays, or still less of dithyrambs, in India.

In the MAHABHASYA the two parties of GRANTHIKAS, "reciters," who represent the feelings of either side, do so by words alone

1 I have never rested my case on the Kamsavadha alone. *JRAS*, 1908, p. 172, 1911, p. 1008, 1912, p. 428, *ZDMG*, lxxiv, 584 seqq.

(SABDAGRANTHANAMATRAM), that is to say, they do not act as do the SAUBHIKAS. Surely we have here in perfect form the dithyramb on its way to complete drama, as it has regularly been conceived in reconstructing the probable history of drama as sketched by Aristotle. No doubt the drama already existed at the time of the MAHABHASYA, but the dithyrambic form has not disappeared as a species of art."

558 Viewed impartially, Paṭanjali's expressions do not admit of any confusion and obscurity. Saubhikas were teachers of the actors and they managed the stage and directed the theatrical operations which included music and dancing and dialogue. It was not a matter only for the eyes but for the ears too. Elsewhere Paṭanjali (*MB*, II 253)¹ says

यदारम्भका रक्त गच्छन्ति नटस्य, श्रोष्यामः ।

In Padamanjari, Haradatta speaks of Grānthikas

येऽपि ग्रन्थ वाचयन्त कसवधमाचक्षते काथिका नाम तेऽन्युत्पत्तिप्रभृत्याविनाशात् रुसादीन् वर्णयन्ति, तेऽपि वर्णयमाना स्तोतॄणां बुद्धिस्था प्रत्यक्षवद्भवन्ति, चित्तमपि तेषां तादात्म्यमिव भवति, अत एव व्याश्रिताश्च भवन्ति, नानापक्षसमाश्रयो व्याश्रय ।

In his Vākyapadiya, (II p 177 Benares Edn) Bhartṛhari says

शब्दोपहितरूपांश्च बुद्धेर्विषयनां गतान् ।

प्रत्यक्षमिव कसादीन् साधनत्वेन मन्यते ॥ (II 177, Benares Edn)

and Helarāja's gloss is

एव कृतानुकरणेनाद्येऽपि कसवासुदेवानुकारेणसादृश्यात्तद्रूपत्वोपपत्तिः ॥

"It is the faces of the hearers that change color at hearing the incidents of the story so vividly pictured before them by the reciters, and it is the hearers that feel pity and pleasure during the narration of the incidents."

559. Beyond the ingenuity displayed in attempting to prop up theories assumed a priori and the unity among them all the same in denying its deserved antiquity to the Sanskrit stage, the controversy is futile and to a scholar with an open mind, the only view possible is that long before the days of Pāṇini, Sanskrit drama had become perfected and a science of dramaturgy evolved by rhetoricians for future compositions.

Of the progress of the art of histrionics, for earlier than the dawn of the Christian era, we have instances in the devices used by poets

1 Also नटस्य शृणोति, ग्रन्थिकस्य शृणोति (I iv 29), अगासीकट (I iv 77) नटस्य सुक्तम् II iii 67, नटमन्त्रानां, (III ii 127), See also IV i 8 and VI. iii 48,

such as dream (swapna), magic (indrajāla), portrait-painting (citra-lekhana), inter-drama (anāṛnāṭika) and the like. In Guṇādhya's Brhaṭkathā which has furnished the theme for many later plays and romances, these devices were used in the progress of the tales ¹

SECTION 3

The Dramatic Arrangement

560. Every drama opens with a prelude or introduction, in which the audience are made acquainted with the author, his work, the actors, and such part of the prior events as is necessary for the spectators to know. The actors of the prelude were never more than two, the manager and one of his company, either an actor or actress, and they led immediately into the business of the drama. The first part of this introduction is termed the *Purva Ranga* and opens with a prayer invoking in a benedictory formula the protection of some deity in favour of the audience. This is termed the *Nandi*, or that which is the cause of gratification to men and gods. There is a difference of opinion as to who recites the *Nandi*, and the commentator on the *Mudra-Rakshasa* observes, "that it is equally correct to supply the ellipse after *Nandyante* by either *Pathati* (reads) or *Pravacati* (enters), in the former case the Sutrādhara reciting the *Nandi*, and then continuing the induction, in the latter, benediction being pronounced by a different individual Sutrādhara, according to the technical description of him, "was to be well-versed in light literature, as narrative, plays and poetry, he should be familiar with various people, experienced in dramatic details and conversant with different mechanical arts." The prayer is usually often followed by some account of the author of the piece, in which most of the authors "give a long description of their

1 See V Saunders, *Magic in Sanskrit Drama, Portrait painting as a dramatic device* (JAOS, XXXIX, Dec.) A. V. W. Jackson, *Disguising as a dramatic device*, (Proc. of Am. Phil. Assn. XXIX, 18), *Children on the stage in Hindu Drama* (The Looker on, New York, June 1897 pp. 509-16, abstracted in Proc. of Am. Phil. Assn., XXVII v, vi). K. Krishnamacharya, *Child-heroes of Early Sanskrit stage, and Heroines in Early Sanskrit stage* (Collegian, 1915, Feb to May).

On Sanskrit Drama generally, see Das Indische Theatre, *Globus*, XLIX, 380, Th. Bloch, *ZDMG*, LVIII, 455, R. Böhm, *Vossische Zeitung* (1903) No. 37, J. Hertel, *WZKM*, XVIII, 59, 130, J. L. Klein, *Geschichte des Dramas*, III, 1-373, S. Levi, *Le Theatre Indien*, Paris. F. Née, *Museon*, I, 523, Ig. Sladomel, *Vlast*, XIII, 335, S. M. Tagore, *The Hindu Drama*, Calcutta, P. N. Patankar, *Indian Dramaturgy*, S. Konow, *Indian Drama*, Hillebrandt, *Beginnings of Indian Drama*, Ridgeway, *Dramas and Dramatic Dance*, *Tales from Sanskrit Dramatists*, Madras. For translations and other works of criticism, see Schuyler, *Bibl.* 16-23.

genealogies and of their own attainments, while it is a characteristic of Kalidasa's writings that they all begin with a charmingly modest introduction, marked by great diffidence," and in some places, the mention of the author is little more than the particularisation of his name "The notice of the author is in general followed by a complimentary appeal to the favour of the audience, and the manager occasionally gives a dramatic representation of himself and his concerns in a dialogue between himself and one of his company, either an actor or an actress, who is termed the *Pariparswika* or associate The conclusion of the prelude, termed the *Prastavana*, prepares the audience for the entrance of one of the dramatic personages, who is adroitly introduced by some abrupt exclamation of the manager, either by simply naming him as in the *Sakuntala* and *Malavikagnimitra*, or by uttering something he is supposed to overhear, and to which he advances to reply, as in the *Mritchakati* and *Mudra Rakshasa* The play being thus opened, is carried forward in scenes and acts, each scene being marked by the entrance of one character, and the exit of another, for in general the stage is never left empty in the course of the act, nor does total change of place often occur Contrivances have been resorted to, to fill up the seeming chasm which such an interruption as a total change of scene requires, and to avoid such solecism which the entrance of a character, whose approach is unannounced, is considered to be"²

SECTION 4.

561. "Bharata mentioned ten types of Rūpaka and 14 types of Uparūpaka^a Dhānanjaya accordingly named his work Ḍaśairūpaka. Kohala named twenty, Śāradaṣanaya, the usual ten and another twenty, Viśvanāṭha, twenty-eight, and Vema, twenty, Agni Purāṇa gives twenty-seven The ten Rūpakas are Rasāsrāya or Vākyaṛṭhabhinaya and the others Bhāvēśraya or Padārthābhinaya Bharata brings under the former the ten Rūpakas, Nāṭaka, Prakaraṇa, Dīpa, Prahāsana, Samavakāra, Vyāyoga, Ihāmṛga, Vīṭhī, Uṣṣṭhikāṅka and Bhāna as also Nāṭikā and Sattaka

Kohala classifies plays into mārga and deśi based on the principle whether song and dance predominate in each of them Among mārga

1. On *Vidusaka*, see J. Hinanga, *De Vidusaka N het indisch Toneel*, (Groningen, 1897, 155) and P. M. Pavolini's review of it, in *Studi italiani di filologia indiana*, II 86, M. Schuyler, *Origin of Vidusaka* (JACS, XX 898), P. V. Ramaswami, *Vidusaka in Sanskrit plays*, (Pr. Or. confere, 1924)

2. See V. Raghavan, *On the name Dasarupaka*, JOR, VII 278.

kinds the names of the well-known ten with nāṭikā, prakaraṇika, bhāṇikā, hāsikā, viyoginī, dimikā, kalotsāhavatī, chitrā, jugupsitā, citratāla are cited. None of these twenty allow song or dance in them. Under deśī plays he gives again dombikā, bhanaka prasthāna, shidgaka, bhaṇika, preraṇa, ramakrīḍa, ragakāvya, hallisa, rāsaka. Among these the last six are fascinating only as rapturous dances of delicate or wild type (*sukumāra* or *uddhata*).

मार्गो देशीति नाट्यस्य मेदद्वयमुदाहृतम् । ब्रह्मणा यत्तपस्तप्त्वा मार्गितं शिवयोः पुरा ॥

मार्गनाट्यं ततः प्राहुस्तच्च विंशतिषोच्यते । नाटकं च प्रकरणं भाणः प्रहसनं डिमः ॥

व्यायोगः सभवकारो वीथ्यङ्केहामृगा अपि । रूपकाणि दशैतानि शङ्करेण विभाषिरे ॥

नाटिका प्रकरणिक्का भाणिका हासिका तथा । वियोगिनी च डिमिका कलोत्साहवती पुनः ॥

चित्रा छुद्यप्सिता चैव चित्रतालेति दुर्गया । एवमुक्तं मार्गनाट्यं शिवाभ्यां ब्रह्मणा पुरा ॥

अथ देशीनृत्तकान्यप्रमेदा डोम्बिकादयः । कथ्यन्ते डोम्बिका भाणः प्रस्थानं विद्रुकोऽपि च ॥

भाणिका भ्ररणं चाथ रामक्रीडं तथैव च । रागकान्यं च हल्लीसः रासकं चेलमी दश ॥

Dattila names 16 of the latter kind as saṭṭaka, toṭaka, gosṭhī, blindaka, śīlpaka, prekshaṇa, sallāpaka, hallisa, rāsakā, ullāpya, sri-gadita, nāṭyarāsaka, durmallī, prasthana, kāvya and lāsikā. Thus it will be seen that all those which are exhibited before audience are classed as plays only figuratively ; Saradātanaya gives support to this view, तेषां रूपकसंज्ञापि प्रायो दृश्यतया क्वचित् ।”

562. The following table has been prepared by M Ramakrishna Kavi

Type of the play	Theme	Kohala's Uparupaka	Hero and his nature	Extent in acts.	Unity (Sandhie)	Virtia	Rasa	Specialties
1. नाटक	Well-known and Puranic.	नाटिका	Heroic and noble or दिव्य	5 to 10	5 Unities of 64 angas.	Four	All rasas भुङ्गार and चरि prominent Do	High and noble type.
2. प्रकरण	Created by the poet (उपाद्य)	प्रकरणिका	Excluding divine beings Brahmans, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas	Do	Do	Do	Do	Civilised and worldly
3. समवकार	Known (ख्यात)	चिन्ता	Devās and Rākshasas. Udatka heroes (twelve)	3 in 3 nights total 19½ hours	All the four except विमर्श.	All the four except काली.	Vira and Sringāra subsidiary	Fight, deceit, invasion Vithyāngas may be used
4. ईशसुग	Do.	चिन्ताला	Divine being for a Divine heroine.	4	3 Unities	Ārabhati.	Light Sringāra	Forable abduction, fight etc
5. विम	Do	विमिका	Well known heroic (16 heroes)	4	4 except विमर्श.	Śātyaki and Ārabhati	Raudra (Sringāra Devās' piśācikas not allowed)	Māya, Indrajāla
6. व्यायोग	Do	जुगुप्सिता	Known Uddhata Feminine characters are very few	1	3 Unities. no गर्भ and अवमर्श	Ārabhati	Vira and hāsya	and fear Fight, beating, bullying etc
7. उत्सृष्टिकाङ्क	Well-known or created by the poet.	वियोगिनी	No divine beings.	1	First and the last unities.	Bhārati	Karuna.	Grief of women cries, dejection etc
8. ग्रहसन	Created	हासिका	Saunyeśin, Sāgē, Brahmān, Vaisika, vika etc	1	Do.	Do.	Hāsya.	Worldly life not very vulgar
9. भाण	Do	भागिका	Single character vika dhurka.	1	Do.	Do	Sringāra and Lāsyaṅgas allow- Vira (only to be suggested)	Conversation and repetition.
10. बीची	Do.	कळोत्साहचरी	One or two characters, vika or dhurka.	1	Do	Kaśhī	Touch of Sringāra.	Angas specially thirteen.

563. Sanskrit plays have been classified very elaborately under various sub-divisions, and Visvanatha in his *Sahityadarpana*,¹ divides them into his great classes, *viz* 1. RUPAKA, 'principal dramas,' of ten species, 2. UPA RUPAKA, 'minor dramas' of eighteen

A 1 The NATAKA, or 'principal play' should consist of from five to ten acts (*Anka*) and should have a celebrated story (such as the history of Rama) for its plot (*Vastu*) It should represent heroic or god like characters, and good deeds, should be written in an elaborate style, and be full of noble sentiments. Moreover, it should contain all the five 'joints' or 'junctures' (*Sandhi*) of the plot the four kinds of action (*Vritti*), the sixty-four members (*Anga*) or peculiar properties and the thirty-six distinctive marks (*Lakshana*) The hero or leading character (*Nayaka*) should be of the kind described as high-spirited but firm, being either a royal sage of high family (as Dushyanta in the *Sakuntala*), or a god (as Krishna), or a demigod (*Divyadivya*), who, though a god (like Ramachandra) thinks himself a man The principal sentiment or flavour (*Rasa*) should be either the erotic (*Sringara*) or heroic (*Vira*), and in the conclusion (*Nirvahana*) the marvellous (*Adbhuta*) It should be composed like the end of a cow's tail (*Go-Pucchagra*), *i e* so that each of the acts is gradually made shorter If it also contain the four *Pataka-sthanaka* or 'striking points' and the number of its acts *Anka* be ten, it is entitled to be called a *Maha-Nataka* An example of the *Nataka* is the *Sakuntala*, and of the *Maha-Nataka* is the *Bala-Ramayana*

2 PRAKARANA should resemble the *Nataka* in the number of its acts as well as in other respects, but the plot must be founded on some mundane or human story, invented by the poet, and have love for its principal sentiment, the hero or leading character being either a brahmin (as in the *Mric-chakatika*), or a minister (as in the *Malati-madhava*), or a merchant (as in the *Pushpa-bhushita*), of the description called firm and mild (*Dhruva-Prasanta*), while the heroine (*Nayika*) is sometimes a woman of good family, sometimes a courtesan, or both

3 BHANA, in one act, should consist of a variety of incidents, not progressively developed, the plot being invented by the poet It should only have the opening and concluding juncture An example is the *Lala Madhukara*

1 M. Wilson, *IW*, 470 3 Saraḍātanaya call a Bhāṅkā as Dombī and adds some classes of Uparupakas, Bhāṇa, Mallikā, Kalpavallī and Parijātaka For a complete account of classifications of dramas, see Int to Bhāṇasprakāśa (*GOS*), by Yadugiri Yātrajswami

4 VYAYOGA, in one act, should have a well known story for its plot, and few females in its *Dramatis Personæ*. Its hero should be some celebrated personage of the class called firm and haughty (*Viroddhata*). Its principal sentiments or flavours should be the comic (*Hasya*), the erotic (*Sringara*), and the unimpassioned (*Santa*).

5 SAMAVAKARA, in four acts, in which a great variety of subjects are mixed together (*Samavakuryante*), it dramatizes a well-known story, relating to gods and demons, e.g. *Samudramathana*, *Abdhimathana* or *Payodhimathana*.

6 DIMA, in four acts, founded on some celebrated story, its principal sentiment should be the terrible (*Raudra*), it should have heroes (a god, a Yasksha, a Rakshasa, a serpent, goblin &c.) e.g. is *Tripuradaha*, *Tarakodddharana*, *Vitroddharana*, *Virabhadrasymbhāna*, *Mamvathasmathana*.

7 IHAMRIGA, in four acts, founded on a mixed story (*Misra-vritta*), partly popular, and partly invented, the hero and rival hero (*Pratinayaka*) should be either a mortal or a god. According to some it should have six heroes. It derives its name from this, that the hero seeks (*Ihate*) a divine female, who is unattainable as a deer. *Mriga* e.g. *Urumasekhaviyaya*, *Mayakurangika*, *Viravijaya*.

8 ANKA or UTSRISHTIKANKA, in one act, should have ordinary men *Prakritanarah* for its heroes, its principle sentiment should be the pathetic (*Karuna*), and its form (*Srīshti*) should transgress (*Utkranta*) the usual rules, e.g. *Sarmushthayath*, *Karunakandala*, *Gangabhaguratha*, *Sakti amanuja*.

9 VIRHI, in some act, is so called because it forms a kind of garland (*Vithi*) of various sentiments, and is supposed to contain thirteen members (*Anga*) or peculiar properties, e.g. *Maahavi Indulekha*,¹ *Malatika*, *Vakulavithika* and *Kamadatta*,² and *Premabhrama* of *Ravipati Tripuranataka*.

10 PRAHASANA, properly in one act, is a sort of farce representing reprobate characters (*Nindya*) and the story is invented by the poet, the principal sentiment being the comic (*Hasya*), it may be either pure (*Suddha*), of which the *Kandarpakeśa*, 'love-sports,' is an example,

1 Mentioned by Bāharupamīśra in his commentary on Daśarupa.

2 The original is lost, but there is the Telugu Translation Kṛidābhūṣamam of Vallabha. See Andhra Sah. Par. Patra, II. 369 and Bhārat (1927), 21.

or mixed (*Sankṛma*), like the *Dhūrtacarita* 'advantures of a rogue, or it may represent characters transformed (*Vikṛita*) by various disguises "

B The eighteen Upa rupakas' names are as follows :—

1 नाटिका, which is of two kinds, *Natika* pure, and *Prakaramka* differing little from the *Nataka* and *Prakarana* *eg Ratnavah*

2 त्रोटक, in five, seven, eight, or nine acts, the plot should be founded on the story of a demi-god, and the *Vidushaka* or 'Jesting Brahman' should be introduced into every act *eg* *Vikramorvasi*, *Ṣṭambhīṣarambhaka*, *Maṇḍalekhā*, *Menakānāhusa*

3 गोष्ठी, *eg* *Raivaṭamadanikā*

4 सट्टक, *eg* *Ānandasundarī*, *Karpūramanjarī*

5 नाट्यरासक, *eg* *Narmavaṭī*, *Vilāsavaṭī*

6 प्रस्थान, *eg* *Ṣṅgārāṭilaka*

7 उद्घाट्य, *eg* *Devīmahādeva* (*Devīmahodaya* ?), *Udāṭṭakunjara*

8 काव्य *eg* *Gaudavijaya*, *Sugrīvakelana*, *Yādavodaya*

9 प्रेङ्खण, *eg* *Ṭṛipuramardana*, *Nṛsimhavijaya*, *Vālivadha*

10. रासक, *eg* *Menakāhīṣa*

11 सट्टापक, *eg* *Māyākāpālikā*

12 श्रृंगिदित, *eg* *Rāmānanda*, *Kṛīdārasāṭala*

13 शिल्पक, *eg* *Kanakavatīmādhava*

14 विलासिका

15. दुर्मलिका, *eg* *Bindumaṭī*

16. प्रकरणी.

17 हल्लीस, *eg* *Keluraivaṭaka*

18 भाणिका, *eg* *Vīṇavaṭī*, *Kāmadatṭā*, *Dānakelikamudī*.

SARADATANAYA ADDS NEW CLASSES OF UPARUPAKAS

19 पारिजातलता, *eg* *Gangāṭarāngikā*.

20 कल्पवल्ली, *eg* *Māṇikyavallikā*

21 डौबिका, *eg* *Gupamālā*, *Cūdāmaṭī*

22. भाण, *eg* *Nandimaṭī*, *Ṣṅgāramanjarī*

These examples are mentioned in *Abhinavabhāṭī* (*AB*), *Sarasvatī-kānthābharana* (*SK*), *Ṣṅgārāprākāśa* (*SP*), *Ḍasārūpa* (*DR*) and *Nāṭya-garapa* (*ND*) and are mostly known only by name."

564. Harsa,¹ very likely Śrī Harṣadeva, King of Ujjain, lived about the 6th century B C and commented on Bharata's Nāṭyasāstra. Śāradātanaya quotes his classification -

नाट्यवेद विधायदौ ऋषीनाह पितामह ।
धर्मादिसाधन नाट्य सर्वदुःखापनोदनम् ।
आसेवञ्च तद्वयस्तस्योत्थान तु नाटकम् ।
दिव्यमानुषसयोगो यत्राङ्गैरविदूषकैः ।
तदेव तोटक भेदो नाटकस्येति हर्षवाक् ॥

Bhāvaṇṇaprakāśa, Baroda Edn p 238

565 Subandhu was an ancient play-wright and rhetorician. According to Śāradātanaya he divides nāṭaka into five kinds, Pūrpa, Prasānta, Bhāsvara, Lalīṭa and Samagra

सुबन्धुर्नाटकस्यापि लक्षणं प्राह पञ्चधा ।
पूर्णं चैव प्रशान्तं च भास्वरं ललितं तथा ॥
समग्रमिति विज्ञेया नाटके पञ्च जातयः । (*Ibid* 238)

As an example of Samagranāṭaka i.e., in the fullest form, he mentions Kṛṣṇārāvaṇa (now lost) and names such a play Nṛṣṭapāra (or Nāṭyapāra). To illustrate this class Subandhu wrote a play Vāsavaḍaṭṭā-nāṭyapāra obviously on the story of Vastarāja and Vāsavadattā. It is this Subandhu that is alluded to by Dandin thus

सुबन्धुः किल निष्क्रान्तो बिन्दुसारस्य बन्धनात् ।
वत्सराजो

॥
Avantīsundarikāthā

It is quite likely that Dandin's verse

मृतेति प्रेक्ष संगन्तु यया मे मरणं स्मृतम् ।
सैषावन्ती मया लब्धा कथमत्रैव जन्मनि ॥

is taken from Nṛṣṭyapāra

Vāmana (*KS* V, III 21) quotes a verse in part
सामिप्रायत्वं यथा -

सौख्यं सप्रति चन्द्रगुप्ततमयः चन्द्रप्रकाशो युवा ।
जातो भूपतिराश्रयः कृतशिर्या दिक्का कृतार्थदश्रमः ॥

आश्रयः कृतशिर्यादित्यस्य च सुबन्धुस्तच्चिन्त्योपलोक्य यस्मात् सामिप्रायत्वं ।

1. He was older than Bāṇabhaṭṭa

2. The word Nāṭyachāra, as till recently read, is an error for Nāṭyapāra

3. The reading Vasubandhu is obviously wrong and the manuscript No 4/B 820 of the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, gives the reading Subandhu only. See Rangaswami Saraswati, *Subandhu or Vasubandhu* (J Mys).

Abhinavagupta (AB, XXII) thus comments on Nāṭyāyīta which he says elsewhere is a synonym of Nṛttapāra or Nāṭyapāra ¹

(a) सन्ने स्रमान्तर तत्राप्यन्यत्, सस्यान्तरमित्यादिन्यायेन वा भवत्येकसम्प्रायितवृत्त्या वा सर्वथा तत्राव्यायितम् । तत्रास्य बहुतरन्यापिनो बहुगर्भसम्प्रायिततुल्यस्य नाव्यायितस्योदाहरण महाकविमुबन्धुनिबद्धो वासवदत्तानाट्यपाराख्य (धाराख्य is a clerical error) समस्त एव प्रयोग । तत्र हि बिन्दुसार प्रयोज्यवस्तुक उदयनचरिते सामाजिकीकृत, असावप्युदयनो वासवदत्ताचेष्टिते ।

एष चार्थः—स्वस्मिन् सूत्ररूपके दृष्टे सुज्ञानो भवति । अतिवैतल्यमया तु न प्रदर्शितः, एकस्तु प्रदेश उदाह्रियते । तत्र व्युदयने सामाजिकीकृते सूत्रधारप्रयोग “तव सूचरितैरेष जयति” इति । तत उदयन —“कुतो मम सूचरितानि” इति सात्र विलपति—

एहम्ब किं कटकपिङ्गलपालकैस्तैर्भक्तोऽहमप्युदयन सुतलालनयि ।

यौगन्धरायण ममानय राजपुत्रीं हा हर्षरक्षित गतस्त्वमपप्रमाव ॥ XXII 45

(b) नाव्यायित च वासवदत्तानाट्यपारे प्रतिपद दृश्यते । XXII 47

(c) सविर्ग्रहणं वा सनिबन्धनबन्धनमिति । यथा वासवदत्तानट्यपारे वत्सराजस्य सन्धिः । XVIII 21 sl

Bindusāra, son of Candragupta Maurya, ruled according to the Purāṇas in 1501-1473 B C and according to modern historians in 4th century B C ²

1 In the same work and in a different chapter Abhinava speaks of Vāsavadattā nṛttapāra only as a synonym “In the fourth and fifth quotations nṛttapāra and nāṭyapāra are mentioned to show that in nāṭyāyīta characters on the stage in one drama are represented to sit as audience in some other sub-drama exhibited in the development of the main theme as in the Bālarāmāyaṇa of Rājasekhara In Nāṭyapāra of Subandhu the main character, the hero Udayana, is made to witness the dramatic performance of his own story played by Bindusāra When the latter extols the glorious deeds of Udayana the hero suddenly forgets his being the audience of the drama and exclaims his own miserable state of separation from Vāsavadattā before her mother.”

2. On this controversy, see Introduction On the birth of Bindusāra, Buddhistic works give a story “Hearing an attempt at poisoning by his enemies, Canakya fed him with small doses of poison without his knowledge, so as to keep him immune of poison One day, the Queen who was in full pregnancy, and within 7 days of delivery was about to swallow the food sent to the king with whom she was about to partake the food containing poison As the child in the womb would be destroyed by the effects of poison, if the Queen swallowed the food of which a morsel was put into her mouth, Canakya who only entered the apartment just then, cut the head of the Queen by a sword before she swallowed the morsel The child was removed from the womb, and kept in the stomach of goats successively for seven days to complete the full term of gestation. The child was then delivered to a female slave and was nourished and reared by her In consequence of the spot left on the person of the child by the blood of goats, he was called Bindusara.”

It is not unlikely it was this Subandhu that wrote an Ākhyāyikā Vāsavadattā that is instanced by Paṭanjali.¹

566 **Rāmila** and **Saumila** were probably brothers. The works of Rāmila and Saumila are not now available. Rājasekhara calls them the joint authors of Sūdrakakāṭhā

तौ शुद्रककथाकारौ बन्धौ रामिलसौमिलौ ।
ययोर्द्वयो काव्यमासीदर्धनारीश्वरोपमम् ॥

They are Kaviputru mentioned by Kālidāsa.*

In Āṭmabodhendrasarasavaṭī's commentary on Gururaṭnamālīkā, there is a quotation for Rāmila's play Maniprabhā

There it is said that these poets were contemporaries of Arbhaka-Sāṅkara the 20th in descent from Ādi Śāṅkara in the Kāmakoṭipeetha

विद्याधिप रामिलाख्य स्वस्यैवाश्वीयशालाविचारकस्तादात्मिकविबुधजनमाननीय-
तद्विरुदवाही मणिप्रभाकारो मैथिल इति लक्ष्यम् ॥

अन्तानुसन्धेय यत्किल मणिप्रभायां—

सूत्रधार । आर्ये, अवधीयताम् ।

भङ्गचन्दनमर्दिन प्रणतयो स्फूर्जद्रसांसाहितीं
हर्षक्षोणिपतेश्च हर्षमतुल दृष्ट्वैव ये तानिषु ।
धीरास्तान् गुरुशङ्करेन्द्रयमिनश्चिचेस्मरज्जामिल
प्राणैर्षात्स मणिप्रभां प्रथयितु भक्तेर्गुरोर्गौरवम् ॥

नटी—अञ्जुत कोसों च दणमदीके पणदाको अहरिसमर्हावालोके वा सुगहीतणामहे
असरिंदा इति सक्तिश्च इशुरपदेण समचे अक इणा ।

सूत्रधार —न जानासि ?

मूकामोऽपि जगद्गुरो करुणया विद्याघनस्याप्तवा-
गाचार्योऽस्ति हि शङ्करेन्द्रविरदस्सर्वज्ञपीठाधिप ।
अर्चाकिङ्करमातृशुप्तकवितागर्वस्य निर्वासना-
याघाघोश्वपनागपावपि कवी रामिलमेदू क्षणात् ॥*

(Gururāṭnamahka, p 53)

1. See para 470 *supra*.

2. There is a Sūdrakakāṭhā of Pañcāśikha mentioned in KS of Hemacandra (p 286) under their joint names. Vallabhaḍeva quotes

भूचातुर्यं कुञ्चितान्ता कटाक्षा स्निग्धा हावा लञ्जितान्ताश्च हासा ।

लीलामन्द प्रस्थित च स्थित च स्त्रीणामेतदभूषण चायुध च ॥

3. There it is said that Rāmila and Menṭha was the keepers of the horses and elephants of Emperor Harṣa. See para 37 *supra*, where Menṭha's verse about this Śāṅkara is quoted.

किञ्च—

आचार्येशद्विजन्मार्थ्यतिथिषु विनतो वैनतेयश्शकाह
कश्मीरानेव काव्य किमपि कवयितुर्देतवानप्रमत्तम् ।
रक्षादत्तप्रहर्षप्रकृतिकृतिशताभ्यातहर्षस्सहर्ष
कर्णाम्यर्णावतीर्णः कथमथतदनो विक्रमी विक्रमार्क ॥

इत्यादिना

यच्च ह्यग्रविवधेऽपि —

ख्यातश्रीशङ्करेन्द्रप्रचुरतरकृपालब्धसाहित्यविद्य.
सद्यस्साधूक्तिसमोद्यपि परकवितामर्षिणो मातुगुप्तात् ।
श्रीढा. श्रीढोक्तिरूढैर्निबिडरसमरैर्युग्मनैर्यत्र मेदु-
मैधुर्मोदादिनादीद्वयवदनवध वाग्यकुण्ठस्स मेण्ठ ॥

इति च प्रपञ्चितम् ।¹

567. Bhāsa Antiquity of Bhāsa goes to an age so removed that he has been called a Muni Kālidāsa refers to the glory of ancient poets like Bhāsa, Saumila, Kaviputrū² &c, and contrasts his own work as new³ Bāna describes the fame attained by Bhāsa by his dramas commenced by Sūtradhāra, and displaying various characters⁴ Dandin praises the scientific perfection of his dramas which are said to be the embodiment of his glory⁵ Jayaḍeva calls Bhāsa, the Smile of Sarasvatī⁶ Rājasekhara mentions a tradition that the merit of Bhāsa's Svapnavāsavadatī was manifest, when even fire would not consume it⁷

1 There it is said Mukārbhaka-Śāṅkara died in 359 Śaka (437 A D) See para 97 *supra*

2 प्रथितयशसा भाससौमिलकविपुत्रादीनां । *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Prologue.

3 पुराणमित्येव न साधु सर्वं न चापि काव्यं नवमित्यवधम् । *Sākuntalā*, Prologue

4 सूत्रधारकृतारम्भैर्नाटकैर्बहुभूमिकैः । सपताकैर्यशो लेभे भासो देवकुलैरिव ।

Harsacarita, Int. Verse 16

5 सुविमलमुखधनैर्व्वत्कलक्षणवृत्तिभिः । परेतोऽपि स्थितो भासश्शरीरैरिव नाटकैः ॥

Avantisundarikāṭhā, Int.

6 हासोभास *Prasamarūpavā*, I

7 Compare *IA*, XLII, 52.

भासनाटकचक्रेऽपि छैकैः क्षिप्ते परीक्षितम् ।

स्वप्नवासवदत्तस्य दाहकोऽभूच्च पावकः ॥

Abhinavagupta mentions Bhāsa¹ and quotes a verse from a drama of which the theme was the story of Rāma.² Somadeva quotes two verses under Bhāsa's name.³ The anthologies have preserved some verses too.⁴ Bhāsa's language possessed a peculiar grace, his dramas were well designed and variety of characters was their feature and in versatility of imagery and originality of conception, he attained a name

568 The antiquity of time attributed to Bhāsa is seen from a tradition which represents Bhāsa as a rival of Vyāsa and his poem Viṣṇu-dharma, as having triumphed over Vyāsa's work of the same name.⁵ T S Narayanaśastry, in his introduction to Raṭnāvalī propounded the opinion that Bhāsa was the later name of Dhāvaka alias Ghatakarpāra and he lived in the days of Śrī Harṣa Vikramaditya who flourished according to him in the beginning of the 6th century B C. He relied

1 महाकविना भासेनाऽपि स्वप्रबन्धे उक्त ।

जेतायुगं ततिह हन्त न मैथिली सा रामस्य रागपदवी मृदु वास्य चेत ।

लब्धा जनस्तु यदि रावणस्य कायं प्रोक्तव्यं तत्र तिलघो न वितृप्तिगामी ॥

Abhinavabhāṭṭi, Adhy VI.

2. This verse is not found in the publication of the Trivandrum Sanskrit series.

3 पेया मुरा प्रियतमा मुखभीक्ष्णीयं ब्राह्मस्त्वभावललितो विकटश्च वेषः ।

येनेदमीदृशमदृश्यं मोक्षकर्म (वर्त्म) दीर्घायुरस्तु भगवान्स पिनाकपाणिः ॥

Yaśaśīlaka-campu.

4 Peterson *Subh* 80—1

यदपि विजुघैस्तिन्धोरंतः कथंचिदुपाजितं तदपि सकलं चारुं क्षीणं मुखेषु विलोक्यते ।

सुरमुनसश्चासामोदे (शशी) च कपोलयोरमृतमधरे तिर्यग्भूते विषं च विलोचने ॥

5 In Prithvirājaviṣaya Mahākāvya written by Jayānaka in 12th century A D, there is a verse,

सत्काव्यसहस्रविधौ खलानां दीप्तानि वहेरपि मानसानि ।

भासस्य काव्यं खलु विष्णुधर्मान् (?) सोऽप्यननात्पारदवस्तुमेव ॥

In commenting on this verse Jonarāja says that to test the relative merits of Bhāsa and Vyāsa, who were then rivalling, one work of each was thrown into the fire and fire did not consume the excellent work of Bhāsa (भासमुनेः काव्यं) called Viṣṇu-dharma (See I A XLII, 52 8). In fact there are now two works of this name, both professing to be Pūrāṇas (See I A, XIX, 408). It is probably on account of this tradition that Vāṅkṣi in his Gaudavāha has भासं जलमिति (V 300) "Bhāsa, friend of fire". T Ganapati Sastry (Int. to Pratinidhātaka p 10, note) ignores the reference in the above verse to a Kāvya called Viṣṇudharma, and says विष्णुधर्मप्रतिपादकानद्याग्नि-
नं दग्धवान् ।

on passages in Rājasekhara's *Kavivimarśa* and Hemacandra's *Kavyānusāsana*¹ to say that *Ḍhāvaka* was a washerman by birth and he composed a number of dramas among which he sold one to King Harsa, it is this sale that is mentioned in Mammata's *Kāvya prakāśa*. It is unfortunate that *Kavivimarśa* is not anywhere traceable and in *Kāvyaanusāsana* now in print, the passage cannot be discovered.

Rājasekhara in his *Kavivimarsa* wrote

मासो रामिलसौमिलौ वरराचिश्श्रीसाहसाङ्ग कवि
मेण्ठो भारविकाळिदासतरलास्कन्धस्तुबन्धुश्च य ।
दण्डी बाणदिवाकरौ गणपति कान्तश्च रत्नाकर.
सिद्धा यस्य सरस्वती भगवती के तस्य सर्वे वयम् ॥
कारण तु कवित्वस्य न सम्पन्न कुलीनता ।
धावकोऽपि हि यद्भासः कवीनामाग्रिमोऽभवत् ॥
आदौ भासेन रचिता नाटिका प्रियदार्शिका ।
निरीर्थस्य रसस्य कस्य न प्रियदर्शना ॥
तस्य रत्नावली नून रत्नमालेव राजते ।
दक्षरूपककामिन्या वक्षस्त्यन्तश्चोसमा ॥
नागानन्दं समालोक्य यस्य श्रीहर्षविक्रम ।
अमन्दानन्दमारितस्तस्यमयमकरोत्काविम् ॥
उदात्तराघवं नूनमुदात्तरसगुम्भितम् ।
यद्वीक्ष्य भवभूत्याथा प्राणिन्युर्नाटकानि वै ॥
शोकपर्यवसानास्य नवाङ्गा किरणावली ।
भास्कन्दस्येव कस्यात्त प्रददाति न निर्वृतिम् ॥
भासनाटकचक्रेऽपि छेकै क्षिप्ते परीक्षितुम् ।
खण्णवासदत्तस्य दाहकोऽभूच्च पावक. ॥

And Hemacandra in *Kāvyaanusāsana* (commentary on Dandin's *Kavibhūdaya*)

सम्प्रति परां काष्ठाभारूढेनापि भासेन भूतपूर्वां स्वकीयदशा न विस्मृता ।
यतोऽज्जेन पूर्वचरितं घटकपरिणोदकबह्वनमेव प्रतिज्ञातम् ।
प्रतिज्ञां चेभामसहमानाः परे कवयः परिहर्षितुमनसो विक्रमार्कसम्यगेन
भासे तज्जातिस्मारकघटकपरिनाम्ना व्यवज्जहुः ।
क्रमेण च स एव व्यपदेशो भासमहाकवेस्तुप्रासिद्धस्तस्यैव ॥

1. See Int to Ray's *Uddh of Rājāvali*,

Elsewhere the following verse is quoted as Bhāsa's

एको हि दोषो गुणसन्निपाते निमज्जतीन्दो किरणेष्विवाह्व ।
नून न दृष्ट कविनापि तेन दारिद्र्यदोषो गुणराशिनाशी ॥

569. T.S NARAYANA SASTRI, High Court Vakīl, Madras, was an ardent student of Sanskrit literature and his Age of Sankara in which he attempted to collect the results of his research was left unfinished owing to his premature demise. He thus summed up his conclusions

- (i) That a comparative study of works akin to the plays of Sri Harsha shows (a) that there is a close identity of plot between the *Malavikāgnimitra* on the one hand and the *Ratnavālī* on the other and that if the *Malavikāgnimitra* were the earlier, it is difficult to explain how the other two ever came to be written, (b) that 'Sri Harsha' was not as a matter of fact indebted to Kalidasa for his plots, but to certain accounts and traditions about historical personages, which were afterwards embodied in the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇadhya and that his plays follow a certain order of sequence and had their origin in connection with certain popular historical characters, (c) that Kalidasa in his *Malavikāgnimitra* and nowhere else makes reference to poets before him, and that the manner of such reference, coupled with his allusion to the tales of Udayana in his *Meghadūta*, can have meaning only when taken as applying to writers whom he was in some way trying to excel,
- (ii) That Bhaṣa is mentioned by a long list of eminent writers as one of the greatest of Sanskrit poets, as a dramatist of the highest reputation and as the author of the *Ratnavālī*, *Priyadarsika* and *Nagananda* and a host of other plays,
- (iii) That by 'Sri Harsha' is meant Sri Harsha Vikramāditya of Ujjain, not Harshavardhana of Kanauj, and that it is by identifying the former with the latter that scholars have fallen into the great error of ascribing the plays in question either to Bana or to some other poet of Harshavardhana's court,
- (iv) That this Sri Harsha must have lived in the 6th century B.C. as borne out by a host of references to him in our ancient works¹

1. For a criticism of these views by R.V. Krishnamacharya, see his Introduction to *Priyadarsika*, when the arguments, are elaborately set out in lucid Sanskrit prose. See also S. P. Ray's Int. to *Ratnavālī*.

570 It was in the year 1910 that Mahamahopadhyaya T Gana-pathi Sastri of Travancore discovered a collection of 13 plays,¹ with a similarity of expression and construction and declared that they were Bhasa's composition.² In his introduction to Svapnavasavadatta he says "It is usual in Natakas to begin with Nandi and then to state नान्द्यन्ते सूत्रधारः But the Natakas in this collection as a rule begin with the stage direction नान्द्यन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधारः. and then the *Mangala Sloka* is introduced. Again instead of the word Prastavana these Natakas use the word Sthapana. Thirdly, in the Natakas of Sudraka, Kalidasa and others, in the Prastavana mention is made of the name of the author and of his works and in some instances in terms of praise. But in the plays before us in the Sthapana, not even the name is brought in, either of the works or of the author.³ In the Bharatavakya or the closing sentence of everyone of these plays, invariably occurs the

1 Mahalinga Sastri has written a fine prose summary of the story of these plays, *Printed, Madras*. For an English translation of these plays, see edition by Ashtakar & Co., Poona.

2 These arguments have been thus summarised by R Vasudevasarma in the *Hindu*, 2nd Feby 1937, where he answers objections to the view.

(1) That there is in these plays discernible a distinct departure from the rules of dramaturgy as laid down by Bharata in making his stage manager enter after the "nandi" or the benedictory invocatory song, in the non mention of the name of the author, in calling the prologue a "sthapana" and not a "prastavana", in representing death, sleep and fight on the stage and in closing without a Bharatavakya pronounced by one of the characters, all leading to the inference that these plays belonged to Pre-Bharatan days.

(2) That Bhatta Bana, Bhamaha, Vamana and other ancient rhetoricians have referred to him in unmistakable terms as a poet of ancient renown.

(3) That Kautilya quoted him, thus fixing him up to the pre-Kautilyan age.

(4) That Bhasa uses in Paninian archaic forms, arguing a pre Paninian date.

(5) That he was a Puraṇamuni according to Kalidasa and Jonaraja.

(6) And that by virtue of his writings being characterised by an intensity of rasa and by a marvellously exquisite flow of language, he was comparable to Valmiki and Vyasa and so was possibly contemporaneous with them.

Śakuntalācārā an elaborate commentary on Śakuntalā an unknown author (about 800 years old) mentions all these plays, but without the author's names, as well as Trivikrama, Vatsarajacarita, Vināvāsavaḍaṭṭa &c. (See Kuppasamiastri's *Rep.* (1919) 41).

3 But these three characteristics are found in some other plays discovered later viz., Bhagadattaka, Trivikrama, Nalābhyudaya, Vināvāsavaḍaṭṭa (whose last benedictory verse mentions King Rāmaparma), Paṇḍarābhṛta, Ubhayābhishārikā, Dhurjatisamvāda and a Bhāna nicknamed Kuṇḍappalli Bhāna.

player "May our greatest of kings or may our King rule the land"¹ In all these plays there is in the end a sentence announcing such and such a Nataka is finished and the name of the work is given "

Besides a structural similarity, these plays also contain several passages in common e g , एवमार्यमिश्रान् विज्ञापयामि, अये किं नु खलु मयि विज्ञापनव्यग्रे शब्द इव श्रूयते ।² The Sloka लिम्पतीव तमोज्ज्वलानि etc , appears in the 1st Act both of Carudatta and Bālacariṭa The passage किं वक्ष्यतीति हृदय परिशुद्धि मे occurs in the 6th Act of Svapananataka and also in the 4th Act of Abhiṣekanātaka The part धर्मस्नेहान्तरे न्यस्ता of a śloka is seen in both Praṭimā and Abhiṣekanātaka Many more points of similarity of this kind can be observed in the plays

571 The common characteristics of the technique in these plays are not as pointed out in the notes below peculiarly their own and cannot by themselves lead to the conclusion that they are all the works of the same author But much must be said in regard to the six plays which contain the expression Rājasimha in the ending verse and probably of Praṭimā also, where that ending verse is almost of a similar form and which contains a passage common with Abhiṣekanātaka,³ that they may be fathered on the same poet and if one of them, Svapanātaka, is definitely known to be the work of Bhāsa, the other works may also be ascribed to him But to say the same of other plays in the group, we shall have to await further evidence

- 1 i इमा सागरपर्यन्ता हिमवद्विन्यसेखलाम् ।
महीमेकातपत्ताङ्गा राजसिंह प्रधास्तु न ॥
- ii यथा रामश्च जानक्या बन्धुमिश्र समागत ।
तथा लक्ष्म्या समायुक्तो राजा भूमिं प्रधास्तु न ॥

The former is found at the end of Svapnavāsavadatta, Bālacariṭa and Duṣṭavākya and a slight modification of it but containing the word Rājasimha is found at the end of Praṭigñā, Avimāraḥ Abhiṣekha and Pāncarāṭna

These verses are not found at the end of Duṣṭaghaṭṭaka, Madhyamavyāyoga, Karṇabhāra and Urubhanga The latter is found only in Praṭimā Carudatta as found is incomplete though the manuscript says it is finished.

2 But this very expression is used in Ubhayaśhasārikā, Pāṇḍarīkā and Ācāryaśūdraka.

3. This when compared with the Nāṇḍī of the Anjanātaka in Vināśavadatta, would lead to an inference that the latter is a work of Bhāsa, for it contains besides other characteristics of technique referred to by T. Ganapatiśastri But Vināśavadatta is the work of Śūdraka (For this, see under Śūdraka),

T Ganapatisastri considers that Bhāsa refers to the Nyāyasāstra of Medhātithi, Pāṇini,¹ an ancient sage prior to Bharata,² Kautilya,³ Guṇādhyā,⁴ Bhāmaha⁵ and Sūdraka, and GIORNALE on these considerations places him not later than the 5th century B C⁶

On the authenticity of this attribution of authorship opinion is divided⁷

1 See Int to Prajñānātaka, xxv-xxvi Bhāsa's verse of unpāṇinean words is discussed

2 *Ibid* xxxi-iii, where it is said that Bhāsa does not follow Bharata's rules of dramatizing, and must have followed earlier works of Kṛśāya etc On this simple question scholars differ S Levi says "the Trivandrum Bhāsa conforms scrupulously to the classical rules of the Indian Aristotle Bharata" (*Vasavadatta*, par Albert Baston, Preface in) and Haraprasadsastri (*JASB*, 1912) says "Bhāsa (of the Trivandrum series) disregards altogether the rules of drama hereby laid down in Bharata"

3 T Ganapatisastri says that the verse नव शराव &c, found in the fourth act of Prajñāyāngunḍharāyana is quoted by Kautilya in his Arthasāstra (See Int to Svapnavasavadatta, xxvii) But in the commentary on Arthasāstra by Mādhavamiśra, it is stated that it is a quotation from Manusmṛti so that it would follow that the author borrowed the verse from the same source, if Bhāsa had not borrowed it from Kautilya

4 According to T Ganapatisastri, Guṇādhyā lived in the 1st century A.D. (l.c. xxvii)

5. According to T Ganapatisastri, Bhāmaha lived not later than 3rd or 2nd century B.C (l.c. xxvii).

6 Lesny (*ZDMG*, 1918, 208) and Winternitz (*Festschrift für Ernst Kuhn*, S. 801) and Banerjee (*JRAS*, 1921, 868) on their examination of the Prakrit passages conclude that these plays are older than Kalidasa (5th century A.D.), but younger than Aśvaghoṣa (3rd century A.D.) Keith (*SD*, 98) gives 300 A.D. Sukthankar (*JAOS*, XL, 241, XLII, 107) says Bhāsa was later than Pāṇini and discusses the prakrit passages. Antiquity of these passages is established also by G Morgenshterne and W Prntz (l.c.) P Choudhurn (*Mod. Rev.*, XIV 882) discusses T Ganapatisastri's views See also Belloni Filippi, *Vasavadatta of Bhāsa* (*JIOS*, XXVII)

7. Jacobi, *Vasavadatta*, Jolly (*Göttingen Nachrichten*, 1916, 858), Winternitz (*GIL*, III 186, 945), Keith (*IA*, LII. 59, *SD*, 92-3), M Baston (*Tr. of Vasavadatta*); Suali (*Giornale della Soc. As. Italiana*, XXV 111), Pavolini (*Ibid*) Lesny, (*ZDMG*, LXXII 208-8) Lindanau, *Ghata studien*, G. Morgenshterne, *Carudatta and Mritchakatika*, Leipzig, Lucote (*JA*, XIII. 498), F W Thomas, (*JRAS*, 1922, 79), Prntz (*Bhāsa's Prakrit*, Franport, A M), and A Banerjee (*JRAS*, 1921, 867) Among scholars of the negative view are L D BARNETT (*JRAS*, 1919, 288 1921, 587-9) on the ground that Rajasimha referred to is a Pandyan King Teramaran Rajasimha) of 7th century A.D. and that these plays resemble Mañjavāḍasaprahasana Ramavataśasana (*Sūradā*, Allahabad, 1st Part i) says that verses quoted in anthologies are not found in this group and the Nāṇḍī is not dedicated to Śiva, but Bhāsa was a devotee of Śiva BHATTANATHA SWAMI (*IA*, XLV 189) for which see note under Svapnavasavadatta post. K GHANASAM (Int. to translation of Meghaduta in Gujarati, Bombay) assigns Bhāsa to the time of

572 Of these dramas, *Pratijnā* is *Īhāmiga*, *Pāncarātra* is *Samavākāra*, *Ūrubhanga* is *Uṭṣṭukāṅka*, *Cārudaṭṭa* is *Prakarana*, *Dūtavākya*, *Madhyama*, *Karṇabhāra* and *Dūta-Ghatotkaca* are mostly *Vyāyogas*, and the rest *Nātakas*

573 *Svapnavasavadatta* is a drama in six Acts,¹ and is really a continuation of the *Pratignāyugandharājana*. Having heard a prediction from a sage that Udayana Vatsarāja² would marry Padmāvatī, sister of King Darsaka and with his help would recover his lost dominions, Udayana's minister Yaugandharājana with intent to hasten the marriage with Padmāvatī resorted to a stratagem. He gave

King Chandragupta in 3rd century B C and Kālidāsa to the Court of King Agnimitra about B C. The Introduction is a valuable essay on Bhāsa and Kālidāsa. Sten Konow (IA, XLIII 66) put Bhāsa not before 3rd or 4th century A D. K. RAMA PRISHAROTI denies the correctness of the attribution to Bhāsa and goes to the extent of saying that Bhāsa was the author of a *Svapnavāsavadatta* and that quotations from *Svapnavāsavadatta* by various authors not found in the present edition show the existence of these works of that name, *Shama's Madras*, V 173-186, *Bull. of Or. Studies*, III 107.

A. Rangasami Sarasvatī (JMy, XIII 686) says that Rājasiṃha referred was the Pallava King Narasiṃhavaraman II, who was also known as Rājasiṃha and who lived in the last decade of the 8th century A D. In his introduction to his own editions of several of these plays, T. Ganapatisastri has attempted to answer these objections and has done so in a separate monograph.

For a complete discussion of the question, see Jyotiscandra Ghatak's *Dramas of Bhāsa* (Jubilee Research Prize Thesis, Calcutta University, 1923). For an examination of the criticisms by R. Vasudevasarma and R. Mahadevasarma, see *The Hindu*, Madras, 1927 Feb 2nd and 9th.

Sukthankar, *The Bhāsa Riddle*, (JBRAS, I 137), Hiranandasastri, *Bhāsa and authorship of the 13 plays*, *Studies in Bhāsa* (JAOS, XL Oct, XLI April.), Lesvey, *On the Pratih of Bhāsa* (ZDMG, 1918), O. R. Devadhar, *Plays ascribed to Bhāsa* (Annals, VII. 29, VIII 17-42), P. V. Kane, *Kundamala and Bhāsa* (Annals, XI. 155) K. Krishnamacharya, *Bhāsa, a study* (C. H. Coll. Mag., Oct 1917) and *Duryodhana as portrayed by Bhāsa* (Collegian, March 1914), R. Vasudevasarma, *On Tamil Influences on Bhāsa* (The Hindu, 13th June 1928). See also Levi, JĀ, (1923), 193 and JRAS, (1925) 100, *Cal. Rev.* (1924), 330.

1. Ed. TSS, Trivandrum by T. Ganapati Sastri with an elaborate introduction and again with a commentary. Ed. by Lakshmana Sarup, Lahore. Translated by K. Prisharoti (JMy X, 184 203, 372), by L. H. Gray (New York), by Baston (Paris) and into verse by Pannalal (Allahabad), and by H. B. Bhide (Allahabad). Ed. with translation by C. R. Deodhar, Bombay. See C. R. Deodhar, *Svapnavasavadatta*, (Annals, VI).

2. P. V. Gune in *Prodyota*, *Udayana* etc., in *Jan Legend* (Annals, 1920-21, July) collects different allusions of the story of Udayana and the essay is very interesting with the titular verse of Meghaduta.

प्रथोत्तस्य प्रियदुहितर वत्सराजोऽन जह्वे हैम तालुमुमवनमभूत्त तस्यैव राज्ञ ।

अत्रोद्व्रान्तः किल नलगिरिस्तन्ममसुत्याव्य दर्पोदित्यागन्तून्मयति जनो यत्रै बन्धुनमिह

out that Udayana's queen Vāsavadattā (daughter of King Mahāsena of Avanti) was lost in a conflagration and disguising her as his sister whose husband was away, he donned the garb of a Muni and approaching Padmāvatī entrusted her to Padmāvatī's care under the pseudonym of Avantikā. Then Udayana married Padmāvatī. Once when asleep Vāsavadattā came to his side and when she touched him he opened his eyes, but before he could get hold of her, she flew away. This made Udayana all the more dejected. As he was diverting himself with a picture of Vāsavadattā in her wedding attire, Padmāvatī mentioned to him that in her harem there was a lass called Avantikā quite like the image in the picture, entrusted to her care by a brahmin. Then Vāsavadattā was brought before him and the lovers met once again and all was well when the secret was divulged.

574 References in rhetorical works are as follow

(i) DANDIN in Kāvyaṭṭhara (II 280) has

मृतेति प्रेत्य सन्नन्तु यया मे मरण मतम् ।

सैषावन्ती मया लब्धा कथमनैव जन्मनि ॥

In commenting on this Ṭarunavācaspati says

अत्र अवन्तीविषये वत्सराजस्य जाता रति ॥

and Bhoja says (*SP. Ch. X*) that Avantī here means Vāsavadatta. In this edition Vāsavadattā is called Avantī or Avantikā by Yaugandharāyana when she was entrusted to Padmāvatī.

[*NB*—M R Kavi points out that this verse is found in Ṭāpasavatsarāja when Vatsarāja attempted suicide in Yamunā and Vāsavadattā appears then in the scene.]

(ii) VAMANA's quotation (V. 1 3)

शरच्छाङ्कगौरिण

is found in this edition

(iii) BHOJA writes thus

सप्लावसवदत्ते पद्मावतीमस्यार्द्रां द्रष्टुं राजा समुद्रगृहकं गतः । पद्मावतीरहितं च तदवलोक्य
तस्यां पुनः शयने सुप्त्वापि, वादसवदत्ताच्च स्वप्नवदसप्लवे ददर्श । सप्लावमानश्च वासवदत्तामाबभाषे ।
सप्लवन्देन चेह स्यापो वा सप्लव वा सप्लवदर्शनं वा सप्लावितं वा विवक्षितम् ॥

(*Śrngāraprākāśa*, Chap. XII)

This description agrees with the story in the present edition

(iv) ŚARADAIANAYA mentions the sandhis in Svapnavāsavadattā. Of these first verse is found in the Trivandrum edition, but the 2nd and 3rd stages are absent

प्रशान्तरसभूयिष्ठ प्रशान्त नाम नाटकम् । न्यासो न्याससमुद्भेदो बीजोक्तिर्बीजदर्शनम् ॥
ततोऽनुद्दिष्टसहार प्रशान्ते पञ्च सन्धयः । सात्वर्तावृत्तिरत्रस्यादिति द्रौहिणिरत्रवीन् ॥
स्वप्नवासवदत्ताख्यमुदाहरणमत्र तु । आच्छिद्य भूपात्सव्यसना देवी मागधिकाकरे ॥
न्यस्ता यतस्ततो न्यासो मुखसन्धिरय भवेत् । न्यासस्य च प्रतिमुख समुद्भेद उदाहृत ॥
पद्मावत्या मुख वीक्ष्य विशेषकविभूषितम् । जीवत्यवन्तिकेलेतज्ज्ञात भूमिभुजा यथा ॥
उत्कण्ठितेन सोद्वेग बीजोक्तिर्नर्मकीर्तनम् । एहि वासवदत्ते क्व यासीत्यादि च दृश्यते ॥
सहावस्थितयोरैकप्राप्त्याऽन्यस्य गवेषणम् । दर्शनस्पर्शनालापैरेतत्स्याद्वीजदर्शनम् ॥
चिरप्रसूत कामो वा वीणया प्रतिबोधित । ता तु देवी न पश्यामि यस्या घोषवती प्रिया ॥
किं ते भूय प्रिय कुर्यामिति वाग्यत्र नोद्यते । तमनुद्दिष्टसहारमित्याहुर्भरतादय ॥

(v) SARVANANDA (who lived about 1159 A D) in his commentary on Amarakosa in commenting on the Sloka शृङ्गारवीरकरुणा etc, says that स्वदिशमात्मसात्कर्तुमुदयनस्य पद्मावतीपरिणयोऽर्थशृङ्गार स्वप्नवासवदत्ते, तृतीयस्तस्यैव वासवदत्तापरिणय कामशृङ्गार and this description tallies with the story in the present edition Bhattanāṭhaswāmī (JA, XIV 101) thinks that the work referred to by Sarvānanda must be different. He finds an allusion to the story in Mālāṭī-Mādhava and says that the main theme of Svapnavāsavadattā of Bhāsa was the marriage of Vāsavadattā and not Padmāvatī, whereas the present play deals with the events subsequent to the marriage of Vāsavadattā, that is, the marriage of Padmāvatī

The following verse quoted by Abhinavagupta in Dhvanyāloka as from Svapnavāsavadattā is not found in the Trivandrum Edn .

सञ्चितपक्ष्मकवाट नयनद्वार स्वरूपताडनम् ।
उद्धाव्य सा प्रविष्टा हृदयगृह मे नृपतनूजा ॥

Nor is the verse quoted by Rāmacandra in Nāṭyaḍarpaṇa :

यथा मासकृते स्वप्नवासवदत्ते शेफालिकामण्डपशिलातलमवलोक्य वत्सराजः—

“पादाक्रान्तानि पुष्पाणि सोऽप्य चेद शिलातलम् ।
तून काचिदिहासीना मां दृष्ट्वा सहसा गता ॥

पूर्वार्थं लिङ्गम् । उत्तरार्थमनुमानम् ।”

Nor is the following quoted by Sāgaranandin in Nāṭakalakṣaṇa-
raṭnakosā

नेपथ्ये सूत्रधारः—(उत्सारणं श्रुत्वा पठति)—अये ! कथं तपोवनेऽनुत्सारणा । (विलोक्य)-
कथं मन्त्री यौगन्धरायणः वत्सराजस्य राज्यप्राप्त्यानयनं कर्तुं कामः । पद्मावतीयजनेनोत्सारित इति—

575 Pratignayaugandharayana,¹ is a *Natikā* in four Acts. In the course of an elephant hunt Vatsarāja sees a false elephant,* prepared and stationed in the forest at the orders of King Pradyota and when unknowingly attempting to tame it with his *Vinā*, Pradyota's soldiers overpower him, and take him prisoner. Then Pradyota's minister Śālnkāyana intervenes and hands him over to Pradyota. Pradyota takes the *Vinā* and gives it to his daughter Vāsavadattā and imprisons Vatsarāja in his own house. Vatsarāja and Vāsavadattā meet each other and soon Vatsarāja happy in his love forgets all thought of his own kingdom. Meanwhile, Yaugandharāyana, his minister, discovers Vatsarāja's predicament. He arranges by careful espionage that all his army in disguise pervades the capital of Pradyota and himself in a garb of a madman begins to run through the streets, watching an opportunity. At the appointed signal the army rises up and in trying to take away Vatsarāja and Vāsavadattā on an elephant by force, Yaugandharāyana is subdued and caught. But Pradyota is pleased with the minister's sagacity and he sends him back home in royal state with Vatsarāja and the princess.

576 Carudatta is a fragment in four Acts without the initial or final verses. Carudatta, a merchant impoverished by his generosity, fell in love with a hetara Vasanāsena. Pursued by the king's brother-in-law Samsthāna she took refuge in Carudatta's house and left her jewels in his care. The jewels were stolen away at night by a thief Sajjalaka in order to purchase the freedom of a slave girl of Vasanāsena. In the morning Carudatta offered his wife's necklace to Vasanāsena in lieu of the lost jewels, but Vasanāsena handed the slave girl to Sajjalaka and herself went to Carudatta. Here the play

1. Vāmana quotes a line यो मर्तृपिण्डस्य कृते न युद्धयति (Adhyaya II). This is found in this drama. In *Kumudimahotsava* there is reference to the names of Vatsarāja, and his horse Sundarapātala and his servant Kātyāyana.

In the same connection, *Pratignayaugandharāyana* mentions the name Sundara pātala (page 12).

तदो कीला अमाणोवि आ अलतच्छन्दाणुवत्तिण सुन्दरपाटेण अस्सेण

2. Bhāmaha (IV, 40) remarks that Vatsarāja could not have been deceived by an artificial elephant and if caught, his life would not have been spared by the enemy. He gives this as an instance of unnaturalness or *Nyāyavirodha*.

सचेतसो वनेमस्य चर्मणा निर्मितस्य च । विशेषे बेद बालोऽपि कथं किं नु कथं नु तत् ॥

3. Ed. TSS, with commentary by T. Ganapatisastri (Trivandrum). Of dramas having similar plots, are *Udayanacariṭa* and *Vijayāśvadaṭṭa*. For these analogies, see M. Ramakrishnakavi's introduction to *Vijayāśvadaṭṭa* (Madras).

ends abruptly and "it seems as if Carudatta were accused of theft and that Vasantasena herself is in grave danger of her life" 1

577 Pratimanataka² begins with banishment of Rāma to the woods and the miserable condition of Dasaratha ending in his death Bharata infers the death of his father from the statue of his father erected in the statue house of the family and from this the play takes its name Bharata then interviews Rāma in the forest and returns back to the capital with his sandals to be crowned in his stead Then follows the story of the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa and the war with Rāvaṇa ending in his destruction and Rāma's return with Sītā to his hermitage, where Bharata and the queens go to receive him and Rāma is crowned on the spot In this play the author has often copied expressions from Rāmāyana³

1 Edited by T Gauapali Sastri, (TSS) Trivandrum, and again with his own commentary See K V Vasudevasarma, *The Source of Daridra-Carudatta in The Hindu*, Madras, June 6th, 1928 Vāmana in his *kāvya-lankarasūtra* (V 1. 8) quotes a verse (I 2),

यासां बलिर्भवति मदगृहदेहलीनां

which is found in this play The word Daridra Carudatta is used by Śākara in *Mrochakatikā* (Act I. 1 in his first speech).

अं स्मृत मया, दरिद्रचारुदत्तस्येद कृपणचेष्टित पातयिष्यामि

In Abhinavagupta's commentary on Bharatajanāliyaśāstra we have the following references to a drama called Daridra-Carudatta

1 अनर्थक वचो यत् सप्रलाप इति । परस्परमसम्बद्ध मौल्योदिवशादित्यर्थः, । यथादरिद्र-चारुदत्ते शकार । सुणामि महगन्धम् (Aḍhyāya XXII)

This passage is found in *Mrochakatikā*, Act I, above verse 85

11 यत्र तु दैवायत् फल वर्ण्यते, तत्र कथं न च वर्ण्यं, पुरुषकारमात्राभिमानिनां दैवमजानानां चार्वाकादिमतमेयुषां संदेव बहुमानव्युत्पत्तये हि पुरुषकारोऽयफल तदभावोऽपि सफल-प्रदर्शनीय, अथ एव दरिद्रचारुदत्तादिरूपकाणि तद्विषयाणि ॥

(Aḍhyāya XIX).

2 Ed Trivandrum (TSS) with an elaborate and valuable introduction by T Ganapatisastri Translated by Rama Pisharoti with critical notes (*JMy*, XII 58, 875, XIII 695, XIV 89, XI 858), Ed with translation by S.M. Paranjape, Bombay.

3. Here is a nice description of an identity.

लक्ष्मण.—अये, अयमार्यो राम. ! ननु रूपसंहस्यम् ।

मुखमनुपम त्वार्यस्याम शशाङ्कमनोहरं मम पितृसर्व पीनं वक्षस्सुरारिचरितम् ।

युतिपरिवृतस्तेजोराशिर्जगत्प्रियदर्शनो नरपत्तिरयं देवेन्द्रो वा सय मधुसूदन. ॥ (IV. 8)

578 Balacarita¹ in five acts describes the birth of Kṛṣṇa and his miraculous performances from sucking out of the life of Pūṣanā and the killing of Cānūra to the killing of Kāliya and Rābhāsura, the destruction of Kamsa, and the coronation of Ugrasena.

579 Urubhanga² begins with a prologue describing the actual fight between Bhīma and Duryodhana in which Duryodhana is struck with a mallet on his thigh and falls down disabled. The scene follows in which Dhṛtarāstra and his wife go to see the last dying son and Duryodhana recovers his sense of rectitude and commends a life of friendship. The last scene introduces the furious Asvatthāman³ and his violent vow to destroy the last scion of the Pāṇḍava race. The play ends with the passing away of Duryodhana in the stage⁴ and the renunciation of Dhṛtarāstra.

580. Pancaratra The play takes its name from the period of five nights referred to in the plot, which is briefly as follows — “After wandering for twelve years in the forest the Pandavas were living incognito in the thirteenth year. Drona, the family preceptor of the Kurus, knew the reluctance of Duryodhana and others to give a bit of land even, to the Pandavas. Hence he apprehended a fratricidal war. To avoid such a calamity he was looking for an opportune moment to unite the brothers. At the instance of Drona, he (Duryodhana) performed a sacrifice. At the end of the sacrifice he performed his bath and wanted to render Gurudaksina. Drona cleverly demanded half of the kingdom for the Pandavas. Duryodhana assented to it on the condition that Drona would bring within five nights

1. Ed. Trivandrum. See Winternitz, *ZDMG*, LXXIV 125, Lindemann, *BS*, 22, V Prabhakarasastri, *Bharati*, IV, 29. *Bālacarita* quoted by Viśvanātha in *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (VI) is a different work and must refer to Rāmāyaṇa, for the verse there quoted उत्साहातिष्ठयं वत्स is not found in this play, and that is addressed by Paraśurāma to Rāma.

2. Ed. Trivandrum. It is also called Gaḍḍayuddham in some manuscripts.

3. Here is Asvatthāman's address to Duryodhana after the hurt,

मोः कुरुराज ! सयुगे पाण्डुपुत्रेण गदापातकचग्रहे ।
समसूक्ष्मद्वयेनाथ दर्पोऽपि भवतो हृत ॥

4. Thus he is described

श्रीमान् सयुगचन्दनेन रुधिरैणाद्राक्षित्तच्छबि-
भूससर्पणरेणुपाटलमुजो बालव्रत ग्राहितः ।
निर्वृत्तेऽमृतमन्थने क्षितिधरान्मुक्तसुरैस्सासुरै-
रक्षरैर्भिरभोगमर्णवजले श्रान्तोऽक्षितो वायुकिः ॥

the news of the whereabouts of the Pandavas Drona found out Bhima from the news of Kichaka's being slain in secret in the capital of Virata Bhishma induced the Kauravas to carry off the cattle of Virata under the pretext of ministering him for his absentiong himself from the sacrifice Thus he located the Pandavas And half the kingdom was given to the Pandavas "1

581 Rama Datta Pant's Aparapancarāṭra is based on this play He was professor of Sanskrit in Bareilly college He lived in Almora District in 1861-1928 A D He also wrote Lekhinīḥpāna and Dīpasāṭaka *

582 Dutavakyam is an one-Act drama "This is woven from the Mahabharata story of Kṛṣṇa acting as an ambassador of the Pandavas Kancukī intimated the arrival of Kṛṣṇa to Duryodhana saying 'Purushottama is come Just then Duryodhana was holding his ministerial council He corrected Kancukī's language telling him to name Kṛṣṇa as Kamsabhrītya Damodara As an evil omen Duryodhana fell from his seat at the advent of Vasudeva Kṛṣṇa When Vasudeva was seated in Duryodhana's council hall, he found there a picture of Draupadī's Kesakarsana Vasudeva then demanded the division of the paternal property Duryodhana pointed to Pandu's remaining free from intercourse with females and there was a curse from a sage and refused any division of property Vasudeva also then pointed out that Vicitravīrya got Pthisis Pulmonalis and that Dhṛitarāstra was born on Ambika through the agency of Vyasa and that therefore he also, on the same ground as Duryodhana held out,

1 Ed Trivandrum and again with his own commentary and an elaborate Introduction by T Ganapati Sastri As summarised by J Ghatak (10)

2 Here is a description of prious brahmins

इमेऽनभवन्तो द्विजातय —

राज्ञां वेष्टनपट्टवृष्टचरणश्लाघ्यप्रभृतश्रवाः

वार्धक्येऽप्यमिवर्धमाननियमास्त्वाभ्यायशूरैर्हृत्सैः ।

विप्रा यान्ति त्रय प्रकर्षेद्यिथिला यद्यित्तिपादक्रमाः ।

शिष्यस्कन्धनिवेशिताचिन्तकरा जीर्णा गजेन्द्रा इव ॥ I 5

and of Abhimanyu's chariot.

आलम्बितो भ्रमति धावति तेन मुक्तो

न प्राप्य धर्षयति नेच्छति विप्रकर्तुम् ।

आसन्नभूमिचपल. परिवर्तमानो

योग्योपदेक्षमिव तस्य रथः करोति ॥ II, 27

could not claim paternal property. Then Duryodhana tried to use force, when Vasudeva took his Visvarupa, and the former found him everywhere in every possible shape and size. Sudarsana, the discus of Vasudeva, was called in by the latter into action and there came Sudarsana, Kaumodaki, Pancajanya and all other weapons in the train. Duryodhana's fear and bewilderment were highest. Then Vasudeva again cooled down. Just then Dhritarastra came in on the scene, and fell at the feet of Vasudeva, to atone for the fault of his sons. The Lord Vasudeva complied with his request.¹

583 Madhyamavyayogam "Bhimasena rescues a Brahmin family from the hands of Ghatotkaca. Ghatotkaca and his mother Hidimbi wanted human food and caught sight of a group of brahmins, an old man, his wife and three sons and it was after some discussion arranged to give up the middle son. Just then Bhimasena came on the scene and in the course of the fighting with Ghatotkaca, they recognised each other as father and son, and the victim was rescued."²

584 Karnabharam begins with the relation by Karna of the story of a curse that just at the moment of need his weapons would prove ineffectual. On his way to battle against Arjuna, Indra encounters him in the garb of a poor brahmin and asks for a gift. Karna with his characteristic generosity promises anything that he desired. Indra asks for his armour and earrings and walks away with the gifts. The play ends with the gift of an invulnerable Śakti by Indra to Karna in lieu of the extortion he had committed.⁴

1. Ed. Trivandram, and again with his own commentary by T. Ganapatisastri. As summarised by J. Ghatek (10)

2. अये ! अयं पाञ्चजन्यः प्राप्तः —

कूर्णेन्दुकुन्दकुसुमदोदरहारगौरनारायणाननसरोजकृतप्रसादः ।

यस्य स्तनं प्रलयसागरबोधतुल्यं गर्भा निश्चम्य निपतन्त्यसुराङ्गनानाम् ॥

अये ! इयं कौमोदकी प्राप्ता —

मणिमणिकविचित्रा चित्रमालोत्तरीया सुररिपुगणगात्रध्वसेने जातवृष्णा ।

गिरिवरतरूपा दुर्निवारातिवीर्या व्रजति नमसि शीघ्र मेघवृन्दानुयाता ॥

3. Ed. Trivandram, and again with his commentary and an introduction by T. Ganapatisastri. Translated by S. P. Janvier, Myrore, with introduction and notes. There is a stage adaptation of this drama called Haidimba Vaidagdhya by T. S. Narayana Sastri with an introduction on Bhāsa and Kālidāsa (Madras). Pavolini, (GSAL, XXIX. 1) points out that Bhāsa's drama of Mahābhārata has been adopted here for the plot.

4. Ed. Trivandram. It is also called Kavaṇakundalābharaṇam in some manuscripts.

The nāṇḍī here is fine

पायात्स बोऽसुरवधूहृदयावसाद पादो हरे कुबलयामलवृडनील ।
य प्रोषतस्त्रिभुवनैकमणे रराज वैदूर्यसङ्क्रम इवाम्बरसागरस्य ॥

585 Duta-Ghatotkacam When Abhimanyu was killed by the Dhārtarāṣṭras cruelly and illegally, Gāndhārī, Dhṛṭarāṣṭra and Duṣṣalā repudiated the conduct of the Kauravas Ghatotkaca was sent on a mission of peace by the Pāṇḍavas to the Kaurava camp, but he was insulted Ghatotkaca became defiant Dhṛṭarāṣṭra interfered and appeased him ¹

586 Abhisekanatakam is based on the story of Rāmāyana in Kiṅkindhā, Sundāra and Yuddha Kāṇḍas It begins with the fight with Vāli and runs through the plot until the fall of Rāvana and Siṭhā's ordeal of fire Then follows a charming eulogy ²

587 Avimarakam "Viṣṇusena the king of Sauvīra, became a caṇḍāla for a year, along with his family by the curse of Dīrghaṭapaṣ While thus living in Kuntibhoja town incognito he killed an Asura named Avi, and became known as *Avi-mūṛaka* One day he rescued his maternal uncle's daughter Kurangī from the clutches of an infuriated elephant On hearing this, the father of Kurangī, Kuntibhoja intended to marry her to Avimāraka, but he could not do so, as Avimaraka was of a very low caste But Kurangī and Avi met, grew in mutual amour, and the love reached a climax Through Dhātri's contrivance Avimaraka once entered Kurangī's chamber Coming out and finding no help out of the difficulty, he resolved to die by throwing himself down from a hill At that time a Vidyādhara met him, and gave him a ring by whose power he could secretly enjoy the companionship of Kurangī every night with a buffoon of his as his comrade Kuntibhoja on finding him there became perplexed, and thought of marrying her to Jayavarman, another nephew of his on the sister's side But Narada intervened and married the couple publicly with celebrations "³

1. Ed. Trivandrum

2. Ed. Trivandrum and again with his own commentary by T. Ganapati Sastri Here is Rāma's news to Siṭhā about his coronation

समं ज्ञाप्येण पतता तस्योपरि समाप्य च ।

पितुर्मे हृदि तौ पादौ ममापि हृदि त्विह ॥

3. Ed. Trivandrum As summarised by J. Ghatak, *JIOS*, XXVIII. Beccarmi-Crescenzi, *L'Avimaraka de Bhāsa* The story is found in Kaṭhāsantsāgara It is alluded to by Vāṣṭeyāyana in Kāmasūtra and in Kaumudī-mahatmya

Here is a fine description of night-fall

व्यामृष्टसूर्यतिलको विततोद्दमालो नष्टातपो मृदुमनोहरशीतवातः ।
सलीनकामुकजनः प्रविकीर्णचोरो वेषान्तर रचयतीव मनुष्यलोक ॥

and of the darknight

तिमिरमिव वहन्ति मार्गनद्य पुलिननिभा प्रतिभान्ति हर्म्यमाला ।
तमसि दद्यदिशो निमग्नरूपा प्लवतरणीय इवायमन्धकार ॥

588 **Damaka** and **Traivikrama** are two peculiar pieces of dramatic composition. There are too short even to last for a half hour and for parity of diction and structure, they have been called 'Two more dramas of Bhasa'.¹ In DAMAKA,² says V Venkataram Sastri "the sentences, slokas, and even words occurring herein are to be found in the Swapnavasavadatta and other dramas, in the Mattavilasa, Kautilya's Arthasastra, Kumarasambhava of Kalidasa and in such other books, the only exception being the Bharatavakya at the end of the play.³ The nandi verse can be seen in the arthasastra,⁴ the anustubh in the middle occurs in Kumarasambhava,⁵ while in the body of the play there is the drama named Karnabhara of so-called Bhasa."

Dāmaka is a friend of Karna, king of Anga and acts as a Vidūṣaka. He accompanies Karna to the hermitage of Parasurāma during his sojourn there for learning missiles in archery. He finds himself ill at

शोनकमिव बन्धुमती कुमारमविमारक कुरङ्गीव ।

अर्हति कीर्तिमतीय कान्त कल्याणवर्मणम् ॥

Bhoja, in Śṛṅgāraprakāśa mentions the story of Avimāraṅka (Chapter XXII) अहल्याविमारकश्चकुन्तलादीन्यन्यानि च सौत्कण्ठानि च कथयेत् ।

In Natāṅkūśa (of Mahima ?) it is stated कुरङ्गीप्रभृतीनां च वृथैवाकल्पना and Kurangi is the heroine of this drama. An account is given in Jayamangala's commentary on Kāmasūtras about the origin of name Avimāraṅka (Bombay Edn. 275) meaning literally *Killer of Goats*.

1. Paper read at Or. Conf., Madras, 1934, by M. R. Kavi.

2. Ed. Punjab Sans. series, Lahore, with Translation and Introduction by V. Venkataram.

3. सर्वत्र सम्पदस्सन्तु विपदोऽपि न सन्तु च ।

सर्वे सन्तु च सन्तुष्टा असन्तुष्टा न सन्तु च ॥

4. सुवर्णपुष्पीं ब्रह्मणीं ब्रह्मण च कुशध्वजम् ।

सर्वान् देवान् बन्देऽहं बन्देऽहं सर्वतपसान् ॥

5. दृक्तायज्ञोपवीतानि बिभ्रतो हैमवल्कला ।

रत्नाक्षसूत्राः प्रवज्या कल्पवृक्षा इवाभिताः ॥

ease in the many royal comforts which he is forced to enjoy in the king's company and is upset, and says

मम बुद्धिश्चेदानीमादर्शमण्डलगतेव छाया वामेषु दक्षिणा, दक्षिणेषु वामा, भवति ।
अहं खलु शृणोमि गन्धं श्रवणाम्याम् । अन्धकारपूरिताभ्यां नासापुटभ्यां पश्यामि । रैभ्यस-
गोत्रो ब्रह्मबन्धुरहं यस्य कस्य वा भागिनेयं खलु मीमसेनस्य घटोत्कच इव ॥

The description of āśrama is picturesque. The main story relates how Kārṇa got initiated into the mysteries of the bow on the false representation that he was not a kṣatriya and how when Paraśurāma discovered the fraud by chance he cursed Kārṇa "Let your Astras prove futile in need"

This plot appears a complement of Karmabhāra, where Kārṇa's kundalas were taken away on the pretext of a gift and if clubbed with Karmabhāra may rightly fit in a dramatisation of Mahābhārata

589 Bodhayana's Bhagavadajjuka, a prahasana, is so named because Bhagavān namely Parivrāt or Yogin and Ajjukā a hataera play the roll. Of the three commentators, one attributes it to Bodhāyana, another to Bharaṭa and a third leaves it anonymous¹. A poet Bodhāyana is praised by Sukumāra in his Raghuvīracarita, a play of the 12th century². In the Māmandur inscription of Mahendravarman dated 610 A.D., Bhagavadajjuka is mentioned³. A quotation in it from

1 Ed JBORS. Ed. by Prabhakarasastri, Madras. Ed. by Anujanachan, Sendamangalam, with the commentary of Nārāyaṇa (TC, IV 5492, 4385).

बौधायनकविरचिते विख्याते भगवदज्जुकामिहिते ।
अग्निनेयेऽतिगमारे विद्यादानधुना करोमि गृह्णीयान् ॥
यश्चासौ भवभूतिसूक्तिजलधेरथौघयादोगण-
प्रक्षोभोत्थितमीतिमञ्जनकरौ व्याख्यातरौ निर्ममे ।
तेनेय विषमेतिवृत्तगह्वरे बौधायीये पुन
नाट्ये गर्भितशास्त्रजुस्मितवचोगम्भीरगुम्भे कृता ॥

This shows that Nārāyaṇa also wrote commentaries on Bhavabhūti's plays. Another commentary by Aoyuṣa's pupil Rāma is yet unprinted. For an anonymous commentary, see DC, XXI 8437.

2 यैर्बौधायनवाक्यपुष्पकलिका कर्णावतसीकृता ।

3 See under Mahendravarmanavarman post.

शाण्डिल्य — सुगाढ भजवो । "अष्टौ प्रकृतयः, षोडश विकाराः, आत्मा, पञ्चावयवाः, त्रैगुण्यम्, मनः, सञ्चारः, प्रतिस्ञ्चारश्च" इति । एवम् हि भवभूता जिणेन पिङ्गपुत्तप्लु उत्तम ।
परित्राजकः — शाण्डिल्यः साङ्ख्यसमय एषः, न शाक्यसमयः ।

Tatvasamasa, one of the oldest and basic works on Sāṅkhya philosophy and a classification of dramas in an ancient mode¹ amply attest its antiquity². In any view the work must have belonged to about the beginning of the 1st century A D or earlier and never later than the 4th century A D

This play was "apparently intended by its author to bring into ridicule the doctrines of Buddhism—a method, among others, which the Brahmins employed to stem the rising tide of that religion. The chief characters in the play are a Parivrajaka, or saint, his disciple Sandilya, and a young and beautiful courtesan. The play opens with a discussion between the master and the pupil on Hindu Dharma, but the attention of the latter is all for the young woman in the adjacent garden. As this one-sided discussion proceeds, the woman suddenly falls down dead from snake-bite. The young man is very much affected, but the older one seizes the opportunity to demonstrate to his pupil the powers of Yoga and transfers his soul into the body of the courtesan who presently rises up and continues the philosophical discussion. The beholders are very much surprised, but their astonishment is not diminished when the body of the Parivrajaka, which had fallen lifeless, starts up again and talks and behaves as the courtesan used to do. For, the agents of Yama had made a mistake in taking the Jiva of the girl and had returned to restore it, but finding her body alive, infused her Jiva into the Parivrajaka's frame."

590 To the beginning of the Christian era or earlier must be referred, four bhāṣas edited as a collection, CAURBHANI. Tradition has coupled them as anterior to Kālidāsa

वररुचिरीश्वरदत्तश्यामिलकश्यपकश्च चत्वारः ।

एते माणान् बभूवुः का शक्तिः कालिदासस्य ॥

and it is not unlikely that these four poets are named in order of time. Parity of motifs, likeness in humour and unity in aesthetics display their proximity and intimacy. References to Kaṭāntra school of grammar, to Dattaka's Vaisikā sūtras and to the stories of Pāṭalipūtra justify the inference of their antiquity

1. सूत्रधारः—

अद्वैतं मे चिन्ता । अथ तु नाटकप्रकरणोद्भवस्य पारेहामृगडिमसमवकारव्यायौगम्यसङ्कापः ।
कवीपुत्सुष्टिकाङ्क्षमहसनादिषु दक्षजातिषु नाट्यरसेषु हास्यमेव प्रधानमिति पश्यामि ॥

2. See Asokanath Bhattacharya, *Bhagavadajjuka and some new problems*, (Pr Or. Conce, 1926), and Prabhakaraśastri, *Bharata*, I 47.

592 **Isvaradatta** or **Vireśvaraḍaṭṭa** wrote **bhāna** **DHURTA-VIASAMVADA**. The scene is laid in **Pataliputra** and in the guise of a conversation the poet propounds the tenets of **Kāmasāstra** in all intricacies^a. The play is quoted by **Bhoja** and unlike many other plays of the class has a sociological value^a.

Here is an instance of fine humour emanating from a damsel and a philosophising lover

किं ब्रवीषि, षट्पदार्थबहिष्कृतैस्सह समाषणमस्माकं गुरुभिः प्रतिषिद्धम् ।
भगवति युक्तमेवैतत् । कृत.—

द्रव्यं ते तमुपायताक्षि दयिता रूपादयस्ते गुणा
सामान्यं तव यौवनं युवजनस्सस्तौति कर्माणि ते ।
त्वय्यार्थं समवायमिच्छति जनो यस्माद्विद्येवोऽस्ति ते
योगस्ते तरुणैर्मनोभिलषितैर्मौक्षोऽप्यनिष्टाज्जनात् ॥

In a Nazik inscription in *Arch Sur of Western India*, IV, 103, king Iśvarasena, son of Ābhīta Sivadatta is mentioned as a ruling sovereign and "is thought to have reigned in the 3rd century A.O." "Besides Mahākṣatrapa Iśvaradatta is considered on reasonable grounds to have been an Ābhīta and his coins show that he reigned sometime between circa 286 and 299 A.O." These dates are surmised by H. C. Chhablalkar in his *Studies in Kamasutra of Vatsyayana* (p. 31). See also Bhagavanlal Indraji, *The Western Kshatrapas* (JRAS, 1890, 659) and E. P. Rapson, *Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, xxxxi. D R. Bhandarkar assigns Iśvaradatta to A.O. 188-190) (*Arch Sur India, Annual Rep.* 1913-4, p. 290) and see also his papers on *The Gurjaras* (JRAS, XXI, 490).

8. For instance here are some questions answered.

- (i) कामयमाना वेद्या कथं विद्वायेत ?
- (ii) प्रथमस्तमागमः केन कारणेन सोऽसुरायादयति ?
- (iii) कथं वेद्यावञ्चनं न प्राप्नुयात्कामुकः ?
- (iv) दर्शनमात्रकेनैव कथं शक्यं रहस्येणुपक्रमः ?

Here is something landatory of the society of Vesya.

प्रागल्भ्य स्थानशौर्यं वचननिपुणतां सौष्टवं सत्वदीप्तिं
चित्तज्ञानं प्रभोद सुरतलणविधिं रक्तनारीविभूतिम् ।
चित्रादीनां कलानामधिगमनमयो तौल्यमग्रथं च कामी
प्राञ्जोलाग्रिमं वैष्णवं चैव कर्ममयप्रवृत्तं लोको नृवीति ॥

593. Syamilaka was the son of Īsvaradatta or Viresvaradatta. He calls himself an Udīcya. His PADATADĪAKA² is quoted by Abhinavagupta, Kṣemendra, Vallabhadeva and others. It describes the foolish actions of Viṣṇunāga an orthodox Brahmin employed as Registrar of Royal Inscriptions and is intended as a satire of urban society. The scene is laid in Sārvabhaumendrapuram in Souraṣṭra country. Viṣṇunāga was hit on his head by a courtesan with her feet³ and he sought expiation for it from an assembly of debauchees and they prescribe a hit with her other foot as the remedy⁴.

594 Bāna praises ĀDHYARAJA's plays of variety of characters¹

आढ्यराजकृतोत्साहैर्नाटकैर्बहुभूमिकै ।

जिह्वान्त. कृष्यमाणिव न कवित्वे प्रवर्तते ॥

Harṣacarita, Int

Uṭṣāha is a species of dramatic composition. The commentary says

उत्साहो नृते तालविशेष. उदीर्यमाणगीत्याधारभूतपदोपचारात्काव्यमुत्साह इति केचित् । यत् पूर्व श्लोकेनार्थ उपक्षिप्यते, पश्चात्स एव गद्येन वितन्यते, मध्ये वृत्तनिबन्धश्च भवति, सपरि-समाप्तार्थ उत्साह उच्यते इत्यन्ये ।

595 Sudraka, known as Indrānigupta, was a Brahmin of the Aśmaka country. He was brought up along with a prince called Svāṭī. Svāṭī quarrelled with him while at game in boyhood and the ill-feeling was nurtured as he grew in age. Among Śūdraka's friends was one

1 Ed by M. Ramakrishna Kavi, Madras. F. W Thomas, *JRAS*, (1924)

2 Also written as Śymālaka or Syāmala. It is not likely that he was the same as the teacher of Mahimabhatta or Bāna's paternal uncle's son mentioned in *Harṣacarita*. Śyāmālaka refers to poets Rudravarman and Āryarakṣita and Āryaka

3. Viṣṇunāga thus deplores the incident

हा विक् पुञ्चलि ! अनात्मस्ते ! यया त्वया ममास्मिन्—

प्रयतकरया मात्ता यत्नात्प्रबद्धशिखण्डके

चरणविनते पिन्नाघाते शिशुर्युग्वानिति ।

सकुमुलवैश्रान्त्यन्मोमिर्दिजातिभिरक्षिते

शिरसि चरणो न्यस्तो गर्वाच्च गौरवभीक्ष्णितम् ॥

4 अपि चेदमस्याः प्रायश्चित्तं श्रूयताम्—

तस्या मदालसविधूर्णितलोचनायाः श्रोण्यर्पितैककरसहृतमेखलाया ।

सालक्तकेन चरणेन सत्पुत्रेण पश्यत्वयं शिरसि मामनुगृह्यमाणम् ॥

5. For the identification of Ādhyarāja with Harṣadeva, see R. Fischell, *Nachrichten Phil., Lit., Klasse* (1901), 485.

Bandhudatta. When once a Buddhist mendicant Sanghālikā inveigled Śūdraka into a solitary cave and attempted assassination, Śūdraka overpowered the mendicant, killed him and escaped. Then he visited various cities, like Viḍisā, Ujjain and Mathurā and his adventures were many. He seized the kingdom of Ujjain and became its king, but in grateful recollection of youthful associations he spared the life of the old king Svāpī.¹ He was well versed in the Rk and Sāma Vedas, in mathematics, in the art of dancing girls and in taming elephants. He was a votary of Śiva, who favoured him with his boons. He won many wars and had a glorious reign. He performed Aśwamedha, lived for 100 years and ten days and immolated his frame in fire, having duly anointed his son as sovereign.² Śūdraka's name as sovereign and poet has acquired a traditional dignity. His exploits and adventures are as glorious and charming as those attributed to Vikramāditya and universal interest in their narration has contributed to gather around them many tales almost of a legendary nature.

The celebrity of Śūdraka's reign has commended his name into a hereditary appellation in later royal dynasties such as the Ganga and Pallava and in this respect also he bears an analogy to Vikramāditya. Some lexicographers quote Śūdraka, Vikramāditya, Sahasānka etc., as synonymous.

596 Kāthāsaritśāgara represents him as king of Śobhāvati and saved from imminent death by a Brahmin who gave up his life to assure the king a life of a hundred years. So says Vetālapancāvimśaṭi which calls him King of Vardhamāna, Dāsakumaracarita alludes to his adventures in successive incarnations, Harṣacarita makes him an enemy of Candraketu, prince of Cakora, and Kādambari describes him as the king of Viḍisā. Rājataranginī mentions him as the type of firmness and as predecessor of Vikramāditya.³

The story of his life has been the theme of several works.⁴ Śūdrakacarita, an Ākhyāyikā,⁵ Śūdrakakathā of Rāmīla and Śaumiḥa,⁶

1 This information is given in the prologue to Mṛcchakatikā.

2 For the Founder of the Vikrama Era (JMy, XII, 308, XIII 506) A. Rangaswamy Sarasvati, has now propounded the theory that the founder of Vikramāditya era was Śūdraka.

3 Raj III, 343, Levi, 107

4 ZDMG, XXVIII 117, Keith, SD,

5 Mentioned by Vāḍiganghāla in his commentary on Kāvyaśārṅga

6 Bāṇasekhara names it

ताम्रकथाकारौ बन्धौ रामिलसौमिलौ ।

ययोर्द्वयो काव्यमालीदर्शननरोचरोपम् ॥ *Sukṭamuktāvali*

Sūdrakakāṭhā (prakrit poem) of Pancaśikha,¹ Vikrānta-Śūdraka (a play)²

597 In Viracarita,³ a heroic poem in 30 adhyayas ANANTAKAṆI narrates the events supposed to have taken place at Pratiśṭhāna (Paithan) on the Godāvarī in connection with Śālivāhana (the conqueror of Vikramāditya of Ujjain) and his son Śaktikumāra Sūdraka is described as the friend and afterwards co-regent of Śālivāhana and of his son and when the latter attempted to disembarass himself of his influence, he was overthrown and Sūdraka himself became king

598 When did Sūdraka live? On this question, as usual in the studies of Orientalists, views are various. But the synchronism mentioned in Avantisundarikāṭhā that Śūdraka was a contemporary of Svāṭi is a new standard for consideration, though this again depends on the unsettled chronology of the Āndhra dynasty of Magadha. According to Purāṇas and Kaliyuga Rājavyatīkṛtā, Simhaka Śrī Śātakarna, read variously as Sipraka, Kṣipraka, Sindhuka and Sisuka founded the dynasty in 2305th year after Yudhisthira's coronation and the dynasty ruled for 506 years. The 24th in the line was Śivasvāṭi, the son of Mahendrasātakarna and he reigned for 28 years from 2705th year of Yudhisthira's coronation, that is, 434 to 409 B.C. But Puranic chronology is discredited by modern scholarship! Pargiter who now seems to be the authority whom modern historians adore gives 'on the footing of inscriptions' to Āndhra kings 230 B.C. to 225 A.D.⁴ Purāṇas give a list of 32 kings of whom the last that bore a name ending in Svāṭi was Śivasvāṭi, the 27th king of the line. Śivasvāṭi was the earliest bearing the appellation after Hāla, who was first in the line. Hāla, alias Śātavāhana, inaugura-

1 Mentioned by Bhoja in *Śrngārāprakāśa* (XXVIII)

शुकोजरद्विर शूद्रककथायां हरिमतीवृत्तान्ते यथा । जवदणरव इविण ओ * * *

and also (*Ibid* XXX,) शूद्रकचरिते

सम्भ्रान्तस्त्वरितमसौ मलिम्लुचानामुर्वीशश्शमितमयोधयद्भुष्मान् ।

कालेऽस्मिन् विनयवती वनेषु चार्ता वार्तायै कामितुरितस्ततो जगाम ॥

and by Hemacandra in *Kāvyaśūtrasāra* (Bom. Edn. 1888)

आनन्द पञ्चशिखस्य शूद्रककथायाम्

2. Mentioned by Bhoja and Abhinavagupta.

3 See para 202 *supra*. For an account of Śālivāhana, see also the poem Śālivāhanakāṭhā by Śivadāsa (para 204 *supra*)

4 *The Puranic Text of the Dynasties of the Kali age* (Oxford) 35-43, 71, based on H. Lüders, "A list of Brahmin inscriptions from the earliest times to about 400 A.D." (*BI*, X, App.) and V. Smith, *BE*, 207-217.

ted the Katantra School of grammar and at his instance Sarvavarmān wrote the Katantra system for speedy and easy instruction in grammar by the grace of God Kārtikeya If Śatavāhana Hāla, the 18th in the Āndhra line of kings, lived according to Pargiter about the beginning of the 1st century A D, it is likely that Sūdraka who thought it fit to ridicule Kaṭantra grammar¹ was a contemporary of a king Svāti of Āndhra dynasty, that king was Śivasvāti who ruled about 81 A D Śivasvāti ruled for 28 years On this consideration Sūdraka may be assigned to the end of the 1st century A D

According to Purāṇas, Sūdraka ruled in the middle of the 5th century B C as Śivasvāti ruled in 462-434 B C² —

		Purāṇic dates B C	Pargiter's dates A D
1	Sumhaka Śrī Swatikarna	834—811	
2	Kṛṣṇa Śrī Śāṭakarni	811—793	
3	Śrīmalla Śāṭakarni	793—788	
4	Purpoṭsanga	788—765	

1 BKR, (1875-6), 74, Belvalkar (*Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, 81) accepts the date 1st century A D, for the origin of this School

2 See T S Narayanasastri, *Age of Saṅkara*, Part I D, 92-100, where also, see for sources and varieties of names of kings

Wilson (*Theatre* I 6) gives 190 A D on the authority of Skanda Purāṇa, which says Sūdraka would reign 3293 years after Kali A local Māhātmya of Paithama says he founded a dynasty there in 372 A.D (*Arch. Sur of Western India*, III, 56). Other accounts make him the first of the Āndhra Kings and say that the name given as Śīśuka Śūruka or Śīprika elsewhere is an error for Sūdraka (JBRS, XIII 312).

Lassen (*Alt.* II 965) is uncertain but is inclined towards 150 A D Fergusson (*Indian and Eastern Arch.* 717, JBRS, (N S.) IV, 122) gives 81 B C Wilford (*As Res*, IX 101) gives between 1st and 3rd century B C and Princep (*Useful tables*, *Arch Sur of Western India*, II, 182) 21 B C, Regnaud (*Int to Edn.*, Paris) says Buddhism was then prevalent and assigns between 250—600 A.D rather near the first Weber (*IL*, 205) refers to the use of the word Nānaka (*Mss* I, 28) as a term borrowed from the coins of Kanerki who reigned in 40 A D, and gives Sūdraka a subsequent date M. Williams (*IW* 471) gives 1st century A.D Fischel (*Int to Śrngāratalaka*) bases his view on the verse लिप्तिवत् तमोऽङ्गानि and makes Sūdraka contemporary of Dandin and Dandin the real author *Mṛcchakaṭikā* Masdonell (*SL*, 361) agrees with Fischel and gives date 6th century A D See also Peterson (*Subh* 180) Note this verse now found in Bhāsa's Cāruḍaṭṭa and Bālacarita. For criticism of these opinions, see K. P. Parab's Introduction to *Mṛcchakaṭikā* (Bombay) N Chatto-padhyaya, *Mṛcchakaṭikā, a study*, Bombay and Mysore, M. Nyayaratna, *On the authorship of Mṛcchakaṭikā* (JASB, 193 200). For articles in other languages, see Schuyler, *Bibl*, 88-9 and Bhārat (1914), 32 K. O Mahendrale [*Date of Sūdraka's Mṛcchakaṭikā*] assigns Sūdraka to the middle of 6th century A D J O Ghatak (*Date of Mṛcchakaṭikā from astrological data*) fixes the date latest 3rd century B.C

		Purāṇic dates B C	Pargiter's dates A D
5	Śrī Śāṭakarṇi	765—709	
6	Skandā Swāmin .	709—691	
7	Lambodāra	691—678	
8	Āpīṭaka	678—661	
9	Meghasvāti .	661—648	
10	Śāṭasvāti ..	648—631	
11	Skandāsvātikarna	625—618	
12	Mrgendra Svātikarna .	618—615	
13	Kuṇṭala Svātikarna .	615—607	
14	Saumya Svātikarna	607—595	
15	Śītasvātikarna .	595—594	
16	Puloma Śāṭakarṇi or Puloman I .	594—558	
17.	Megha Śāṭakarṇi	558—520	
18	Aṇṣṭa Śāṭakarni . ..	520—495	
19	Hāla	495—490	
20	Purindrasena or Purikasenā .	485—464	59
21	Mandalaka	490—485	
22	Sundara Śāṭakarṇi .	464—463	80
23.	Oakora Śāṭakarṇi ..	463	81
24	Mahendra Śāṭakarṇi	462	
25	Śivaśāṭakarṇi or Śivasvāti	462—454	81
26	Gauṭamiyūtra . ..	434—409	109
27.	Puloman II . .	409—377	135
28	Śivaśrī Śāṭakarṇi ..	377—370	165
29.	Śivaśkanḍa Śāṭakarṇi .	370—363	170
30	Yagnaśrī Śāṭakarṇi	362—344	173
31.	Vajayśrī Śāṭakarṇi	344—338	205
32	Caṇḍraśī Śāṭakarṇi .	338—335	208
23	Puloman III .	335—322	218

599 Mrcchakatika, a play in 10 acts, describes the loves of Cāruḍaṭṭa and Vasanṭasenā. Cāruḍaṭṭa was a virtuous Brahmin of affluence. He lost his fortune but did not forsake his piety. Vasanṭasenā, a courtesan, was enamoured of him and his qualities, and sent valuable jewels to him covered up in a cart used by his child Śākāra, the brother-in-law of the reigning king Pālaka, was in love with Vasanṭasenā. But Vasanṭasenā did not reciprocate the love. Śākāra assaulted Vasanṭasenā as a result of which she fell down stunned and unconscious. Thereupon Śākāra accused Cāruḍaṭṭa as the murderer and the prosecution ended in a sentence of execution. In the meantime Vasanṭasenā had recovered and she appeared on the scene of execution just in time to save Cāruḍaṭṭa. About the same time, a revolution is said to have occurred in the state. Āryaka, whom Cāruḍaṭṭa rescued

from prison, marched upon Ujjain deposed king Pālaka and installed himself on the throne and Cārudaṭṭa was in grateful appreciation of the kindness made one of his chief officers ¹

600 There are commentaries on the play by Gaṇapaṭi,² by Pṛthivīdhara,³ by Rāmamayasārman,⁴ by Lallādikṣiṭa,⁵ by Śrīnivāsācārya,⁶ by Vidyāsāgara,⁷ by Ḍharānanda⁸

601 “The Mrcchakatika” says Wilson “is in many respects the most human of all the Sanskrit plays. There is something strikingly Shakesperian in the skilful drawing of characters, the energy and life of the large number of personages in the play, and in the directness and clearness of the plot itself. It is a ten-act *prakarana* or comedy of middle class life, and the scene is laid in the city of Ujjain. The subject of the plot is the love and marriage of Carudatta, a brahman merchant reduced to poverty by his generosity and Vasantasena, a rich courtesan. In the third act there is a long and humorous account of a burglary in which stealing is treated as an art or science provided with rules and conventional procedure. The chief value of the Mrcchakatika, aside from its interest as a drama, lies in the graphic picture it presents of a very interesting phase of everyday life in ancient India. The elaborate description of the heroine’s palace in the fourth act gives us a glimpse of what was considered luxury in those days. The name ‘Clay Cart’ is taken from an episode in the sixth act, which leads to the finding of heroine’s jewels in the terra cotta cart of the hero’s little son and to their use as circumstantial evidence in a trial. This complicates the plot until all is resolved in the *denouement*”

602. The discovery of the play Carudatta, and its attribution to Bhāsa has led to very serious conjectures in literary history on the originality of this play, on the identity of Bhāsa and of Śūdraka and of the

1. Ed. with various commentaries everywhere. Translated into English prose and verse by A. W. Ryder with an introduction (*HOS*, Harvard), by Wilson, *Theatre*, I, 182 and partly by K. B. Parab (Bombay). For translation into various other European languages, see Schuyler, *Bibl* 87

2. *CC*, I 465

3. Ed. by N. B. Godabole, also by K. P. Parab (Bombay)

4. Ed. by V. Muzumdar (Calcutta).

5. Ed. by N. B. Godabole (Bombay).

6. Ed. Madras.

7. Ed. Calcutta.

8. *DO*, XXI, 8475. - He was son of Rāmabala. It was composed by 1814 A.D.

condition of the classical literature before the Christian era ¹ Carudatta, as extant, extends only to 4 acts and it is there incomplete and so far as these four acts go Mricchakatika is about a copy of it "The first acts of the two plays differ very little except that Vasantasena is pursued by two persons in Carudatta, while she is pursued in Mricchakatika by three persons, namely Vita, Cheta and Sakara In the second Act of Carudatta are not found the characters Madhura, Dyutakara and Darduka of Mricchakatika and the sham Vasantasena to turn a parivrat, but not a Sakya Sramanaka as in Mricchakatika In the third Act the plot is the same in both the plays In the fourth, where Vasantasena has overheard the conversation between Madana and Sajjalaka, Vidushaka has stepped in to carry out his mission, and Sajjalaka appears before Vasantasena only after Vidushaka is gone unlike in Mricchakatika."²

The light thrown on the life of Sūdraka by Avantīsundarīkathasāra helps to trace the real intent and import of the Mricchakatikā Āryaka appears to be Sūdraka and Carudatta to be Sūdraka's friend Bandhudatta ³

603. Vatsarajacaritra, or *Vipāvasavadatta*,⁴ does not give the name of its author but it resembles in dramatic character the plays attributed to Bhāsa "In a manuscript of Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitavalī* preserved in the Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras, the nāndī verse

1. While advocates of authorship of Carudatta say that Mricchakatika was a later enlargement of Carudatta, the opponents say that Carudatta was an abridgment of Mricchakatika There are now springing up scholars who think Bhāsa was a poet of the Court of Śuśraka

2. As summarised by T Ganapathi Sastri in his Introduction to Carudatta In his introduction to *Svapna-Vasāvadattā* (xxxviii et seq), he gives instances of common and similar passages.

3 A Rangasami Sarasvati (*JMy*, XII 274) also suggests that Vasantasena means Malayavati, who was hurt by Kuṇṭala Śātakarṇi (See Kamasutra) and the latter may mean Śakara. The known epigraphical date for Purikasena (30th Andhra king) is 59 A D and Kuṇṭala Śātakarṇi (18th Andhra King) lived according to the Purānas 199 years before Purikasena That would place Kuṇṭala's accession about 80 B C

K P Jayaswal, Bhandarkar and P. D. Gune also attempted to extract historical information from Mricchakatikā According to them king Pradyota of Ujjain had two sons Gopālaka and Pālaka and a daughter Vāsavadattā Pālaka appears to have ascended the throne after his brother either because his eldest brother abdicated or he died leaving his son young. This child Āryaka of the play later on dethroned Pālaka, probably with the help of his aunt's husband Udayana, who thus gained power and influence over Ujjain

4. *TC*, III, 3995. So says the author of Śakuntalācaritā (in *O.M. Library*)

is quoted under Sūdraka¹. This reference coupled with the graceful language and the similarity of style where the word "Kūvalaya" is often used (a character of Sūdraka's works), lends an authority to Vallabhadeva's citation. Mahāsena, King of Ujjain, had a daughter Vasavadattā of marriageable age. Instructed to marry her to a suitable prince, he did penance and Śiva, pleased with it, blessed her with a husband of specified qualities, all of them excellent. The king was at a loss to know who that prince was and when his ministers assembled rejected the names of several contemporary kings, Darsaka of Magadha, Satamanyu of Matsya, Subāhu of Sindhu and others the minister Vasuvarma lighted upon Vatsarāja of Kausāmbī, as the object of Śiva's description. But Vatsarāja was proud and inaccessible. They thought of means of bringing him round. Because Vatsarāja in the garb of an elephant threw dust on a sage and was cursed to be imprisoned through an elephant, the minister devised the stratagem by alluring him by an artificial elephant, for in the capture of elephants Vatsarāja was an expert. So the elephant was made and stationed in the woods. The perfection of its form baffled all reality. News reached Vatsarāja that a splendid elephant had entered his forest and off went he to capture it with the aid of his Veenā. Ghoṣavatī. As he approached the elephant, then came out hidden warriors and Vatsarāja was overpowered and taken to Ujjain where he was kept an honourable captive. His minister Yaugandharayana affected much pain at the loss of Vatsarāja and proclaimed his proposed immolation in fire at once. In the presence of the bewailing population, Yaugandharayana entered the fire, but by the help of Tīraskarīpī-vidyā, became invisible. He put on the garb of a lunatic and entered the city of Kausāmbī at night, in the description of which the poet cannot be too far appreciated². In the meantime Yaugandharayana contrived to let loose an elephant in rat from Kausāmbī on Ujjain and when none there was to prevent its havoc, Vatsarāja was temporarily let out for its subjugation. Thus he did with ease and he saw Vāsavadattā watching his movements from the apartments of the palace. The dawn of love was instant and the impression that she made on Vatsarāja is exquisitely delineated. The lovers were pining. Mahāsena's minister Śaṅkayana noticed the

1 यन्मण्डल पापविनाशदक्ष यद्वयजुस्साममयं पवित्रम् ।

विराजते येन च भूर्भुवस्सुखं पुनातु वस्तुत्वावितुर्वरेण्यम् ॥ embedding Gāyatrīmantra

2 उपागतं वक्रादिव दिङ्मुखैस्तमोनिधैर्मुखं परद्वतर्कमिचकम् ।

पारिक्षरविमिरपरातमन्त्र शनेश्चनैरवतरतीव मेदिनीम् ॥

inclination and suggested to the king that Vatsarāja should be made to instruct Vāsavadattā in Vīṇa. Yaugandharāyana by this time was able to interview Vatsarāja and moved by the sight of his sorrows blessed him with a near victory. Day by day the association of the lovers in the course of musical instruction was fanning the fire of love and in a short time the mutual enchantment was in a climax. Here follows an *Antar-nāṭikā*, with a regular *Prastāvana*. Then follows a scene in which Vāsavadattā having reached the perfection of her tuition, exhibits her art in music and dancing. The bewitching poses and movements tended to enslave Vatsarāja's mind and there remained only an open expression of the mutual fascination. This was accompanied by messages of the maids and exchange of a ring. On a day when the townsmen were regaling themselves in a festival on the Narmada bank and when the king was out on a hunting excursion, Yaugandharāyana by the merit of his charms created an apparent fire in the palace and in the midst of the confusion of attempted escapes, the lovers escape to Kausāmbī on their favourable elephants Nalagīri and Bhadrāvati to the amazing joy of his subjects and a Bharatavakya is its own. The play is available in full only for the first three acts and for the rest there is only the collection of verses, so that it is not possible to say what was the theme of the sub-play. It closes with the expression of Vatsarāja's devotion to Vāsavadattā, a description of her charms and a diversion on the Vīṇā." Here are verses worthy of Śūdraka

या शेते कौस्तुभस्य द्युतिकिसलयते शारदयोमनीले
विष्णोर्वक्षस्युदारे रजनिकरकराकारहारोपहारे ।
साम्येत्यालिङ्गतु त्वां प्रथियिलगलतेनोत्तरीयेण लक्ष्मी
हर्षादापीडयन्ती नवकमलरजोरोचनाभ्यां स्तनाभ्याम् ॥

विष्णोर्जयस्वरुणताम्रतलस्सपादो य प्रोक्षतः सलिलतन्निजगतप्रभातुम् ।
कापि प्रविष्टरुचिराङ्गुलिरावभासे वैदूर्यसङ्क्रम इवाम्बरसागरस्य ॥

604 In Kṣemendra's *Aucīṭyavicāracarcā* (p. 152), there is a quotation from some work of a poet *Dīpaka* in which Vinayavaṭṭi figures न तु यथा तस्यैव (दीपकस्य) —

अयि विरहविचित्रे भर्तुरर्थे तथार्ता सपदि निपतिता त्वं पादयोश्चण्डिकाया ।
स्यमुपहितधूपस्थालकञ्चनशृङ्गोदलितमपि ललाट येन नैवाललक्ष्णे ॥

अत्र विनयवत्साः सुचिरात्प्रत्यावगते ललाटनखोल्लेखापहवचने सख्या सद्युपदिश्यमाने स्त्रैरापहवक्षिणामात्रमेवोपलक्ष्यते ॥

We have seen that Dandin expressed that Sūdraka, after his conquest, compiled a work, in which he described his own experiences. It is conjectured that Vāsavadattā represented Vinayavatī, Yaugandharāyapa personated Bandhudatta and the story of Vatsarāja and his amours with Vāsavadattā while in confinement in Mahāsena's palace have been suggested by Sūdraka's love of Vinayavatī, engendered while imprisoned in the days of King Swāti and by his elopement with the help of his friend Bandhudatta.¹

605 Padmaprabhrtaka,² a humorous Bhāṇa, describes the amours of Mūladeva³ and Devadattā and their successful union through

1 शूद्रकेणासकृञ्जित्वा सञ्छया सद्गचारया ।

जगद्भूयोऽयवष्टब्धं वाचा सचरितार्थया ॥ *Avanṭisundarikāṭhā*

For a detailed account of this play by M. Ramakrishna Kavi, see *Kalā* I, parts 8, 9, 10 and 12

2 Ed. by M. Ramakrishna Kavi in Caṭurbhāṇī (Trichur) with a valuable introduction *TC*, III 8896, Hemacandra quotes the verse

मूलादपि मध्यादपि विटपादप्यङ्कुरादशोकस्य ।

पिशुनस्थमिव रहस्य समन्ततो निष्कसति पुष्पम् ॥

(*Kāvyaṇusāsana*, Bombay edn 198)

3 Mūladeva was according to *Avanṭisundarikāṭhāsāra* the founder of Ellichpur (Acalapurā). There are many legends about Mūladeva. *Kāṭhāsariṭṣāgara* (Tarangas, 89, 124) gives an account of him as the friend of Vikramāditya and as having won a bride at Pataliputra. Kṣemendra's *Kalāvīlāsa* proceeds as if related by Mūladeva. Mūladeva was also known as in Karpisuta, Kalāṅkāra, Mūlabhaṭṭa and Kharapata. In *Matṭavīlāsa* Kāpālika says⁴ नमः स्वरूपटयेति वक्तव्यं येन चोरशास्त्रं प्रणीतम् ॥

In *Kādambarī*, Bāṇa speaks of Vinḍhyātavi कर्णासुतकथेव सचिहितविपुलाचला शोषगता च ।

Vipulā is Devadattā's sister in this play *Padmaprabhrtaka* and Śāśa is a friend of Mūladeva. Harṣacarita (VI) says अतिदयितलास्यस्य शैल्वमच्यस्य मूर्धनमसि-
कृतया मृणाळमिवालुनादग्निमित्रात्मजस्य सुमित्रस्य मित्रदेव . Hence मित्रदेव is a misprint for मूलेदेव (See on this Paper by A. Rangaswami Sarasvati, *JMy*, XIV, 29-30, 51). *Matṭavīlāsaprabhasana* alludes to a work of Mūladeva on theft. In *Mṛcchakatika* where Sarvaśika the burglar dilates upon the intricacies of the art of housebreaking Sūdraka must have had Mūladeva's exploits in mind. *Avanṭisundarikāṭhā* has a verse

स नारायणदत्ताया देवदत्ताश्रयाकथा ।

मूलेदेवोदि

The rest of the line is lost which probably alluded to some work of Mūladeva. Mūladeva is also known to have been a poet. *Mūladevakāṭhā* (*Mṛta* X) says that he was a wicked prince of Pataliputra, who having been banished regained favour of the king through the good offices of a prostitute Devadattā.

the endeavours his friend Sasa Sanghalika a rival lover is introduced, and a person of this name appears in *Avantīsundarikāṭhā* as plotting to kill king Sūdraka. One of the characters *Datṭakalasi* condemns the *Katāntra* School of grammarians as against the school of *Pāṇini*. Reference is made to *Datṭaka*, author of *Vaiśikāsūtras*, who began his work with the syllable *Om*. This play is a fine specimen of poetic art and distinctly ranks among the best known works in Sanskrit literature ¹

606 Puspadusitaka, or *Puṣpabhūṣitaka* is a *prakaraṇa*, in which the heroine is a *kulajā*. It is mentioned by *Abhinavagupta* and *Dhanika* and a fairly good summary of the plot is given by *Kuntaka* ²

1 See for instance, the verse from which the play got its name

ईषल्लीलावदष्ट स्तनतटमृदित पत्रलेखानुविद्ध
खिन्न निश्वासवातैर्मलयतरुरसङ्क्षिष्टकिञ्चल्कवर्णम् ।
प्रातर्निर्माल्यभूत सुरतसमुदयप्राभृत प्रेषयास्मै
पञ्च पद्मावदाते करतलमृदितभ्रामणक्षिष्टनाळम् ॥

The description of a ball play is fine

प्रेङ्खोलत्कुण्डलाया बलवदनिश्रुते कदुकोन्मादिताया
चञ्चवद्बाहुद्वयाया प्रविकचविमृतोदीर्णपुष्पालकाया ।
आवर्तोद्भ्रान्तवेगप्रणयविलसितस्रग्धकाञ्चीगुणाया
मध्यस्यावल्गमानस्तनमरनमितस्यास्य ते क्षेममस्तु ॥

and so is the first lapse of an amorous damsel.

भयाद्रतमसूयितप्रचलभेखलानूपुर
सशङ्कधिथिलोपगूहमवमुक्तनवीपथम् ।
खय समामिवाहयत्वयमुदात्तरागायुध-
स्तव प्रथमचोरिकासुरतसाहस मन्मथ ॥

2 (1) मन्दकुलानां स्त्रीणां चरितं यत्रेत्याहुः । तेन कुलाङ्गनापि तत्र मन्दकुलैवेति दर्शितं भवति । एतदेवामिम्यमानेन पुष्पदूषितके अशोकस्तादिशब्दाकर्णनन समुद्रदत्तस्य शङ्कायोपरिबन्धसन्नादोषा (?) निर्वहणान्तोपयोगिनि हि नन्दन्ती (नन्दिनी) निर्वाग्मने, तस्याश्च गृहान्तरावस्था । इदमेव मुखसन्धौ मूलम् । — *Abhinavabhūṭa*

(11) प्रबन्धावयवानां प्रधानबलसम्बन्धनिबन्ध्यानुग्राह्यानुग्राहकभाव स्वभावसुमगप्रतिभाप्रकाशमान कस्यचिद्विचक्षण (स्य) वक्त्रचमत्कारिण कवेरलौकिक वक्त्रिमासजानलावण्य समुल्लासयति । यथा पुष्पदूषितके द्वितीये अङ्के —

प्रस्थानात्प्रतिनिवृत्त्यनिबिडानुरागद (?) नवरायाविभावादर्या (?) अमन्दमवनोन्माद्यमुद्रेण समुद्रदत्तेन निजमहिकेतन तुल्यदिवसमानन्दयन्ती समाननाय मणिमुचेनेव प्रविशता प्रकपावेग-

Samudradaṭṭa, a friend of Mūladeva won over a concubine of the latter and Mūladeva vowed to seduce the wife of Samudradaṭṭa. Samudradaṭṭa secretly married Nandayanṭī. Mūladeva proclaimed by māva that Nandayanṭī was married to him and on his complaint Samudradaṭṭa was banished. His wife was kept in a cell, but Samudradaṭṭa managed to visit her in nights and when her pregnancy was known she was suspected by her father of unchastity and sent out. She took shelter in the house of a Śabara. Samudradaṭṭa returned and his marriage was proved, but when he hesitated to accept her on account of the pregnancy, his servant Katāha proved to him that on the night of his visit, he gave a ring to Nandayanṭī at the conjunction of the constellations Punarvasū and Puṣya and the boy was born in Viśākha. Samudradaṭṭa was convinced, and he and Mūladeva again became friends and all ends well.

607 Harsa or Harsha-Vardhana was the son of Prabhākaravardhana¹ and Yasomaṭī². He bore titles Praṭāpasīla and

विकललासकायननिपातनिहितनिद्रस्य द्वारदेशशायिन कुवलयस्योत्कोचकारणं सकरादङ्गुलीय-
कदान च यत्कृतं तच्चतुर्थेऽङ्के मधुराप्रतिनिवृत्तेन तेनैव शमदमस्य निष्कम्य शमावेदितसमुद्र-
दत्तवृत्तान्तेन कुलकलङ्काकदर्थ्यमानस्य सार्थवाहसागरदत्तस्य स्वतनयस्पर्शमानः समाविद्वस्तुषा-
शीलशुद्धिमुन्मीलयत्तदुपकाराय कल्पते । तता च सागरदत्तस्य वचनं “तदङ्गुलीय
सुतनामचिह्नं चरित्रशुद्धिं विसामान्यमुद्यता पापस्य भवेत् स शुद्धिः” —*Vakroktajyotiḥ*

प्रबन्धेषु पूर्वं पूर्वं प्रकरणम् अपरस्मात्परस्य प्रकरणान्तरस्य सरससपादितसम्बन्धसंविदान
कसमर्प्यमाणकता प्राणप्रौढिप्ररूढवक्रतोक्तेखमाह्लादयति । यथा पुष्पदूषितके प्रथम प्रकरणम्,
अतिदारुणाभिनवप्रवासवेदनानिरानन्दस्य आनन्दयन्निव सामान्यसमागतस्य समुद्रतीरे
समुद्रदत्तस्योत्कण्ठाप्रकारप्रकाशनं, द्वितीयमपि प्रस्थानात्प्रतिनिवृत्त्य, निशीथिन्यामुसौ चालङ्कार-
दानमूकीभूतकुवलयस्य कुसुमपातिताया अनाकलितमेव तस्य सहचरीसङ्गमनम्, तृतीयमपि
संभावितकुर्विनेयेऽपि नयदत्तनन्दिनीनिर्व्यासव्यसनतत्समाधाननिबन्धनम्, चतुर्थमपि मधुरा
प्रतिनिवृत्तकुवलयप्रहङ्गमानविमलसपद कठोरगर्भमरविद्यायां स्तुषायां निष्कारणनिष्कासना-
दनाहितप्रवृत्ते महापातकिनमात्मानं मन्यमानस्य सार्थवाहसागरदत्तस्य तीर्थयात्राप्रवर्तनम्,
पञ्चममपि वनान्तं नवपालपालिकामानन्दयन्त्यालामकालनेन समुद्रदत्तकुशलोदन्तकथनम्, षष्ठमपि
सर्वेषां विचित्रसङ्ख्या ममागमाभ्युदयसपादकमिति ॥ —*Vakroktajyotiḥ*.

प्रकरणे नायिका द्विधा—वेश्या कुलजेति । यथा वेश्यैव तरङ्गदत्ते, कुलजैव पुष्पदूषितके ।

Dātārūpa

For a note and extracts by R. Ramamurti, see *JORS*, IV 78

1 For a collection of his verses, see F. W. Thomas, *Kav* 54, and Peterson, *Subh*

2. For coins bearing those titles, see Burn, *JRAS*, (1906), 845

Śīlāditya¹ His capital was Dhaneswar and Kanauj His father attained considerable success in his wars against the neighbouring countries of Malawas, Gurjaras and Huns Rājyavardhana was his elder brother and Rājyasrī his sister In an expedition against the king of Malwa to weak his vengeance for wrongfully confining Rājyasrī, Rājyavardhana was though successful treacherously slain by the vanquished king's ally, Sasānka, king of Bengal² Harṣa ascended the throne in 604 A.D. and started an era in his name³ Having recovered his sister, Harṣa overran Northern India in five years and reigned happily till 647 A.D. Within six years of his accession, Harṣa came to hold sway over the whole of the Ganges basin including Nepal and over the whole of the Hindustan including Orissa His attempt to become overlord of South India was frustrated by his defeat at the hands of Īḷukya Pulakeṣin

Himself a great poet his court was the resort of learned men on whom he conferred munificent gifts The Chinese traveller Hsien Tsang visited his capital during his Indian tour and he gives an excellent account of his court and administration⁴ Bāṇa, Divākara and Mayūra were poets of his court⁵ and in his *Harṣacarita* Bāṇa describes the life and greatness of his patron

1. For the genealogy of the family, see Gupta Ins. No 52, *MI*, IV 208, I 67, *JRAS* (196), 845, *ibid* (1909), 446 For a full account, see C. V. Vaidya's *MI*, II 1 160 and Parekh's *Life of Harsha* (in maharati)

2. Śīlānka's kingdom probably became subject to Harṣa later on, see *EI* VI 143)

3. For inscriptions dated in this era, see Keithorn, *IA* XXVI 32, also *EI*, V App. Nos 528 47.

4. Beal, *Life and Travels of Hsien Tsang* (Paris) Records, Watters, *On Hsien Tsang's Travels in India* (London)

On Harṣadēva generally, see C. Franciscan, *San Drami attribuiti al Parshadesa*, Naples, Maurice L. Ethinghausen, *Harsharādha va, Emperor and poet* (Louvain), an exhaustive monograph, K. M. Pannikar, *Sri Harsha of Kanauj*, Bombay, S. J. Warren, *King Harsha Van Kanakubja* (The Hague), V. Smith, *EII*, 335 350, *Oxford History of India*, 165 171

For inscriptions relating to Harṣa, see *IA*, VII 196 XI 308, XII 234, XIII, 70, 421, XVII 146, XIX 40, 151, XX 119, and generally see Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XXVII. 98, *CC*, I 764, Peterson, *PR*, IV 188, *JBRAS*, X 38, XVI 179, Bhandarkar, *BR*, (1897), XX 11, Fleet, *OII*, III 981, 171 note.

For all verses quoted in the anthologies see F. W. Thomas, *Kav* 117 122

5. Padmagupta in *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* (II) says

विचित्रवर्णविच्छित्तिहारिणोरवनीपते । श्रीहर्षस्यैव सद्यः चक्रे बाणमयूरयो ॥

A verse is quoted as Rājāsēkhara's in Jihana's *Suktimuktāvali* (*JRAS*, XVII. 57 71).

अहो प्रसादो वाग्देव्या यन्मातङ्गदिवाकर । श्रीहर्षस्यामवसम्भ्यस्समो बाणमयूरयो ॥

608 It is a matter of controversy whether king Harsavardhana was the author of or at least the patron of the author of the three dramas *Ratnāvalī*, *Nāgānanda* and *Priyadarsikā*. It is said in *Mammata's Kāvya-prakāśa* that one of the objects of poetry is wealth and as an illustration is added श्रीहर्षदेवणा (धावका) दीनामिव धनम् ।¹ From this it has been suggested that 'Bāna' or 'Dhāvaka' according to the readings taken, was the real author and the king purchased the authorship from them for a price. This statement of *Mammata* may be correct so far as it goes, but there is very little other evidence that these dramas particularly were written by *Dhāvaka* or *Bāna* and were so paid for. It may be that in appreciation of some good poetry written by these poets, the king showed his munificence.

In the absence of definite evidence that king *Harṣavardhana* was the author or proprietor by purchase of these works from *Bāna* or *Dhāvaka*, it is a matter for consideration, who was the *Harṣadeva* mentioned in the prologues of these plays as their author.²

609 So far as it is known, King *Harsavardhana* has not been called *Harṣadeva* in any of his inscriptions or by *Bāna* in his *Harṣacarita*. Even in the anthologies, the name *Harṣadeva* is used³ and the verses there are quoted from these three dramas and verses quoted under the name of *Harsavardhana* are not traceable in these dramas. *Kaḥaṇa* mentions king *Harṣa-Vikramāditya* of *Ujjain*, as the patron of *Mātṛgupta*.⁴ If there is no cogent connection between king *Harṣa-*

1 Among commentators on *Kāvya-prakāśa*, who read 'Dhāvaka' are *Jayarāma Vaidyanātha*, *Nagoji*, *Paramānanda*, *Narasimha* and *Acyuṣarāya* (See *Vāmanaśāstrya's* edition of *Kāvya-prakāśa*, 89. *Brahme* and *Paranjpe* (Introduction to *Nāgānanda*); *H. H. Wilson* (*Theatre*, II 259, 346) and *Fischel*, *GG*, XXXIX, 1235-41 accept this view. *F. Hall*, (*JASB*, XXXI, 11 13, Int to *Vasav*) says that *Bāna's* claim is as good as *Dhāvaka's*. *E. P. Cowell* (Prof. to *Boyd's Nāgānanda*) and *Macdonell* (*SL* 362) say *Bāna* was author of *Ratnāvalī* and *Dhāvaka* of *Nāgānanda*. *Weber* (*IL*, 204, 207, 212, 218) attributes *Ratnāvalī* to *Bāna*. *Henry* (*Int Lit* 295-318), *Ettlinghausen* (*lc* 98-102), *S. Konow* (*Die Indische Drama* 78 4), *M. Winternitz* (*Ind Lit* III, 226), *Levi* (*TI*, 184-196), and *E. Windisch*, (*Tr of Int Oriental Congress* (1884) II, 93-95), accept *Harsa's* authorship. For a summary of these views, see Int to *Priyadarsika* (Col. Un Series), xxi.

2 See for a learned discussion, by *Saradaranjan Ray*, Int to *Ratnāvalī* (Calcutta.)

3 See *F. W. Thomas*, *Kav.* 1117 and *Peterson*, *Subh.* 198.

4 See para 568 supra.

तवानेहस्युज्जयिन्यां श्रीमान् हर्षपरामिध ।

एकच्छत्रकवर्ती विक्रमादित्य इत्यभूत् ॥

vardhana, and these dramas, it is quite likely that this Harṣadeva was that king Harṣa-Vikramāditya Abhinavagupta, Śāradātanaya, and Bahurūpamiśra quote verses from a commentary on Nāṭyaśāstra by a Harṣa. It is equally likely that Harṣa, the writer on dramaturgy, was the author of these plays.

A king Harṣa is mentioned as a great poet by several writers of successive centuries.¹ Bāṇa eulogises Harṣa's poetic genius.² ITsing records that king Śilāditya versified the story of Bodhisatva Jimutavāhana, he had it performed by a band accompanied by dancing and acting and thus popularised it in his time.³ Soddhala enumerates Vikramāditya, Śrī Harṣa, Munja, Bhojadeva &c. as Kavīndras⁴ and eulogises Hārṣa.⁵ Jayadeva cites Harṣa along with Bāṇa, Rāmila Saumila etc.⁶ Damaṇḍaragupta gives excerpts from Raṭṇāvalī and calls it the work of a royal author.⁷

Besides verses from the three plays, about a dozen verses, are also quoted in the anthologies as Harṣa's.⁸ Two Buddhist poems of devotion Suprabhātaśoṭṭra in 24 verses and Astamahāśīlāṭīya-samskaraśoṭṭra (in 5 verses) are also attributed to him.⁹

In Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa (chap. xx) there is the following verse quoted

श्लोकोऽयं हर्षाभिधानकविना देवस्य तस्याग्रतः
यावद्यावदुदीरितश्चकवधूवैधव्यदीक्षायुक्तः ।
तावद्यावदुपोढसान्द्रपुलकोद्भेदः स तस्मै ददौ
लक्षं लक्षमखण्डितमदजलप्रक्षिन्नगण्डगजम् ।

So in Śāradātanaya's Bhāṇavaprakāśa (VII)

दिव्यमानुषसयोगो यत्ताङ्कैरविदूषकैः ।
तदेव त्रोटकमेवो नाटकैरविदूषकैः ॥

1. See Priyadarśikā (COS Int. xli.)

2. काव्यकथासु **** ममृतपुद्गमन्तम् । अपिचास्यकविवस्यन्नाच न पर्याप्तोविषयः ॥
Harṣacarita (Bombay Edn.) 79, 86

3. A record of the Buddhist Religion in India and the Malay Archipelago (Tr. by Takakusu, 1893).

4. Uṇḍayasaṇḍarī, (COS), 150

5. श्रीहर्ष इत्यवनिवर्तिषु पार्थिवेषु नाम्नेव केवलमजायत वस्तुतस्तु ।
ग्रीहर्ष एष निजससदि येन राज्ञा सपूजितः कनककोटिचतेन बाणः ॥

6. See para 587 supra

7. He quotes the verse उदयनगान्तरितमियं प्राची सूचयति दिङ्निशानाथम् ।

8. See Thomas, Kav. 117-20

9. Ettinghausen, loc. 168 175, 176-179; Thomas, JRAS (1908) 708-722, S. Levi Transactions of the International Congress of Orientalists, Leiden (1894), II. 1. 189-203.

610 Ratnavali,¹ a *natikā* in four acts, describes the secret loves of King Udayana and Sāgarikā, an attendant on the queen Vāsavadattā. Private intrigues are arranged but discovered by the queen. "After many vicissitudes the heroine turns out to be Ratnavali, a Ceylon princess, whom a shipwreck has brought to Udayana's court. The plot is unconnected with mythology, but is based on a historical or epic tradition, which recurs in a somewhat different form in Somadeva's *Kathasantsagara*. As concerned with the second marriage of the King, it forms a sequel to the popular love-story of Vasavadatta. It is impossible to say whether the poet modified the main outlines of traditional story, but the character of a magician who conjures up a vision of the gods and a conflagration is his invention, as well as the incidents which are entirely of a domestic nature."²

There are commentaries by (Bhīmasena, Mudgaladeva),³ Govinda,⁴ *Prārtācārya*,⁵ J Vidyāsāgara,⁶ K N Nyāyapancānana,⁷ S C Chakravarti,⁸ Siva,⁹ Lakṣmaṇasūri,¹⁰ R V Kṛṣṇamācārya,¹¹ S Ray,¹² V S Aiyar¹³ and by Nārāyaṇasastrī Nigudkar.¹⁴

611 Ksemendra's drama *Lalitaraṅgamālā* appears to have had a similar plot. There is this quotation in his *Ancīṣyavicāracarṇā* (pp 140-2)

1 Ed everywhere. On *Ratnāvali* generally, see R C Dutt, *Civ* II 265. M Williams, *IW*, 505, G Buhler, *On the authorship of the Ratnavali* (*IA*, II 127) F. Hall, *Int. to Vasavadatta*, 15-18, J J Mayer (*Damodaragupta's Kuttimālatam*, Leipzig), S C Vidyabhushan, *Date of Ratnavali*, *Mahabodhi*, 12, R. V Krishnamacharya, *Int to Edn* (Srirangam), it is a very elaborate introduction, M Schuyler, *Bib* 9, Buhler, *On the authorship of Ratnavali*, *IA*, II 127, Weber, II 207; Saradaranjan Ray's *Int to Ed* (Calcutta) contains a valuable introduction. See also *ISr* I, 356. Tr into English by Saradaranjan Ray (Calcutta), by S C Chakravarti (Dacca), by Wilson, *Theatre*, II 255-319, by Bidhu B Goswami (Calcutta). For translations into other languages, see Schuyler, *Bib*, 40.

2 Macdonell, *SL*, 362.

3 *CC*, I 492.

4 Ed Bombay.

5 *CC*, II 115.

6 Ed. Calcutta.

7 Ed. Calcutta.

8 Ed. Dacca.

9 *HR*, III 34. 137. He was son of Tṛyambaka.

10 Ed. Calcutta.

11 Ed. Madras.

12 Ed. Srirangam.

13 Ed. Kumbakonam.

14 Ed. by K. M. Joglekar with an English Introduction (Bombay).

यथा मम ललितरत्नमालायाम्—

निद्रा न स्पृशति त्यजत्यपि धृति धत्ते स्थितिं न क्वचित्

दीर्घा वेत्ति कथां व्यथा न भजते सर्वात्मना निर्वृतिम् ।

तेनाराधयता गुणस्तव जपध्यानेन रत्नावलीं

निस्सङ्गेन पराङ्गनापरिगत नामापि नो सङ्गते ॥

अत्र वत्सेश्वरस्य रत्नावलीविरहविधुरचेतस स्मरव्यधासमुचित विदूषकेण सुसङ्गतायै यदभिहित । निद्रां न स्पृशति न सङ्गते स्थितिधृतिकथानिर्वृतांना स्त्रीलिङ्गाभिधानेनाङ्गत्वाध्या-
रोपेण परमौचित्य प्रतिपादितम् ॥

612. Priyadarsika, a nāṭikā in four acts, is a reflection of Ratnāvalī Dṛḍhavarman, King of the Angas, having betrothed his daughter Priyadarsikā to King Udayana prepares to take her to him. Meanwhile the Kalinga King overcomes and imprisons him. Priyadarsikā after some vicissitudes is admitted to the harem of Udayana by his commander, under the name of Āranyikā, a maid-servant to the queen. The king is enamoured of her and his secret intrigues are as usual discovered by the Queen. Āranyikā is imprisoned by her, but not long after this, she is recognised as the Anga princess Priyadarsikā, her own maternal cousin. Bitten by a serpent the heroine is in a swoon and the king revives her. The story ends with her happy presentation to the king by the queen herself².

There is a commentary by R. V. Kṛṣṇamācārya³.

613 Nagananda⁴ in four acts "describes the story exactly as related in the Kathasaritsagara (Taranga XXII) of Jimutavahana, a prince of the Vidyadharas, who, swayed by sentiments of universal love, relinquishes his kingdom to serve his parents in the forest. There in the Malaya mountain he falls in love with the daughter of the Gandharva King, and roaming about by chance, fresh from the wedding, he hears that the King of Serpents has made peace with Garuda and stipulated to offer a serpent each day to the kite. The heart of the prince is moved. He resolves to save the life of that day's victim even at the

1 On Priyadarsikā generally G. Strehly, *Int. to Edn. (Paris)*, F. Cumminio (o. c. XXXI 1-18) R. V. Kṛṣṇamācārya, *Int. to Edn. (Srirangam No. 9)*, M. Schuyler, *Bibl. 2*.

2 *Ed. Srirangam* (with an introduction by the commentator), *Ed. by J. Vidyāsagara*, *Ed. V. D. Gadre*, (Col. Un. series) with translation by G. K. Narayana, A. V. W. Jackson and C. J. Ogden, and an elaborate introduction.

3 In a manuscript preserved in the Patan Library dated Samvat 1256, the name of the author is given as Śrī Harṣa (see *PR*, V).

risk of his own Garuda finds out that by mistake he has harmed the disguised prince and overpowered with grief learns that abstinence from cruelty is the highest virtue on earth The play ends with the appearance of the Goddess Gauri, who revives the prince to life "

There are commentaries by Ātmārāma,¹ by N C Kaviśatna,² by Sivarāma³ and by Śrīnivāsācārya⁴ There is a poem called Nāgānanda⁵

Other dramas⁶ composed on a similar purpose and style of composition are the Lokānanda of Candragomin⁷ and Sāntikarīṭra⁸ of unknown authorship

614 "From the invocation to Buddha in the Nānḍī and the circumstance that the play describes the incidents of Buddha's life in his work as Jīmūtavāhana, it is possible to say that the play has a Buddhist coloring, but it may be too soon to affirm that the main purpose of it is to illustrate a Buddhist doctrine of universal humaneness The rule of compassion is inculcated in all ancient Hindu Ethical literature and is essentially pre-Buddhist in its origin Garuda is an Aryan God and the appearance of the goddess Gauri and shower of nectar marking the happy culmination are Hindu in their core"⁹

On Nāgānanda generally, see S Beal (*The Academy*, XXIV 217, F Cimmino, Proc 18th Int Cong of Orientalists, Leiden (1902), 81, S G Bhanup Int to Edn. (Bombay) G B Brahme and S M Paranjape, Int to Edn. (London), S C Ray Int to Edn (Calcutta), M Schuyler, *Bibl* 9 Weber, *IL*, 207 Burgess (*IL*, I 140) gives an excellent English summary Tr into English by N C Vaidyārāma (Calcutta), by P Boyd (London), by S C Ray (Calcutta) and by Vasudevachariar (Madras) with a summary of the plot, by R D Karmarkar (Poona) with notes and introduction and by L V Ramachandra Iyer, Madras and by P V Ramenujaswami with Int, Trn and notes, Madras

1 *CC*, I 288 He is probably different from the commentator, Rāma in *DC*, XXI 8414

2 Ed Calcutta

3 Ed by T. Ganapati Sastri, *TSS*, Trivandrum He has also commented on Subhadrādhyanarāja and Tapaḥi-Samvarāṇa

4 He was the San kṛt Pandit, St Joseph's College, Trichinopoly

5 *Trav.*

6 For similar Jain plays, see Levi, 324

7. Levi, *App* 80 See para 260 *supra*

8 Levi, *App*, 81

9. It looks likely that the name and matter were suggested by Lokānanda (*Levi* *App* 80, 324) Of this there is a Tibetan translation (see *lc* 56)

615 Kalidasa, as a dramatist, has attained universal admiration. His talents stand unique and rarely has any other been recognised as his equal ¹

Dandin wrote

लिप्ता मधुद्रवेणासन् यस्य निर्विवशा गिर ।
तेनेद् वर्त्म वैदर्भं कालिदासेन शोधितम् ॥

Bāṇa said

निर्गतासु न वा कस्य कालिदासस्य सूक्तिषु ।
प्रीतिर्मधुरसान्द्रासु मञ्जरीश्रिव जायते ॥

In his tract, *Kalidasa, the moralist*,² Ravindranath Tagore writes

“Kalidasa has shown that while infatuation leads to failure beneficence achieves complete fruition, that beauty is constant only when

1 For verses quoted in anthologies as Kālidāsa's (not traceable in any known works), see Aufrecht *ZDMG*, XXXIX 806 and Peterson, *Sūbh* 23

Some of these verses are very fine

- i हेमाम्बोरुहपत्ने परिमलस्तेयी वसन्तानिल-
स्तत्रलैरिव यामिकैर्मनुकरैरारब्धकोलाहल ।
निर्यातस्त्वरया व्रजशिपिति श्रीखण्डपङ्कद्रवे-
लिप्ते केरलकामिनीकुचतटे खञ्जदशनैर्गच्छति ॥
- ii न वक्ति प्रेमाद्रं न खलु परिमम रचयति
स्थितौ तस्यां तस्यां करकमललालां न सहते ।
स्मितज्योत्स्नाकान्त मुखमभिमुख नैव कुरुते
तथाप्यन्त प्रीतिं वपुषि पुलकोऽस्या कथयति ॥
- iii स्वप्न प्रसीद भगवन्पुनरेकवार
सन्दर्श्य प्रियतमां क्षणमात्रमेव ।
दृष्टा सती निबिडबाहुयुगे विलग्न
तत्रैव मां नयति सा यदि वा न याति ॥

2 This is in Bengali. Translated into English *Mod Rev* XLV.

On KALIDASA generally O Bendall, *Kalidasa in Ceylon*, (*JRAS*, (1880), 440), G A Grierson, *Are Kalidasa's heroes monogomists?* (*JASB*, XLVI 89), *Some notes on Kalidasa*, (*JASB*, XLVIII 82 48), G S Leonard, *Further proof of the polygamy of Kalidasa's heroes*, (*JASB*, XLVI 160) Prannath Pandit, *Morals of Kalidasa*, (*Ibid* XLV 352), A. V Jackson, *Legend of Kalidasa preserved at Ujjain*, (*JAS*, XXII 381), *Time Analysis of the dramas of Kalidasa*, (*Ibid* XX 341 59), *Bibliography of Kalidasa's plays*, (*Ibid*, XXII. 287, XXIII 987), R V Tulu, *Traditional account of Kalidasa*, (*IA*, VII 115), Hoernle, *Kalidasa and Kamaṇḍaka*, (*IA*, XLI, 156), J B. Chakravarti, *Kalidasa, the Great Indian Poet*, (*JMy*, VIII. 261), R A.

upheld by virtue, that the highest form of love is the tranquil, controlled and beneficent form, that in regulation lies the true charm and lawless excess the speedy corruption of beauty He refuses to acknow-

Narasimhachariar *Life of Kalidasa*, (*Ibid*, 278), A R Krishnasastri, *Formative influences of Kalidasa*, (*Ibid*, IX 557) A Venkata Subbiah, *Kalidasa's Sociological Ideals*, (*Ibid* 95), C Venkataramaniah, *Some views of Kalidasa's philosophy and Religion*, (*Ibid*, 98), K Krishna Iyengar, *Kalidasa and Shakespeare*, (*Ibid*, 151), M Sumner, *Les Heroines de Kalidasa et belles de Shakespeare*, (Paris), J E Seneviratne, *Life of Kalidasa*, (Colombo), F Neve, *Kalidasa dans les raffinements de sa culture*, (Paris), L Lieblon, *Das Datum des Candragomin und Kalidasa*, (Breslau) Ch Harris, *An investigation of some of Kalidasa's views*, (Evansville, Ohio), D R Bhandarkar, *Solecisms of Sankaracarya and Kalidasa*, (*IA* XLI 214), T Narasimhalengar, *Kalidasa's Religion and Philosophy*, (*IA*, XXXIX 286), V V. Sovani, *Essay on Society in the times of Kalidasa*, (in Malayi), Allamraju Ramasastri, *Heroines of Kalidasa*, (*Sah* XXII 45), A O Chatterji, *Kalidasa, his poetry and mind*, (*MR*, XI also Ed Calcutta), Rajendranath Vidyabhushan, *Kalidasa*, (in Bengali), R V Krishnamachariar, *Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti*, (*Sah*, XVIII), Ramanujaswamy, *Kalidasa's date*, (*Sah* XIX), Ramacharya, *Kalidasa's love for deer*, (*Sah*, XXIV), Seshagiri Sastri, *Kalidasa*, (*IA*, I 840), G S. Krishnasami Iyer, *Poetry of Kalidasa*, (*IR*, XIV, 899), Bhude, *Notes on Kalidasa*, (*IA*, XLVII 246), Harichand, *Les Citations de Kalidasa, dans les traites d'Alankara* (*JA* VII No 1 and 2), *Kalidasa et l'art poetique de l'Inde* Paris, reviewed in *JRAS* (1918), 564 (which contains all the quotations from Kālidāsa contained in Alankara works), C V Vaidya, *Pandya and the date of Kalidasa* (fixes the date 1st century B C), K G Majumdar, *Vatsyayana and Kalidasa*, (*IA*, XLVII 195), Majumdar, *Kalidasa and Kamandaka*, (*IA*, XLVI 220), G A Grierson, *Are Kalidasa's heroes monogamists*, (*IA*, XLVII April No), P, K Chatterjee, *Poet Kalidasa and sea voyage*, (*Jl* of Dept of Letters, Calcutta, XVI), Anand Koul, *Birthplace of Kalidasa*, (*Jl* of Ind History, VII 345), K Balasubrahmanya Iyer, *Kalidasa, his philosophy of Love*, (*JOR*, III 849), C K Venkataramayya, *Kalidasa and Bhasa in the light of Western Criticisms*, (*JMy*, XVII 125), A Rangasami Sarasvati, *Kalidasa*, (*JMy*, XV 269, XVI 98), A Shah, *Kautilya and Kalidasa*, (*JMy*, XI 42, X 803) and *Astronomical Data in the dramas of Kalidasa*, (*Tr. All Ind Or. Cones* 1924), K G Sankara Iyer, *Vikrama theory of Kalidasa's date*, (*JMy*, XI, 188), Chakravarti, *Date of Kalidasa*, (*JRAS*, (1891), 330), Huth, *Des riet des Kalidasa*, S. H Dhruva, *Thoughts from Kalidasa*, (Bombay), Bhau Daji, *On the Sanskrit poet, Kalidasa*, (*JBRAS*, VI 19, 207), B C Majumdar, *Date of Kalidasa*, (*JBORS*, II 888), K G Sankara Iyer, *Yasodharman's theory of Kalidasa's date*, (*JBORS*, VII. 60), K Venkataramayya, *Kalidasa and Bhasa in the light of Western Criticism*, (*JMy*, XVIII 127), H Subbaraya Sastri, *Kalidasa's Flowers*, (*Bharati*, I. 107), P Venkataramanayya, *Was Kalidasa a votary of Karikeya* (*Ibid* V. 688), Mr. Ramakrishnayya, *Ritusamhara*, (*Ibid*, 387), Pichaya Sastri, *Meghasandesa*, (*Ibid*, 678), N Ramadasayya, *Meghasandesa*, (*Ibid* 20), G. Jagopantulu, *Kalidasa*, (*Ibid*, VIII 19), K Ramakrishna Rao, *Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti*, (*Ibid*, III 15), A. V Subrahmanya Sastri, *Kalidasapatrauciyam*, (*Ibid*, V. 326) Apte, *Date of Kalidasa*, (Bombay), C Sivaramamurti, *Kalidasa and Painting*, (*JOR*, VII. 160), T. L Venkatrama Sastri, *Musical Element in Kalidasa*, (*JOR*, VII. 357)

ledge passion as the supreme glory of love, he proclaims goodness as the final goal of love "

There are three dramas¹ that are acknowledged to be his, Sakuntalā or more fully Abhijnāna-Sākuntalā, Mālavikāgnimitra and Vikramorvasiṃya. These plays attracted the attention of foreign savants more than two centuries ago and Goethe thus sang of Sakuntalā

Would'st thou the young year's blossoms and the fruits of its decline
And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured, fed,
Would'st thou the Earth and Heaven itself in one sole name combine?
I name thee, O Sakuntalā! and all at once is said

It is the quintessence of Kālidāsa's poetry "

616 Sakuntalā " King Dushyanta of the Lunar race, pursues a gazelle in the vicinity of Kanva's hermitage. Here he spies Sakuntalā, watering her tender nursery with her favourite friends. Struck by her beauty he begs for an interview. He overhears the reciprocation of love by Sakuntalā, meets and marries her. He gives her his ring and with a promise to fetch her soon he returns to his palace. In a thoughtless mood, she fails to greet an irascible sage Dṛvasas and his impatient curse obliterates the memory of her lover, until the spell could pass away at the sight of a ring. Some time passes and Kanva resolves to send her to her husband. She takes leave of her lovely friends, the inanimate plants and the inarticulate deer. She reaches the court of the king, she loses the ring and her exhortations are in vain. The king has no recollection of the amorous incident at the sylvan park. Sakuntalā laments her fate and is borne off by her mother Urvasī to the abode of the celestials. The ring is recovered by a fisherman from the stomach of a fish, and as an accused thief he is brought to judgment. Its sight dispels the gloom and the king recollects his former love. His regrets are wasted. Time passes and Indra seeks his help against his foes. Then while driving in Indra's car he sees a young boy, his own

1. Rājās khara made a pun

एकोऽपि जीयते हन्त कालिदासो न केन चित् ।
दृक्कारे ललितोद्गारे कालिदासप्रयी किमु ॥

Here Kālidāsaṭrayi means these three plays of Kālidāsa and the poet indirectly suggests the existence of three Kālidāsas.

2. Here is the traditional verse,

कालिदासस्य सर्वस्वमभिज्ञानशकुन्तलम् ।
तत्रापि च चतुर्थोऽङ्को यत्र याति शकुन्तला ॥

dear son Bharata, playing with a cub and soon he finds his Sākuntalā not to leave her again"¹

Sākuntalā was recently staged at Melbourne from a translation made by Iawbonce Bunyon and the adaptation of the music is thus described

"The overture opens with the King's love singing theme, given first in the low register of the orchestra. This is continued by the higher strings and wood wind to a climax, with a first hint of the curse motive. A bridge passage for strings and wood wind leads to Sakuntala's love-singing theme played by the violin, this works up to a repeat of the same given in the higher octave by the flutes and oboes. A tremolo passage for strings, with a further hint of the curse motive, is followed by the development of the King's theme working to a full climax of both the King's and Sākuntala's themes leading straight to the curse motive at full orchestral strength. A quiet passage for strings ending with a cadenza for the oboe is followed by the golden peak theme given by the flute in its highest register. The overture foreshadows the entire development of the drama: the sublimation of the earthly unstable love to the universally significant reunion at the mystic's retreat in the Himālaya Mountains. The incidents of the drama are limited in the use of the curse and other motives. Before and during part four, an off-shoot of the Golden Peak theme will be heard, suggestive of the nymphs, who sing their farewell to Sakuntala."

617 The popularity of the play has unconsciously done immense harm to the preservation of its original text. It is now extant in three or

1 Edited everywhere

Translated into English by Sir W. Jones (Calcutta), by M. Williams (London, Bombay), by K. K. Bhattacharya (Calcutta), by A. H. Edgren (New York), G. Kalipada Mukerjee (Calcutta), by Kamala Satyanathan (Madras), by T. R. Ratnam Iyer (Madras), K. Banerji (Nadia), by J. G. Jennings (Allahabad), by R. Vasudevam Rao (Madras) and by Roby Dutta, Calcutta as idyllic poetry, by A. M. Wright (Springfield, Mass.), by S. Ray (Calcutta). For translation in other languages see Schwyler, *Bibl.* 51.

On Sākuntalā generally, M. Schwyler, *Bibl.* 48-56, V. Majumdar, *Int.* to Edn. R. Fischel, *Int.* to Ed. (Kiel), P. N. Patanker, *Int.* to Ed. (Poona), N. C. Vidyaratna, *Int.* to Ed. (Calcutta), T. E. Srinivasachariar, *Int.* to Ed. (Kumbakonam), T. Holme, *Int.* to Edn. (London), S. Ray, *Int.* to Ed. (Calcutta), R. B. Bala, *De Kalidasa's Sakuntala* (Breslau), V. Sarkar, *Sakuntala-Rahasya*, *A. Weber, Ist.* XIV 35, 161. T. Lakshminarasimhamo, *Sakuntala* (*JMy*, IX 68). R. Kulkarni, *A University in the Sakuntala* (Tomorrow, August, 1928), A. O. Chatterji, *Kalidasa, His poetry and mind* (Calcutta), Rav. Tagore, *Sakuntala and its inner meaning* (In Bengali), Tr. into English, *MR*, IX) and *Bhārata* III 25.

four recessions called the Bengali,¹ Devanagari,² Kashmir,³ and South Indian.⁴ The latest collation of the second recession and an attempt at a critical edition is perhaps that of Prof S Ray of Calcutta

618 There are commentaries by Rāghava,⁵ Kālayavema,⁶ Śrīnivāsa,⁷ Ghanasyāma,⁸ Abhirāma,⁹ (Kṛṣṇanātha Pancānana, Candrasekhara, Damaruvallabha, Prākṛtācārya, Nārāyana, Rāmabhadra, Sankara) Premacandra,¹⁰ D V Panta,¹¹ Vidyāsāgara,¹² Venkatācārya,¹³ Śrī Kṛṣṇanātha,¹⁴ Bālagovinda,¹⁵ by Ḍakṣiṇāvartanātha,¹⁶ Rāmavarman and Rāma Piśharoti,¹⁷ and five anonymous.¹⁸

619 SRINIVASADIKSITA was the son of Ṭimmayarya and was known also Venkatesa. He was an archaka of the Vaikhānasa sect and Kāsyapagotra, at the temple of Tirupati (Chittoor District). He had the title of Cakrāyudha and lived about 1850. He is a prolix writer and his commentary is probably the longest and the most discursive. He has written a commentary on Vaikhānasasūtras and Rāmāyana and the manuscript of the latter is said to be at a village called Oratti, South Arcot, Madras Presidency.

1. Represented by Premacandra's Edn (Calcutta) and Pischel's Edn (Kiel).

2. Represented by Isvarachandra Vidyasagara's Edn (Calcutta) and M William's Edn (Oxford).

3. Represented by N. B. Godabole's Edn (Bombay) and by A. R. Rajarajavarma's Edn (Trivandrum).

4. See *BKR*, xxxv.

5. Ed. Bombay. He was son of Pṛthivīdhara, an authority on Nyaya and Mimamsa. *DC*, XXI, 8870. Ed. Bombay with English notes.

6. Ed. Bombay.

7. Ed. Madras *DC*, XXI, 8878, *HR*, III, 6.

8. Ed. Trivandrum. With an English introduction.

9. *CC* I, 28, II, 187, III, 6.

10. Ed. Calcutta.

11. Ed. Calcutta.

12. Ed. Calcutta.

13. Ed. Madras.

14. See P. N. Patankar's Int. to *Sakuntala* (Poona) and *JAOS*, XXII, 287.

15. *TC*, IV, 4840. He was son of Śankarapandita who was the guru of Vaidibhupāla of Harigita town and patronised by the latter. This is an epitome of Śrīnivāsa's commentary.

16. *TC*, III, 8982.

17. Ed. Trichur. This Rāmavarman is Parikṣit Kunjunni Tamburan, now alive at Oranganore.

18. *DC*, XXI, 8878, 8874, *TC*, III, 8480, 8985.

620 KATAYAVEMA was the son of Kāta, grandson of Māra and great-grandson of Kātaya. He married the daughter of Anapola, the Reddi king of Kondavidu and was at the helm of administration during the reign of Anapola's son Komāragiri (1381-1403 A D). He was a great warrior and scholar and at the request of Komāragiri he wrote commentaries called Komāragirirājiyam on the plays of Kālīdāsa. He had three wives and from two of them, he had a son Komāragiri and a daughter Anīṭālī. In appreciation of his services to the state, Komāragiri bestowed on him the sovereignty of Rajamahendrapuram. He died about 1416 A D. His son ruled only for 4 years, after which the descendants of Anīṭālī became the rulers.¹

621 *Malavikāgnimitra* is "a conventional dramatisation of harem intrigue in the court of King Agnimitra of Vidisa, probably of the Sunga dynasty. The play discloses the loves of this king Agnimitra and of Malavika one of the attendants of the queen, who jealously keeps her out of the king's sight on account of her great beauty. The various endeavours of the king to see and converse with Malavika give rise to numerous intrigues. In the course of these Agnimitra nowhere appears to be a despot, but acts with much delicate consideration for the feelings of her spouses. It finally turns out that Malavika is by birth a princess, who had only come to be an attendant at Agnimitra's court through having fallen into the hands of robbers. There being now no objection to her union with the king, all ends happily."²

There are commentaries by Kātaya Vema,³ Nīlakantha,⁴ Vīra-

1 For an account of Kātayavema, see Veturi Prabhakara Sastrī's *Sṛṅgāra-Sṛnātham* 56 and for inscription of Kātayavema, see *EI*, IV 821, 828, 829, 830, dated from 1391 to 1416 A D.

2 Macdonell, *SL*, 830.

On *Malavikāgnimitra* generally F. Ballensen (*ZDMG*, XIII 480), Cappeller, *Altavatin ad Kālidāsa Malavikāgnimitram*, (Königsburg), S. J. Pandit, *Int. to Ed. (BSS)*, M. Schuyler, (*JAOS*, XXIII 98), M. A. Williams, (*IW*, 497), C. Varadarāya, *Malavikāgnimitra not a drama* (*Bharati*, VI 8), V. Subbarayudu, (*Ibid*, 714, 488). Translated into English by Ch. Tawney (Calcutta) by G. R. Nanjargikar (Poona), by A. S. Krishnarao (Madras). For criticisms and translations into other languages, see Schuyler, *Bibl* 46.

3. Ed. Bombay and Poona.

4. Ed. Bombay. Composed in Samvat 1712 (1656 A.D.) at Kāsi. The author was son of Bālakṛṣṇabhaṭṭa of Śrī Venkaramaṇi family. He lived at Vyomakesapūra.

rāghava,¹ Mṛṭyunjaya Nissanka,² Tarkavācapatī,³ Śrīkanṭha,⁴ Parīkṣit Kunjunni Raja⁵

622 Vikramorvasī represents events partly terrestrial and partly celestial King Purūravas rescues the nymph Ūrvasī from the hands of demons and wins her love by his herosim She parts with him on a summons from Indra and the king becomes disconsolate in his love She drops a letter before him unseen confirming her own love and as ill luck would have it, this letter is picked up by the queen and she waxes wild In the meantime Ūrvasī was acting as Lakṣmī at the celestial theatre at the staging of the play of Lakṣmī-svayamvara and with her mind all engrossed by Purūravas she answers Purūravas in a colloquy, when her answer was to be Purūṣottama Her teacher Bharata curses her to go to the lower world and Indra mitigates the effect of the curse by ordering her stay on earth till she gets an offspring from Purūravas In their secret wanderings Ūrvasī trespasses on the forbidden grounds of Kanva's park and becomes transformed into a creeper The king becomes maddened and under the influence of a magic stone, she is restored They have a son Āyus and when time comes for Ūrvasī to return, Indra allows her to remain with him for good, in grateful recollection of the aid received in the destruction of demons⁶

This play is in two recensions, in N India⁷ and S India⁸

1 *CC*, II, 104, 217

2 *Ed Madras*

3 *Ed Calcutta*

4 *TC*, II 820, 2570 Probably the same as the author of *Kandarpadarpana bhāṣa* (*HR*, III No 1688) and son of Abhinava Kālīdāsa, of Kāśyapaḥoṭra, the author of *Śṛṅgāraśābhāṣa* (*TC*, II 989) He is different from another Abhinava Kālīdāsa of Vasuṣṭhagoṭra, who is the author of *Yakṣollāsa* (*TC*, II 2066)

5 He is now alive at Cranganore

6 *Ed Pischell* (Berlin) and *J Vidyasagara* (Calcutta)

7 *Ed ESS*, Bombay

8 On *Vikramorvasī* generally, L R Leuz *Apparatus oraticus ad Urvasam fabulam Calidas* (Berlin) M Schuyler (*JACS*, XXIII 98-101) S P. Pandit *Int* to *Ed* (Bombay) Macdonell *SL*, 258 For an appreciation, see *JMy*, XI Translated into English by H H Wilson (*Theatre* I 183-274), by E B Cowell (Hertford), by Brajendranath De, (*Calcutta Review*, 884 in part only into verse), by A Ghose (Bombay, into verse) For translations into other languages, see M. Schuyler, *Bible* 68.

There are commentaries by Kātava Vema,¹ Ranganātha,² (Abhayacarana, Rāmamāya),³ Tārānātha,⁴ M R Kale⁵

623 “Kalidasa is the great, the supreme poet of the senses, of æsthetic beauty, of sensuous emotion. His main achievement is to have taken every poetic element, all great poetical forms, and subdued them to a harmony of artistic perfection set in the key of sensuous beauty. In continuous gift of seizing an object and creating it to the eye he has no rival in literature. A strong visualising faculty such as the greatest poets have in their most inspired descriptive movements, was with Kalidasa an abiding and unfailing power, and the concrete presentation which this definiteness of vision demanded, suffused with an intimate and sovran feeling for all sensuous beauty of colour and form, constitutes the characteristic Kalidasian manner. He is besides a consummate artist, profound in conception and suave in execution, a master of sound and language who has moulded for himself out of the infinite possibilities of the Sanskrit tongue a verse and diction which are absolutely the grandest, most puissant and most full-voiced of any human speech, a language of the Gods. The note struck by Kalidasa when he built Sanskrit into that palace of noble sound, is the note which meets us throughout all this last great millennium of Aryan literature. Its characteristic features are brevity, gravity and majesty, a noble harmony of verse, a strong lucid beauty and chiselled prose, above all an epic precision of phrase, weighty, sparing and yet full of colour and sweetness. Moreover it is admirably flexible, suiting itself to all forms from the epic to the lyric but most triumphantly to the two greatest, the epic and the drama. In his epic style Kalidasa adds to these permanent features a more than Miltonic fulness and grandiose pitch of sound and expression, in his dramatic and extraordinary grace and suavity which makes it adaptable to conversation and the expression of dramatic shade and subtly blended emotion.”⁶

“The flourishing of the plastic arts had prepared surroundings of great external beauty for Kalidasa’s poetic work to move in. The appreciation of beauty in nature, of the grandeur of mountain and forest, the loveliness of lakes and rivers, the charm of bird and beast,

1 DC, XXI 8510

2 DC, XXI 8511

3 CC, I 569, II 184, III 120

4 Ed Calcutta

5. Ed Bombay

6 Aurobinda Ghose, *Age of Kalidasa*.

life had become a part of contemporary culture. These and the sensitive appreciation of these and plants and hills as living things, the sentimental feeling of brotherhood with animals which had influenced and been encouraged by Buddhism, the romantic mythological world still farther romanticised by Kalidasa's warm humanism and fine poetic sensibility, gave him exquisite grace and grandeur of background and scenic variety. The delight of the eye, the delight of the ear, smell, palate, touch, the satisfaction of the imagination and taste are the texture of his poetical creation, and into this he has worked the most beautiful flowers of emotion and sensuous ideality. The scenery of his work is a universal paradise of beautiful things. All therein obeys one law of earthly grace, morality is æstheticised, intellectual suffused and governed with the sense of beauty. And yet this poetry does not swim in languor, does not dissolve itself in sensuous weakness, it is not heavy with its own dissoluteness, heavy of curl and heavy of eyelod, cloyed by its own sweets, as the poetry of the senses usually is. Kalidasa is saved from this by the chastity of his style, his aim at burdened precision and energy of phrase, his unseeing artistic vigilance."

624 **Asvaghosa's** *Sāriputraprakaraṇa*, a drama in nine Acts, "deals with the events which led up to the conversion of the young Maudgalyayana and Sariputra by the Suddha, and some of the incidents are certain. Sariputra had an interview with Asvajit, then he discussed the question of the claims of the Buddha to be a teacher with his friend, the Vidusaka, who raised the objection that a brahmin like his master should not accept the teaching of a Kshatriya, Sariputra repels the objection by reminding his friend that medicine aids the sick though given by one of inferior caste, as does water one in thirst. Maudgalyayana greets Sariputra, inquiring of him the cause of his glad appearance and learns his reasons. The two go to Buddha who receives them and who foretells to them that they will be the highest in knowledge and magic power of his disciples. The end of the play is marked by a philosophic dialogue between Sariputra and the Buddha, which includes a solemnic against the belief in the existence of a permanent self, it terminates in a praise of his two new disciples by the Buddha and a formal benediction."¹

"The same manuscript contains portions of two other dramas, also likely the works of Asvaghosha. The first of these is an allegorical

1. Ed. by Luders, *SPAW*, (1911), 888, Keith, *SL*, 80.

play like Prabodhacandrodaya, and the characters are Buddha, Kirtu, Dhru etc. The second though primarily religious in intent has much that is amorous. The relations between Magadhavali, a hetera, Somadatta, a rogue and Dhananjaya, probably a prince are depicted, but nothing can be said about the play, as what is available is very fragmentary."

625 Candraka is mentioned by Abhinavagupta in his commentary of Nāṭyaśāstra (Adh XIX) as a playwright of Kashmir. His identity with Candragomin is not clear, and it is more likely that Candragomin lived for earlier¹

Kalhana says that Candraka was a great poet, who composed plays, pleasing all kinds of audience. He flourished in the Court of King Guṇjina of Kashmir who ruled about 103 A.D. or according to Cunningham in 319 A.D.²

नाट्य सर्वजनप्रेक्ष्य यश्चक्रे स महाकविः ।

द्वैपायनमुनेरशस्तकाले चन्द्रकोऽभवत् ॥—*Raj*, II 16.

Dhanika quotes a verse which is enchanting

626 Kaumudimahotsava At the coronation of King Kalyāṇavarman of Patalīputra a play was enacted in which is the story of defeat and death of Kalyāṇavarman's father Sunḍaravarman at the hands of Candasena King of Licchavis and the rein-statement of Kalyāṇavarman on the throne of Magadha by the efforts of minister Mantragupta. The name of the drama is not mentioned in the work, but the editors, rather discoverers, of it have christened it as Kaumudī-mahoṭsava, from a possible pun in an expression used by the Sūtradhāra. Unluckily in the manuscript that has been traced the first letters of the name of the author are ant-eaten and from the letters (क्या) and from a significant mention of Vijaya in the verse

जयति प्रथमं विजया जयन्ति देवास्तस्य महादेव ।

श्रीमान्तौ भगवन्तावनन्तनारायणौ जयतः ॥ (iv 19)

the editors guess that a woman must be the author and that that woman is likely Vijjakā. Vijjakā or Vijjīkā is a prakritised form of Vijaya

1 See para 260 *supra*

2 The verses quoted in Subhāṣitāvalī appear to be the Nāṇḍis of his various plays. See Keith, *SD*, 169.

(Vidya ?) Vijjikā's poetry has been preserved in the anthologies¹ and it is of very high order, and if this play were her work the language here is of the same merit. Kaumudīmahotsava as an autumnal moonlight festival celebrated at Patalīputra and elsewhere is mentioned in several works such as Ratnāvalī and Mudrārākṣasa. Several passages here show an imitation the expressions of Kālidāsa. The reference to Saunaka and Avimāraka in the following verse

शौनकमिव बन्धुमती कुमारमविमाकर कुरङ्गीव ।

अर्हति कीर्तिमतीय कान्त कल्याणवर्मणम् ॥ (iii 15)

suggests also the idea that the author of this play must have seen Dandin's *Avantīsundarī* and Bhasa's *Avimāraka* where we find stories of Saunaka and Avimāraka. If Vijjikā was the queen of king Candrāditya of the 7th century² it is the likely date for the composition of this work. But it is not impossible that these similes about Saunaka and Avimāraka were an independent thought of the author of this play. The reference to Dattaka, *Ganikāputra* and *Mūlaḍeva* makes us feel that this play belongs to the same period as *Caturbhānī*, the four bhānās aforesaid, where similar thoughts and references are abundantly discerned. Udayana's tales were much admired in the centuries just preceding and coming after the Christian era. Kālidāsa says so and the several dramas that have for their plots the story of Vatsrāja. Udayana must have been composed at that period of popularity. If this latter surmise is correct, Vijjikā or the real author must have flourished far earlier than the 5th or 6th centuries. The plot of the drama³ is thus summarised by the editors

"Chandasena, the military commandant of Sundaravarman, a king of Magadha, conspired with the Licchavis, the hereditary enemies of his lord and brought about their attack on Pātalīputra. In the contest between Sundaravarman and the Licchavis, the former died on the battlefield. Chandasena became the king, Mantragupta, the minister of Sundaravarman, secreted the prince Kalyanavarman with a few minister's sons at a place called Pampā in the Vindhya, while he himself in various disguises watched an opportunity to regain the throne for the prince. Some years passed before he could muster forces and

1 See para 874 *supra*

2 Ibid

3 Edited by M. Ramakrishna Kavi and S. K. Ramanatha Sastri with an introduction, Madras

defeat the traitor. At last Kalyāṇavarman was installed on the Magadha throne. The drama was staged on the occasion of his coronation.

An amorous incident covers up the political stratagem of Mantragupta. Kīrtimañi, the daughter of Kīrtisena, the king of the Sūrasenas, accompanied one Yogasiddhi, a nun, who was proceeding to worship Vindhyaśasini in the Vindhya. The nun was once the nurse to Kalyāṇavarman at Pāṭaliputra and since the death of his father, Sundaravarman, she renounced all worldly ties and spent her days in various holy places. When she came to Mathura the royal household treated her most kindly and even entrusted their daughter, Kīrtimañi to her care in her pilgrimage to Vindhyaśasini. During their stay at Pampā the prince and princess met each other by accident and their first sight slowly developed into love. Yogasiddhi saw their portraits as drawn by the goddess and identified between the couple the child growing into prime youth once nursed by her. She fell into a reverie of old reminiscences. Meanwhile Mantragupta killed the usurper and proclaimed Kalyāṇavarman as king of Magadha. The nun and the princess went back to Sourāṣṭra, and her father Kīrtisena was doubly pleased to receive the intelligence of Kalyāṇavarman's prosperity and his daughter's overtures of love and sent an ambassador with a pearl-necklace which had a heroic history behind it and with the proposals of marriage of his daughter to the royal youth. Kalyāṇavarman was only too glad to reject such an offer of friendly alliance and 'prop of life'.

627 K. P. Jayaswal (*JORS*, XIX, 113 *et seq*) discusses historical data in this drama¹.

"The Guptas appear about 275 A.D. somewhere in Magadha. Gupta, the first Raja, rises as a feudatory prince. As later we find the early Guptas connected with Allahabad (Prayaga) and Oudh (Saketa), Maharaja Gupta's fief seems to have been near about Allahabad. His son was Ghatotkacha, and Ghatotkacha's son was the first prince who turned the name of his ancestor Gupta into a dynastic title. His name was Chandra. At the time of the rise of Chandra, called by the Prakrit name Chandasena in the Kaumudi-mahotsava, the king of Magadha at Pataliputra was Sundaravarman, ruling from his palace

1 In this connection Jayaswal refers (at page 86) Bhāvaśataka of Nāgaraja (Śrī Gaṇapati Nāgaraja) to this period and identifies him with king Gaṇapati Naga of the Tak Nāga race now living near Jammu and the Punjab. He quotes a correct verse as found in *Cat of Mithila* Mss. II, 105.

On Bhāvaśataka, see para 849 *supra*.

called Su-Ganga This palace is named in the inscription of Khara-vela as the Su-Gangiya and in the Mudra-Rakshasa as the Su-Ganga The capital city of Pataliputra thus came down with its ancient palace intact to the period of King Sundaravarman and Chandra King Sundaravarman was an old man, having a child of a few years of age yet in charge of a nurse Chandra and Chandrasena has been adopted as his son by the king of Magadha, evidently before the birth of the young prince Chandra regarded himself as the heir, being the elder, though a Kṛitaka son He entered into a marriage alliance with the Lichchhavis who are described as the enemy of the Magadha dynasty in the same drama Kaumudi-mahotsava The Lichchhavis with a large army and Chandra laid a siege to Pataliputra A battle was fought in which the old king Sundara-varman died The young prince Kalyana varman was carried away to the Kishkinda hills by the faithful ministers Chandra founded a royal dynasty (raja kula) The angry authoress of the drama calls the Lichchhavis 'Mlechchhas' and Chandra-sena a Karaskara, implying a casteless or a low-caste man, not fit for royalty

The position of the Madraka Jats was probably not very low at the time, for had it been very low, King Sundaravarman would not have thought of making Chandra-sena his adopted son His original intention seems to have been to bequeath the kingdom to Chandra And it was only due to the birth of Kalyanavarman from some younger queen (Kalyana-varma is said to have several step-mothers-'matarah') that the breach between the adoptive father and the adopted son occurred The real cause of the opposition from the public, which was very pronounced, seems to be a dislike for the social system of the Karaskaras who were not subject to the fourfold-varnasramism of the orthodox system It is the same dislike which is expressed in the Maha-Bharata against the Madrakas They had one caste amongst them with social equality and freedom, which did not agree with the settled rules of the Gangetic society The compliment was mutually exchanged the Kaumudi-mahotsava taunted at the Karaskara caste as rulers, the Guptas replied 'we shall abolish the Kshatriyas'

11+ Now we know from the Puranic history that in the reign of Kanishka (and probably also of his successor), Vanaspara imported some Madrakas for administrative purposes But the Punjab military dress of Chandra Gupta I on his coins would suggest that the family had migrated recently in the Bharasiva period after the liberation of

the Madraka country by the latter. Very likely a Bharasiva king gave Gupta a fief, having border-land between Bihar and Kausambi, for it was to suppress a rebellion of the Savaras that Chandra Gupta I had gone to his frontier when the City Council of Pataliputra pronounced a decree of deposition against him.

115 Chandra Gupta I, having his caste against him and being somewhat of a usurper, was disliked by the Magadhans of his day, particularly as he failed to adapt himself to the traditional Hindu way of Government. He showed a hostile, repressive attitude to the people of Magadha. The Kaumudi-mahotsava records that Chanda-sena had put leading citizens into prison. The people of Magadha looked down upon him as something like a patricide. Chandra Gupta I had thus several elements arrayed against him. A cry was raised that he was not a Kshatriya, he had practically killed his aged adoptive father on the battlefield, he had called in the aid of the hereditary enemies of Magadha—the Lichchhavis, he had married a lady who was neither a Magadhan nor a Brahmanical Hindu. To this we should add that he had defied the imperial authority of the Brahmin Emperor Pravarasena I.

116 With the aid of the Lichchhavi power and protection he trampled upon the liberties of the people of Magadha and put the leading citizens into prison. Alberuni therefore recorded a true and historical tradition when he said that the king or kings associated with the Gupta-kala (era) were cruel and wicked. The Hindus had the constitutional law laid down in their codes to destroy the king who acted as a tyrant or whose hands had the marks of the blood of his parents. They planned and rose, called in Prince Kalyanavarman from the Vakataka territory (Pampasara) and crowned him king at the Sū-ganga Palace at Pataliputra. The authoress of the Kaumudi-mahotsava exultantly said—'the law of Varna is restored, the royal family of Chanda-sena is abolished'. This happened while Chandra Gupta was on his campaign somewhere between Rohtas and Amarkantak fighting the rebellious Savaras. The outlandish monarch was ousted in or about 340 A.D., for Kalyana varman was of full age to receive Hindu royal coronation at the time. In the year of his coronation Kalyanavarma was married to the daughter of the king of Mathura.¹

1 See also K. P. Jayaswal, *Historical Data in the drama Kaumudi mahotsava* (*Annals*, XII 50). See K. Raghavachariu, *ABQ* 139. Vijaya is mentioned in Gadādharaśabhatta's *Rasik-vijana*, composed about 1650 A.D. (*Annals*, XII 899).

For Lichchavis, see *IA*, XXXII 283, XXXVII 78. On Lichchavi dynasty of Nepal, see *IA*, IX 178, XIV 850 and Fleet, *GI*, Int 185, 184, 191.

628 Dhiranaga (Bhadanta) lived at Arālapura, sometime earlier than the 5th century A D His *KUNDAMĀLA*, a play in 6 acts, describes the later history of Rāma after the coronation, that is, the story of banishment of Sītā and her discovery and reunion In depicting the sentiment of Karuṇa, he is a precursor of Bhavabhūti, who wrote *Uttararāmacarita* on the same theme and rightly so, he was mentioned with appreciation by Bhoja and other writers on rhetoric Verses quoted as his by Vallabhadeva and Sridharadāsa are not found in this play *

629 Viśakhadatta² was the son of Pṛthu⁴ Mahārāja and grandson of Vateśvaradatta, a Sāmanta "His play *MUDRARĀKŚASA*, in

1 Ed by M. Ramakishna Kavi, Madras His mention of Dingnāga as the author is now acknowledged to be an error See F W Thomas (*JR* 48, 1924), D R Mankad, *Prāhmū and Kundamālā* (*Annals* XII 97), K. Gopalakishna Sastri, *Kundamālā vimarsā* (*Jl. Mys Sans Col* V 166) Auch (CC, I, 109) mention Nāgayya's *Kundamāla* as from Burdell is erroneous In *Tanj* VIII 3373, the colophon is अनुपराधस्य कवेर्विनागस्य कृति कुन्दमालानाम नाटक समाप्तम् ||

2 See Peterson, *Subh. Int* 49 and for his philosophical verses

समान्निन्यत्युच्चैः पिशितघनपिण्डस्तनधिया
मुखलालापूर्णपिबति चषकसामवमिति ।
अमेध्यक्लेदाद्रैः पथि च रमते स्पर्शरसिको
महामोहान्धानां किमिव कमनीयत्रिजगताम् ॥
सुधोतकोशेयसुरसि कुसुमकौङ्कुममपि
क्षणात्तत्तदस्मिन्पतितमशुचिन्वे निपतति ।
त्रिगन्धाक्षिप्यन्दान्वमतिनवभिर्योः प्रणमुखे
कथं तस्मिन् काये सुमगबहुमानोऽन्नमवताम् ॥

Subh 3388-9

3 Some manuscripts read Viśākhaḍeva DC, XXI 8163, Wilford (*As Res* V 208) called the author of the work Ananta and quotes him as declaring that he lived on the banks of the Godāvari But none of the extant commentaries contain this reference.

सूत्रधार — अलमतिप्रसंगेन । आज्ञापितोऽस्मि परिषदा, यथाद्य त्वया सामन्तवटेश्वर-
दत्तपौत्रस्य महाराजपदमाक्षुपृथुसूनो कवेर्विशाखदत्तस्य कृतिरस्मिन्व मुद्राराक्षस नाम नाटकं
नाटयितव्यमिति ।

4 Wilson (*Theatre*, II 128) suggests that he might be identical with the Ohohan Chief of Ajmir Prithu Rai Telang (*Int to Edn* page 12) points out the distinction that Pṛthu the father of Viśākhaḍatta is specially called Mahārāja, while Pṛthu of Ajmir is only Prithuraj or Prithuraj.

seven acts,¹ has for its theme the reconciliation of Rāṣasa, the hostile minister of Nanda, the late king of Palibora to the individuals by whom or on whose behalf his sovereign was murdered, the Brahmin Canakya and the prince Candragupta. With this view he is rendered by the contrivance of Canakya an object of suspicion to the prince with whom he has taken refuge and is consequently dismissed by him. In this deserted condition, he learns the imminent danger of a dear friend, whom Canakya is about to put to death and in order to effect his liberation, surrenders himself to his enemies. They offer him contrary to his expectations the rank and power of prime minister and the parties become friends.”²

राक्ष—किमत पर प्रियमस्ति ।

राक्षसेन सम मैत्री राज्ये चारोपिता वयम् ।

नन्दाश्चोन्मूलिता सर्वे किं कर्तव्यमत प्रियम् ॥

630 The date of Viśākhadaṭṭa is as usual subject to much speculation. The concluding verse of benediction refers to a king Candragupta*.

राक्ष—तथापीदमस्तु (भरतवाक्यम्)—

वाराहीमात्मयोनेस्तनुमवनविधावास्थितस्यागुरुणां (गुरुपा)

यस्य प्राग्दन्तकोटिप्रलयपरिगता शिश्रिये भूतधात्री ।

म्लेच्छैरुद्वेज्यमाना भुजयुगमधुना सश्रिता राजमूर्ते

स श्रीमद्वन्धुभृत्यधिरमवतु महीं पार्थिवश्चन्द्रगुप्त ॥

It is possible that the plot of the play as connected with Candragupta was suggested by the identical name of the then reigning king and his victories over the marauding attacks of the

1 Ed by A. Hillebrandt (Breslaw). See Review of it by Sten Konow, *JA*, XLIII 64. For an account of the plot and the antecedent events, see introductory verses in Dhundhūrāja's commentary (Ed. Bombay).

2 Wilson, *o c* 127. There are English Translations by Wilson, (*Theatre*, II 125-254) and by M. A. Kale, Bombay. For translations in other languages, see Schuyler, *Bibl* 95.

3 The readings are different पार्थिवोऽवन्तिवर्मा and पार्थिवो रन्तिवर्मा. Several reliable South Indian Manuscripts have the words पार्थिवो दन्तिवर्मा.

If this is the correct reading then Daṇṭivarman was a Pallava king who ruled between 779-890 A.D. See C. J. Dubrion, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, 74; *The Pallavas*, 64, 65, 72, T. A. Gopalanatha Rao, *The Pallavas and the Ganga Pallavas*, (Christian College Magazine, 1907, April), Venkayya, *EI*, VIII 291, Fleet's *Carnatic Dynasties*, 82, A. Rangasami Sarasvati, *JMy*, XIII. 686, *EI*, IV. 180.

Huns and the king mentioned there is Candragupta Vikramāditya II, 'who died in 413' "The play knows the Hunas of a time when they had not yet acquired any territory in India, and the annoyance caused to the country by the Mlechas at the time of the composition of this drama, would refer, if the composition, as it seems probable, took place after the suppression of the Western Satrap (390 A D), to the Kushanas or to the new element of the Huns, who might have already made some invasions, probably with the Kushanas about the last year of Chandragupta's reign"¹

The scene of the play is laid in the city of Kusumapura or Patalīputra² The several indications of geographical facts show that the city was then in flourishing condition³ While Fa Hian the earlier Chinese Traveller described the city as the capital of Magadha,⁴ Huen Tsang, the later traveller, found the city in ruins, the foundations of which still covered a very large area⁵ Again in the last act the morality of the Buddhas is alluded to and the references to Buddhism must have belonged to a period long prior to the decay of Buddhism⁶ in India and in the time of Fa Hian had attained the zenith of its glory⁷ These several considerations suggest that the play might have been composed about the beginning of the 5th century A D⁸

1 Jayaswal (*IA*, XL 265 ff) suspects a defence of the scandalous murder of the Saka Satrap in the story put forward in the *Mudrā Rākṣasa* of the destruction of the Pantakaka (Philippos) by Candragupta Maurya through the alleged agency of the Visakanyā The *Vāyu Purāṇa* referred to the attempt at the uprooting of the Sakas in Malva and Rājputana in the early decades of the Gupta rule He also refers to the passage in *Harṣacarita* VI अरिपुरे च परकळवकासुक कामिनीवेषगुत्तश्च चन्द्रगुप्तश्च-कषतिमनाशयत् || He thinks Malayakeṭu is misspelling of Śālayakeṭu (Seleucus)

2 This play treats these as interchangeable (See Telang's Edn pp 187, 196, 198, 205) As to these names see Cunningham, *Arch Rep* XIV, 1, *JASB*, XVII 49, Beal's *Fa Hian*, p 70, *JRAS* (n s) VI 227, Burgess, *Arch Sur Rep* V 48, Hall's, *Int to Vasavadatta*, 35

3 Telang's Ed (o c) 154, 211-14

4 Between 389-414 A D See Wilson, (o c) 36, Beal's *Fa Hian*, 108, *JBRAS*, III 158, *JRAS*, XVII 126, *IA*, VI 181

5 See Elphinstone's, *History of India*, 292.

6 Act VII 5, Telang's Int (o c 25)

7 Beal's *Fa Hian*, Int, lxi

8 Wilson (o c) 127 ff interprets the trouble by the Mlechas as meaning the Pattan princes and considers the application of the word *Kṣapaṇaka* to the Jaina Jiva-siddhi as a characteristic of a period subsequent to the disappearance of the Baudddhas from India He therefore assigns the composition of the drama to 11 or 12th century A D See Weber (*SL*, 207 note), Cunningham (*Arch. Sur.* VIII. 22, *JASB*, XIV. 140,

631 *Mudrārākṣasa* is unique in Sanskrit literature "To the entire exclusion of love, the plot is wholly of a political character and represents a series of machiavellian stratagems, influencing public events of considerable importance and as a historical record or as a picture of it possesses no ordinary claims on our attention There is in fact but one female character introduced and not however to suggest any scene of tenderness but only of sacrifice" The language is vigorous, but the verse never loses a melodious flow The allusion to *Varāhavaṭāra* and the simile "pearls spotless like snow"² render it probable that the author was quite familiar with, if not a native of Northern India³ The work has been held in high esteem, but without an idea of the historical events precedent to the plot of the work it may be hard to follow the course of the play

IA, II 145 VI 114 note) accepts the view Telang however (o c 16 ff) remarks that the Mlecha trouble might mean the early Mohammedan depredations of the 8th century and that the word *Kṣapanaka* is not exclusively applied to the *Banddhās* He reads the last verse as mentioning *Avantivarman* who might be identical with the father of the *Maukharī* King *Grahavarman*, the husband of the sister of *Harṣavardhana* of *Kanauj* and on this basis assigns the work to the 7th century A D tentatively For this *Avantivarman*, see *Cunningham's Arch Sur Rep* XV 165, XVI 73 and *Harṣacarita*, 103 There is king *Avantivarman* of *Kashmir* for which see *Rajatarangini* (V, 1 127) and *JBRAS*, Sp No, 74 Another *Avantivarman* is mentioned with no date in *JASB*, XXX 321 *Macdonnel (SL*, 365) and *Rapson (JRAS* 1900, 536) agree with Telang *Jacobi (VOJ*, II 212 216) says that the play was enacted before King *Avantivarman* of *Kashmir* on 2nd December 860 A D *Hildebrandt, Speyer and Tawney (JRAS*, 1908 1910) affirm it to be much older, anterior to the first recension of the *Pancatantra* and to *Bhatrhari* who died in 651 A D and suggest the accuracy of *Jayaswal's* view See *V Smith, (History of India*, 48 note) *Schuyler (Bib* 10) gives the date 1000 A D *J Antani (IA* LI 49) gives date 7th century A D after *Yasodharman* who ruled 645 A D For other references see *Peterson, Subh* 123, *Dhuva's Age of Viśākhaḍaṭṭa (NZKM*, V, 25-35), *F Hagg on Viśākhaḍaṭṭa (Burgdore)*, *Hildebrandt's Edn (Breslaw)* and review of it by *Sten Konow in IA*, XLIII and *Keith, Date of Mudraraksasa and Brhatakalha in JRAS*, (1909) 145, *R O Dutt, Cuv* II 281, *M Williams IW*, 507 *Viśakhadatta's characters*, (*Sahridaya*, IV 61) Two stanzas of this play are found in *Bhartrihari's Subhashita*, for which see Telang's Preface to his Edn. of *Bhartrihari*, 21. For a critique, see *Sakritya*, IV 15 and *Bhūratī* (1927) Aug

1. आशैलेन्द्रादिमान्तस्खलितसुरनदीशिकिसारारवर्षात्
तीरान्तानैकरागस्फुरितयुगलरुचो दक्षिणस्यार्णवस्य ।
आगत्यागल्यमीतप्रणतनृपयतैश्वदेव क्रियन्तां
चूडारत्नांशुगर्भास्तवचरणयुगस्याङ्गुलीरन्त्रभागा ॥

2. See Telang's Introduction (o.c , 13)

632 There are several commentaries on the work Vatesvaramīśra,¹ son of Gaurīpatimīśra of Mīṭhila, attempted to give a double interpretation to this composition and to present it as a system of polity as well as a play. Dhundhirāja, son of Lakṣmaṇa, wrote his commentary in the reign of King Sarabhoji of Tanjore in the year 1713 A D. He gives a short poetical introduction describing the story of the Nandas leading to the accession of Candragupta and the events of the play.² Other commentaries are by Swāmi Sāstī,³ a native of Anantāsāgara or Solavandān,⁴ by T. Tarkavacaspati,⁵ by (Mahesvara, Vateśvara, Prakṛtācārya, Kesava-upādhyāya and Abhirāma),⁶ by Grahesvara,⁷ by J. Vidyāsāgara,⁸ by Śarabhabhūpa.⁹

There is a prose version of the story by Anantapandita,¹⁰ and a poetical epitome, *Mudrārākṣasakathāsāra* by Ravikarṇana.¹¹

Ananta, son of Bālapandita, lived at Punyasāmba on the Godāvari in the middle of the 17th century. He wrote also commentaries on Govardhana's *Saptasatī* and *Rasamanjari*.¹²

633 In Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitavalī*, there are verses attributed to Viśakhaḍeva, not traceable in *Mudrārākṣasa*. There are probably taken from some of his lost works

तत्त्रिविष्टपमाख्यात तन्वङ्ग्या यद्वलित्रयम् ।
येनानिमेषदृष्टिर्व नृणामप्युपजायते ॥ 1648
सेन्द्रचापैरिश्रुता मेघैर्निपतन्निर्हरा नगा ।
वर्णकम्बलसर्वाता बभुर्मत्तद्विपा इव ॥ 1728

1 *CC*, II 160, 218

2 *Ed Calcutta*, Mysore, Bombay, Ahmedabad.

3 *DC* XXI 8468

4 Printed Calcutta. Śṛṅgārasarvasvabhāṣa (*DC*, XXI 8518) enacted at the festival of Māṭṛbhūṣaḍvara at Trichinopoly (Tiruchirappur). The author is said to have been rewarded by King Rāmācandraya.

5 *CC*, I 461, II, 106, 218; III 99

6 *DC*, XXI 8472, *CC*, III 99. He styles himself Mahāmahopādhyāya and son of Siddhesvara of Śrīvaṣṭagoṭra and gives his genealogy.

7 *Ed Calcutta*

8 *Tanj* VIII 8474, it is the Tanjore king Sarabhoji.

9 *CC*, I 461. See also *Sahṛdaya* XIX.

10 Printed at Calcutta and with a short gloss by Rājagopāla of Maṭura (Madras). He is called Ravinarāja in *DC*, XXI 8155. He says he proposes to render into verse the story of Cāṇakya which was in prose (which apparently is now lost).

11. *CC*, I, 13. These two latter were composed in 1646 and 1685 A D.

634 Visakhadeva's Devīcandragupta is of at least five acts, as inferred from the various quotations from the work made by Bhoja in his *Spṛṅgāraprakāśa* and by Rāmacandra in his *Nātyadarpaṇa*,¹ mentioning the names of Dhruvadevi, Candragupta, Mādhavasenā. The plot of the play appears to be alluded to by Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita*

'In *Devīcandragupta* the heroine Dhruvadevi when she was in her husband's camp with a small retinue who enjoyed their summer in the cool abodes of the Himalayan frontier, was carried away by an unprincipled foreigner a Saka by birth and was much tormented to accept his hand. A brother of Chandragupta II who was her husband in the disguise of a courtesan formed a dramatic company and approached the licentious Saka. By a series of political stratagems Kumarachandragupta makes Dhruvadevi escape and takes her place in a female garb. When the Saka prince almost became mad of his love to Dhruvadevi and self-sufficiency blinded him to the probable dangers from an offended enemy, he allowed himself to meet in a secret chamber the enemy in the disguise of his favourite object which he sought for. He had his emoluments for his accumulated follies. He is no more pitied than Kichaka repaid by Bhīma. In this the amorous adventure is entirely subsidiary."

Far beyond the *Mudrārāksasa*, those fragments of splendid poetry and prose reveal a beauty of language and plot, not unequal to Bhāsa's or Kālidāsa's. Is it possible that Visākhaśa was a contemporary of king Candragupta of the Gupta dynasty and he wrote a drama with

1 For instance

i तथा विशाखदेवकृते देवीचन्द्रगुप्ते माधवसेना समुद्दिश्य कुमारचन्द्र गुप्तोक्तिः—

आनन्दाश्रुजल सितोत्पलरुचोराब्रमता नेत्रयो
प्रत्यङ्गेषु वरानने पुलकिषु सेद समातन्वता ।
कुर्वाणेन नितबयोरुपचय सपूर्णयोरप्यसौ
केनापि स्पृशताप्यधोनिवसनग्रन्थिस्तबोच्छवासितः ॥

ii इयमपि देवी तिष्ठति, यैषा—

रम्या चारतिकारिणी च कर्षणाद्योक्तेन नीता दद्यां
तत्कालोपगतेन राहुशिरसा गुप्तेन चान्द्री कला ।
पस्यु स्त्रीबजनोचितेन यदि तेनानेन पुस सतो
लज्जाकोपविषादमील्यरतिभिः क्षेत्रीकृता ताम्यति ॥

For other quotations, see (GOS) p 71, 84, 86, 118, 141, 193, 194.

his king as the hero and another with his namesake of the Maurya dynasty? There is no record that directly conflicts with this attribution of that antiquity to Visākhadeva, but the last verse of benediction on King Candragupta lends full support to it

Rājasekhara quotes a verse in which Candragupta's rescue of his wife caught in his enemy's camp¹

वृत्तेतिवृत्त कथोत्थ —

दत्त्वा रुद्धगतिश्शकाधिपतये देवीं ध्रुवस्वामिनीं
यस्मात्स्त्राणिदत्ताहसो निववृत्ते श्रीशर्मगुप्तो नृप ।
तस्मिन्नेव हिमालये गुरुगुहाकोणववणत्किन्नरे
गीयन्ते तव कार्तिकेयनगरस्त्रीणां गणैः कीर्तय ॥

Kāvyaśāstramūlā, p. 46

635 ABHISARIKAVANCITAKA or Abhisārikābandhitaka is mentioned as Visakhadeva's play by Bhoja and Abhinavagupta and there are the references

i कदाचित्कामोऽनुत्पद्यमान अङ्गलीलालक्षणात् विचेष्टितात् उपजायते । नष्टरागप्रत्यानयनं वा ततो भवति । यथा विशाखदेवकृते अभिसारिकावन्धितके वत्सेशस्य पद्मावती मद्भ्रमरी । वेषाद्याचारणरूपात् लीलाचेष्टितात् काम प्रत्याख्यातः (प्रत्यानीतः ?)—

Abhinavabhūṭi

ii क्रोधो यथा—श्रीविशाखदेवकृते अभिसारिकावन्धिते वत्सेराजः सम्भावितपुत्रवधायै पद्मावल्यै क्रुद्धः । तथा च अन्यथात्—

प्रदुष्टोऽप्रमार्हा सरितमवगाढः श्रमवशा-

दुपालीनशशाङ्कां फलकुसुमलोमाद्विषतरो ।

फणाली नामास्त्युत परिचर्या क्रौर्यनितरां

विषज्वालागर्भां चिरमुरगकन्यामनुसृत ॥—*Śrngārāprakūṣa*

"These two extracts furnish us with some material from which we may make some surmises as to the significance of the title and the nature of the plot. It is well known that Udayana was a love-hero of the *dakṣiṇa* type. It is also known how the minister Yaugandharāyana lulled the king into the belief that Vāsavadattā was burnt, and persuaded him to marry Padmāvatī. In the same way a mischievous character in this play, might have, with the determined purpose of

1 See 1A, (1923), 181, *JMy*, XV, 269

bringing about an estrangement between the king and Pādmāvatī, set afloat the rumour that Pādmāvatī killed Udayana's son and that she was a murderess. Udayana had many wives and we do not know whether Pādmāvatī, as the rumour had it, killed the son of Udayana born of Vāsavadattā or somebody else, but we may hazard a guess, namely, that it might be Udayana's son through Vāsavadattā. Mutual jealousy and hatred are not unusual features where polygamy prevails and the capricious king probably gave full credence to the prevailing rumour. He lost his self-control. His deep love turned into deep hatred. Rage and fury took possession of him. He saw in Pādmāvatī not the nymph of celestial beauty but a "serpent woman glowing with flames of poison". He rebuked Pādmāvatī in menacing tones. Poor Pādmāvatī, a victim to slander, found that she had lost the love of Udayana. She tried to regain it. To go and plead before the king and to vindicate her innocence would be useless and futile. Hence she hit upon the following plan. Dressed as a charming huntress she attracted the attention of the tenderminded Udayana. As time rolled on Udayana found himself completely enmeshed in her love. When Pādmāvatī found that the love of the king was genuine she revealed her identity. Probably then she explained her innocence. Thus there is the नटरागप्रत्यानयन as said in the Abhinavabhāratī. This then explains the significance of the title. By a clever impersonation of a huntress Pādmāvatī in the roll of an Abhisārikā decovers the king and regains her lost love "1

636 Ramesvara was the son of Rāmadeva Ṭarkavāgūsa. He was a native of Vanga and flourished in the first half of the 18th century. His patron Citrasena King of Mana. His CANDRAPHISEKA is a drama in seven acts and describes the story of the destruction of Nandas by Cāṇakya and the coronation of Candragupṭa. The scene in the seventh act is interesting where Rākṣasa receives a letter that the Nandas are at the point of death owing to a burning fever produced by a Yoga commenced by Cāṇakya. The style resembles Viśākhaḍaṭṭa's as also the plot. But the tricks of policy, that are so amazing in the latter, are not so original or prominent in Rāmesvara's work.

1. B. Ramamurti in *JOB*, Madras

2. *CC*, I 182

637 Bhatta Narayana¹ or shortly Nārāyaṇa was of Sāṇḍilya family. He was surnamed Mṛgaraja. Traditionally he was one of the Brahmins that immigrated from Kanouj to Bengal at the invitation of Ādisūra, king of Bengal² who reigned in the first half of the 7th century A D. He is called Nisā-Nārāyaṇa by anthologists because of his beautiful description of the night (*niśā*)³. In a manuscript⁴ of the Nivī, a commentary on Dharmakīrti's Rūpāvatāra, it is stated that at the request of Bāna Bhatta, Bhatta Nārāyaṇa became pupil of a Buddhist monk, learnt from him all the tenets of Buddhist philosophy and defeated Dharmakīrti and that Rūpāvatāra is the joint work of Bhatta Nārāyaṇa and Dharmakīrti. It may therefore be inferred that Bhatta Nārāyaṇa lived in the first half of the 7th century A D.

638 In his *Avanṭisundarikathā*, Dandin praises Nārāyaṇa⁵ as well as Bāṇa and Mayūra and refers to the former as having composed three works. It is quite likely that Dandin refers in this verse to Bhatta Nārāyaṇa.

व्याप्तु पदत्रयेणापि यदशक्तो भुवनत्रयम् ।

तस्य काव्यत्रयव्याप्तौ चित्र नारायणस्य किम् ॥

A quotation in the *Subhāṣitāvalī* appears to be the *nāṇḍī* of a drama with the sentiment of love in it.

1. See K M Shembavnekar, *The Gotra of Bhattanārāyaṇa*, *JCCJ*, I 263, Nārāyaṇakavi, author of the drama *Caṇḍrakalā* (*CC* I 179) and Nārāyaṇa Bhatta author of *Jānākīpanṇaya* *CC*, I 206) are different. See A E Gough, *Records of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 27.

2. Ādisūra is supposed to have lived in 3rd century B C. But Abul Fazl makes him the 23rd ancestor of Ballal Sen who reigned 158-1170 A D. (See V Smith, *JH* 403, 419 *JASB* xlvii, 400 *Imp Gaz* under Rampal, N N Vasu, *Proc of ASB*, (1902) 207, *Int to Modern Buddhism and its followers in Orissa*, 15, *Arch Survey*, *Mayura bhāṇja* (1911) I, lxiv note, and Ballalacarita, Bibl Ind.) Writers on Brahminical genealogy, particularly Harinidra and Eru Misra place Ādisūra shortly before the Pālas and state that shortly after the arrival of the five Brāhmanas from Kanouj, the kingdom of Gour (Cap Lakṣnauti of Lakṣmanāvatī) became subject to the Pālas. See V Smith, *JH* 397, U C Batavyal, *JASB*, LXII, 411. This date of 6th century A D for Bhatta Nārāyaṇa is approved by Weber (*IL*, 207) and Grill, (*Lat Cent BL* (1872-612). The story current in Benares that he went from Kāṇyakubja to Vanga in Saka 999 seems to be incorrect.

3. See Jalhaṇa's *Suktimuktāvalī*.

4. This manuscript has been acquired for the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, and I am informed by M Ramakrishna Kavi that the leaf is half lost.

5. This verse is not found in the printed edition of *Subhāṣitāvalī*, but in a manuscript recently acquired from the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, Kuppu samī Sastri's *Rep* (1916-9), 40. See para 373 *supra*.

किं किं मिथ्याप्रचण्डैरपि विषमरुष कास्मिन्ने यत्करोमि
ज्ञात चेतस्त्वदीय परिकलितदृढ चित्तमेतन्ममापि ।
प्रेमग्रन्थि विमूढ चरणनिपतनैर्घट्टयन्कि तनोषि
स्पृष्टोऽस्मीरित्युमाया पुलकभुजलतालिंगित पानु श्रुम् ॥

639 His **Venisamhara**,¹ a drama in 6 acts, alludes to a sensational incident in the Sabhāparvan of Mahābhārata, viz, the forcible exposure of Draupadī's hair and garment by Dussāsana in the public assembly of Duryodhana's court and to the consequent vow of Bhīmasena that the locks of hair would not be braided again save by his own hands wet with the blood of the infamous king. The play takes through the battle of the Bhārata war and negotiations prior to it and culminates in the coronation of Yudhiṣṭhira.

Traces of Pāncarātra tenets are visible in the work and his ridicule of the Cārvāka doctrine of materialism shows the religious tendency of his age. As a heroic piece, with the ruling sentiment of valour (vīrarasa), the play is very popular among writers on rhetoric. For admixture of humour and pathos, in dignity of thought and ease of expression the last Act commands high appreciation.

Among the earliest writers, Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta quote Venisamhāra as the most appropriate illustrations of canons of dramaturgy.⁴

1 Called also Venisamvarana. Translated into English by S M Tagore (Calcutta) and by M R Kale (Bombay). See generally, G Narasayya and N Veeraraghavayya, *Bhārata*, VI 408, 575, 578, Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 385, R O Dutt *Civ* II 281, Mukhtaram Vaidyabagish, *Int to Edn* (Calcutta), L B Vaidya, *Int to Edn*, (Poona) Keith, *SD*, 212, M R Kale (*Int to Edn*) gives date 7th or 8th century.

2 The vow is expressed thus —

चच्छन्दमुज्ज्वलितचण्डगदामिघातसम्पूर्णितोरुगुलस्य सुयोधनस्य ।
स्त्रानावबद्धचनशोणितशोणपाणिरुत्तम्भयिष्यति कचस्तव देवि भीम. ॥

3 Ānandavardhana flourished in the court of King Avantivarman (855-884 A D). This reference is sufficient to refute the identification of the author of Venisamhāra with one Bhattanārāyaṇa, the donee under a copper-plate grant of 840 A D (Khalimpur copper plate *ET*, IV 252) Macdonell (*SL* 866) and M Duff (*Chronology*) rely on this plate and say Bhattanārāyaṇa's son Adiga Ojha was patronised by king Dharmapāla who reigned about 800 and 840 A D (See V Smith, *EEH*, 398, Waters, II, 87, Beal, II, 82, 86 and *IA*, XV 804, *ibid* XX 808. On this grant, see *IA*, XX, 108, *ibid* XXI, 99, 264).

4. For quotations in Subhāṣitāvalī etc see *Pet. Int.* 50-51

There are commentaries by Jagaddhara,¹ Jaganmohana Parkā-lankāra,² Ṭarkavācaspaṭi,³ C R Tivan,⁴ Ghanasyāma,⁵ and Lakṣmaṇa-sūri.⁶ There is a summary in prose by Anantācārya.⁷

640 This play appears to have travelled to Java very early. In his introduction to *Sanskrit Texts from Bali* (GOS, LVIII) S Levi writes

“The Mahabharata was translated into (Old) Javanese at the end of the Xth century A.D. under the reign of King Sri Dharmmavamsa teguh Anantavikramadeva who was ruling in Eastern Java, and, rivaling the Sumatranese empire of Srivijaya, endeavoured to promote the study of Sanskrit literature. Only some parts of the whole translation have been preserved, and in Bali only Kern had published, as early as 1871, a notice on the Adiparva with the text of the Pausyacarita (Verhand K Akad Wet, Amsterdam, afd Lett dl XI 1877)

The Adiparva begins with three Sanskrit stanzas, the first is clearly an arya, the second stanza is rather unexpectedly the well known benedictory verse of Bhatta Narayana's Venisamhara

जयति सनामिर्जगतां खनामिरन्ध्रोद्भवञ्जगद्बीज ।
दामोदरो निजोदरगङ्गाहरनिक्षिप्तजगदण्ड ॥

The point is of a particular importance on account of its bearing to the origin of the Javanese shadow-theatre (Wayang). The first mention of the Wayang occurs just some years later than the Javanese translation of the Mahabharata, in the Javanese Arjunavivaha written under the great king Airlanga, who had succeeded Sri Dharmmavamsa. During the IXth and Xth centuries the connection between Bengal and Indonesia was very active, I refer here only to the Pala inscription at Nalanda (Epigr Ind, 1924, 310-327). If the Venisamhara was known to the Javanese translator of the Mahabharata, it follows that the

1. Ed Poona.

For his geneology given here, see also in also XXI 8382. He was the son of Ratnaḍhara, and grandson of Viḍyāḍhara all learned in the sastras. He held two umbrellas as a man of scholarship. His poetry is excellent as seen from introductory verses to his commentary on Vāsavaḍaṭṭā and Mālaṭīmādhava.

2. Ed Calcutta.

3. Ed Calcutta.

4. Ed Benares.

5. *HR.* III, (1905) xi.

6. Ed. Madras.

7. *Sak.* xix. 165.

Sanskrit theatre had reached Śrī Dhammavamsa's court, and the Wayang may have been born under the influence of the Sanskrit plays "

641 Bhavabhūti¹ whose real name was Srikantha was the son of Nīlakantha and Jatukarnī. He was born at Padmapura² in the country of Vīdarbhas, the modern Berars, "somewhere near Chanda in the Nagpur territories where there are still many families of Mahrattī Deśastha Brahmins of the Black Yajurveda with Āpastamba for their sutras"³. He gives us a short account of himself and his family in the prologues of his plays. His ancestors were Brahmins surnamed Udumbara tracing their lineage from Sage Kāśyapa. They were "teachers of their charana, so learned and pure as to be fit to purify by their association those receiving purification, the keepers of the five sacrificial fires, faithful to their religious vows, drinkers of Soma, and students of theology". His grandfather Bhatta Gopāla performed the sacrifice of Vājapeya. Bhavabhūti therefore belonged to a family of Vedic scholars. He is a Vedic bard with Vedic ideas and expressions which unconsciously get in and abound in the writings⁴. Jñānaniḍhi was his guru, a name which looks as one assumed by persons of the monastic order. Unlike other dramatists he develops the marriage of Mālāṭī and Mādhava on lines peculiar to his own study. He follows Gauṭama and holds the mind and the eye as the sole guide in the choice of a bride. The atheistic Sāṅkhya and theistic yoga philoso-

1 As Ghaṇaśyāma says the name Bhavabhūti was given to him from his composition साम्बा पुनातु भवभूतिपवित्तमूर्ति (See TC, II 1728)

or as the commentator Vīrarāghava says

गिरिजायास्तनौ वन्दे भवभूतिसिताननौ ।

तपस्वी का गतोऽवस्थां इति स्मेराननाविव ॥

Two other poets Aluri Tīrumalakavi and Raṭṇakhetadīkṣita bore the title Abhinava-Bhavabhūti. On the description of Paḍmāvaṭī, see Khajarahō inscription EI, I 149

2 M. V. Lele in his book on *Malati-Madhava rasavahara* (in Mahrattī) at page 5 identifies Paḍmāvaṭī with the modern village Pavāya or Pola-pavaya north-east of Narvar in Gwalior state and Cunningham with Narvar (Nalapura) itself [*Arch. Rep.* (1862-5) II 307]. Other identifications are (i) near Amaravati (ii) Karavīrapura (Kolhapur) (iii) Ujjain (iv) Pampur in Kashmir. Belvalkar denies the identity of Paḍmāvaṭī and Paḍmapura (Introduction to *Uttararamaśharita*, Harward Oriental series). It must be said however that the oldest extant manuscript of the dated Nēvari Samvat 276 (1156 A. D.) does not mention the province viz "Vīdarbhaga" [*Nēpal*, (1905) No 1478]. See Jayaswal, *JBOBS*, XIX. 11.

3. Bhandarkar's Int to Mal note to Act I, line 81

4 See A. B. Keith, *Bhāṭya's and the Vedas*, JRAS, (1914), 729.

phies were known to him. He was perhaps a wanderer in his youth intimate with actors and it is not improbable that he himself acted on the stage¹. In his middle life he attached himself to the court of Kanouj, and there standing by king Yasovarman in his vicissitudes followed him to Kashmir. On his way he visited Buddhist Vihāras and observed the variety of Pāśanda worship and human sacrifices offered to Cāmundā to which he often alludes in his works.

As a poet he had his reverses in his early days and apparently his critics were severe on him. He sily refers to them when he says "As of women, so of compositions, people are malicious as to their purity". That accounts for his pessimism which went so far as to flout the opinion of his contemporary world. He was conscious that his poetry was good and he left it for future generations to appreciate it. He wrote that a "spirit kindred to mine will some day be born; for time is endless and the world is wide"².

He was conscious of his merit and he expressed that "Goddess of speech attends on him as on Brahma like a submissive hand-maid"³. Vāṅkpaṭi describes the excellences of Bhavabhūṭi's compositions as shining like particles of liquid nectar of poetry⁴. Rājasekhara fancies him as Vālmīki himself re-incarnate⁵. Bhavabhūṭi was an admirer of Kālidāsa. When the love-lorn Mādhava wandered in quest of Mālāṭī or when the desperate Mādhava sent a cloud as messenger to his beloved, Bhavabhūṭi had in his mind the distracted Purūravas and the Yakṣa. He was however not a mere imitator. He was the master of the sentiment of pathos⁶ and his mode of dramatic composition was original⁷. Tradition couples the name of Bhavabhūṭi with that of

1. Belvalkar thinks (10 page 101 note) that Bhavabhūṭi played the part of Vālmīki in the Uttararāmacarita.

2. यथा स्त्रीणां तथा वाचां साधुस्त्वे दुर्जनो जन ।

3. ये नाम केचिदिह न. प्रथयन्त्यवज्ञां
जानन्ति ते किमपि तान् प्रति नैष यत्न. ।

उत्पत्स्यते मम तु कोऽपि समानधर्मा

कालोऽक्षय निरवधिर्विपुला च पृथ्वी ॥

4. Uttararāmacarita Act, I 2. य ब्रह्माणमिय देवी वाग्वश्येवानुवर्तते ।

5. Gaudayaho, 799

6. Bālarāmāyaṇa, Act I. 16.

7. According to him Karuṇa is the only rasa एको रस करुण एव ।

8. For a critical appreciation of Bhavabhūṭi's poetic merits, see Addanki Kumārāṭṭācārya's *Bhavabhūṭi dhārāt* (Madras), T. Suryanarayana Rao, *Bhava bhūṭi and his masterly genius* (Poona).

Kālidāsa They are mentioned together in the Bhojacantra of Ballāla along with others as the poets of Bhoja's court,¹ but Kālidāsa of the dramatic fame must have long preceded our poet.² Kalhaṇa mentions³ Yaśovarman king of Kanauj as the patron of Bhavabhūti and Vākpaṭi⁴ as a poet in the same court. Yaśovarman⁵ was subdued by Lalitāditya of Kashmir⁶ who ruled between 699 and 735 A D

On Bhavabhūti generally, see K M Banerjee, *Bhavabhūti in English Garb* (I, I 143), Kale, *Int to Uttararamacharitra* (Bombay), A Borooah, *Bhavabhūti, his place in Sanskrit literature* (Calcutta), Bandarkar, *Bhavabhūti's quotation from the Ramayana* (IA, 123), Schuyler, *A Bbl of Bhavabhūti* (JAOS, XXV 189), Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XXVII 834, CC, I 898, Peterson, *PR*, IV 1xxv, 778, *Subh* 77, F W Thomas, *Kav* 602, Wilson, *Theatre*, II 16, Maodonell, *SL*, 362

1 On Ballāla's work see under Bhoja post and Index

2 Belvalkar (o c p xxxix) says that Bhavabhūti's name is grouped with others as the 9 gems of the court of the king Vikramāditya of Ujjain. This seems to be mistake, for in the well known stanza (see para 14 *supra*) the name of Bhavabhūti is not mentioned

3. कविवाक्यतिराजश्रीभवभूत्यादिसंवित ।

जितो ययौ यशोवर्मा तद्गुणस्तुतिवन्दिताम् ॥ *Raj*, IV 144

"Yaśovarman on whom attended the poet Vākpatirāja, the illustrious Bhavabhūti and others became by his defeat (at the hands of Lalitāditya) a panegyrist of his (Lalitāditya's) virtues"

MaxMuller (*Inda, what can it teach us?* page 384) reads Rājaseñi separately as a distinct poet. He is obviously wrong, for Vākpaṭi is also called Vākpaṭirāja. See Prabhāvakacarita, IX 465 'Sri' is prefixed to Bhavabhūti

4 VĀKPATIRAJA, son of Harṣadeva, otherwise known in Prakrit as Bappama was the author of the Prakrit poem GAUDIVĀHO (Ed by S P Pandit, BSS No 84 with the commentary of Haripāla with a valuable introduction). It is a historical poem apparently suggested by Ravanavaho or Setubandha of Pravarasena (or Kālidāsa). See para 32 *ante*. It is divided into cantos and the extant work is a series of 1209 couplets. It is curious that the work as it appears to be a prelude to the theme and the actual 'Slaughter of Gauda King' is yet to come. He describes the glory of King Yaśovarman and his expedition of conquest. He says in the introduction to the poem "that he was the poet laureate of the court of Yaśovarman, a pupil of the poet Kamalayudha, a personal admirer of Bhavabhūti, and the works of Bhaṣa, Jvalanāmītra, Kunthideva, of the author of Raghuvaṃsa, of Subandhu, and Harisohandra, well read in the Nyaya sastra, the science of poesy, in the Puranas, and in the works of many poets" (verses 797-804). He refers to another poem of his not now available called 'Mahamahana-Viyayo' (verse 69, also referred to in Rājasekhara's Prabandhakośa), See S K Belvalkar (*HOS*) l c iii, R C Bhandarkar, *Int of Malatī*, xii

5 According to Dutt (*Civ* II 264) Yaśovarman ruled 700-750 A D. See V. Smith, *The History of the City of Kanauj and of King Yaśovarman*, [JRAS (1908), 765-98], *EHI*, 379. See also C V Vaidya, *History of Mediaeval India*, (Poona), 208-214, 384-42, Belvalkar's (o c 48), M Duff, (*Chronology*) gives Yaśovarman under date 690 A D. Lassen gives him A D 695-728

6 According to Kathapa, Lalitāditya ruled 695-732 A D. Cunningham,

642 Bhavabhūti's works belong to a later period¹ when a new style of the period of Dandin, Subandhu and Bāṇa, all poets of a school to which Ojas (powerful expression) is the soul of elegant style Bhavabhūti flourished about the close of the 7th century or in the beginning of the 8th century A D *

643 In the colophon to a manuscript of *Mālatī-Mādhava*² it is stated that the drama was composed by 'a pupil of Bhatia Kumārila' Kumārila was a professor of Mīmāṃsa and flourished between 590 650 A D * It has been said that the family of Bhavabhūti was renowned for sacrifices and vedic rites and study of Mīmāṃsa is indispensable for an orthodox exegesis of the Vedas It is possible therefore that there is some truth in the tradition that Kumārila was a teacher of Bhavabhūti *

(*Ancient Geography of India*, 90 22) adopts a correction of 31 years after 696 A D and dates Lalitāditya's accession in A D 727. Buhler follows this view and so does MaxMuller (o c 834 note 1) For a discussion of Cunningham's view, see S P. Pandit's, *Int to Gaudavaho* o c lxvii and lxxxi et seq S P Pandit gives the date 695 to 792 A D For Cunningham's earlier view (693 729 A D), see *Arch. Survey of India*, (1878), III 125 and Prinsep's *Indian Antiquities*, II 245 As to Lalitāditya's date, see Bhandarkar, *Int to Mal* 9, Dutt (o c II 178) See also Buhler's paper in *WZKM* II 828, Jacobi's paper in *Göttinger Gel. Anzeigen* (1888) No 2 page 68 and *VOJ*, II 332, Stein's *Int to Raj* and notes on IV 126, 184, Levi and Chavannes, *Itinéraires d'Oukong* [*JA*, (1895) 353], fix the date of Yaśovarman's defeat between 736 and 747 A D See also Prabandhakofa of Rājasekhara (composed 1405 1849 A D), Prabhāvakacarita of Prabhācandra and Tīrthakalpa of Jinaprabhasuri (composed 1864 1808 A D)

1 For a full account of these works, see J K Belvalkar (*HOS*) 1 c Introduction

2 Peterson, *JBRAS*, XVIII 109, Bhandarkar's, *Int to Mal*, iv and *JBRAS*, XVII 572, Keith, *SD*, 186

3 See Lele, *Mal* (o c 84), S P Pandit, *Int to Gaudavaho* (o c oov), Bhandarkar, *Mal*. (o c. vii)

4. S P Pandit (1 c) K.B Pathak (*JBRAS*, XVIII 218) assigns Kumārila to 700 A D

5 K T Telang (*JBRAS*, XVIII 159) and Buhler (*VOJ*, II 332) are against this view Belvalkar (o c xli) remarks "Unfortunately the colophon to act vi complicates the matter by giving the name of that pupil as Umvekacharya It follows either that this was an alias of Bhavabhūti or else that the *Mal Madh* is a composite work and that while the other eight acts are by Bhavabhūti, acts III and VI are by Umvekacharya, perhaps a substitution of his own version of these two acts in place of Bhavabhūti's original version which this pupil of Kumarila did not like Obviously we are giving undue weight to the testimony of a single manuscript A solitary manuscript of the *Uttararamacharita* gives Bhavabhūti's original name as Neelakanta Instead of Srikantha and the oldest extant manuscript of the *Mal Madh* (A D 1156) says after the colophon to act X *Kriṣṇīyam Mahakaver Bhugarbhasya* Is Bhugarbha another alias of Bhavabhūti? Perhaps all this confusion means only that our poet was not so well and widely known as we might like to think,"

Mandana became an ascetic and assumed the name of Suresvarācārya. There is a controversy whether Mandanamisra and Suresvarācārya were identical. "In Madhava's Sankaraviṇaya, they are treated as synonymous and in the Vivaranaprameyasangraha, Madhava quotes from the Brihadaranyakavartika of Suresvaracharya (Ed Vizianagaram, p 92) but names the author as Visvarupacarya. Madhava therefore considered them identical. (For further particulars on this identity, see T. Ganapati Sastrī, Int. to Yagnavalkyasmṛiti, TSS, No 74). There the statement is quoted *भवभूतिसुरेशारव्य विश्वरूप प्रणम्य तम्* from the Vibhavana, the gloss of Visvarūpa's commentary on Yagnavalkyasmṛiti. The learned Pandit has probably not noticed the passages in the Sankaraviṇaya and the colophons of the Malatimadhava about Umbeka and has therefore found some difficulty in explaining the meaning *भवभूति* in the compound *भवभूतिसुरेशारव्यम्* and he says 'The word Bhavabhūti prefixed to the name Suresvara, is, I think, used in the sense Śivabhūti'. If the line is read in its proper sense according to its tenor and in the light of the information about Umbeka, it may lead to the conclusion that Umbeka was Bhavabhūti, was Mandanamisra, was Visvarupacharya and was Suresvaracharya.¹"

In the colophon to a manuscript of the *Mālaṭīmādhava*² it was written at the end of Act III *इति श्रीमद्वृक्षमारिलशिष्यकृते मालतीमाधवे तृतीयोऽङ्कः* (composed by the pupil of Kumārila,³ at the end of Act X *इति श्रीमद्भवभूतिविरचिते* (composed by Bhavabhūti), and at the end of Act VI, *इति श्रीकुमारिलसामिप्रमादप्राप्तवान्वैभवश्रीमदुवेकाचार्यविरचिते मालतीमाधवे षष्ठोऽङ्कः* the name of that pupil is mentioned as Umbeka. Umbeka is a very respected name in Mīmāṃsa literature. He is quoted by Ānandapūrṇa in his commentaries on Khandana of Śrīhara, by Rāmakṛṣṇa in his commentary on Śāstradīpikā, by Nārāyaṇa in his commentary Viṇaya on Aṣṭa, a commentary on Tantravārtika, and by Paramesvara in his Gopālikā, a commentary on Kāsikā (which is a commentary on Śloka-vārtika). He severely attacks Prabhākara who was Kumārila's adversary. In Citsukha's Ṭattvapradīpikā (Ed. Bombay, 265) he quotes the poet Umbeka and commenting on that passage Praṭyagrūpabhaṅgavān in his Nayanaprasādinī (Ed 1 c) says *उम्बेको भवभूति (Umbeka is Bhavabhūti)*. Umbeka has written a commentary on Kumārila's Śloka-vārtika up to Vanavāda and the rest of it is commented upon by Jayamīśra, son of Kumārila. If Bhavabhūti and his ancestors were, as he says in his

1. See D. C. Bhattacharya, *IHS*, VII 802 where Mandana is said to be different

prologues, learned in the Mīmāṃsa, this is another indication that Umbeka and Bhavabhūti might be identical. Above all a strong proof of the identity of Umbeka with Bhavabhūti is furnished by commentary which begins with Bhavabhūti's well-known verse, ये नाम केचिदिह न प्रथयन्त्यवज्ञाम् ॥

In Mādhava's Śāṅkaravijaya (VII. 113-16) it is said that Umbeka was the name of Mandanamisra (also called there Viśvarūpa)

अयं च पन्था यदि ते प्रकाश्य सुधीश्वरो मण्डनमिश्रनामा ।
दिगन्तविश्रान्तयशा विजयो यस्मिन् जिते सर्वमिदं जितं स्यात् ॥
सदा वदन् योगपथं च सांप्रतं स विश्वरूपं प्रथितो महीतले ।
महागृही वैदिककर्मतत्परं प्रवृत्तिशास्त्रे निरतं सुकर्मतः ॥
निवृत्तिशास्त्रे न कृतादरं स्वयं केनाप्युपायेन वशे स नीयताम् ।
वशं गतं तत्र भवेन्मनोरथं तदन्तिकं गच्छतु मा चिरं भवान् ॥
उभेकं इत्यभिहितस्य हि तस्य लोकैरुबेति बान्धवजनैरभिधीयमानम् ।
हेतोः कुतश्चिदिह वाक् सुरुषाभिष्टुता दुर्वाससाजनि वयूद्वयमारतीति ॥

644 The works of Bhavabhūti have always been regarded as a standard for dramatic study, but only three dramas have come down to us. Stanzas are ascribed to him in various anthologies which are not traceable in the extant works.¹ It is therefore presumable that other work or works of his have now been lost to us. Guparatna, a treasury of thirteen verses, is ascribed to Bhavabhūti.²

645 Bhavabhūti is a worthy peer of Kālidāsa in merit and fame.³ Kālidāsa is terse and brief in his expression and working upon the reader's feelings puts to exercise his full imagination. Bhavabhūti's language is comparatively diffused and a redundancy of ideas often makes a strong impression on the reader's mind. In short, Bhavabhūti expresses in the *vācya* sense what Kālidāsa does in the *vyangya* sense. In describing human emotions of Pathos and Heroism, Bhavabhūti surpasses his rival. Kālidāsa's style is graceful, Bhavabhūti's sound and grand. In delineations of nature and chivalry Bhavabhūti feels at home. "Bhavabhūti is skilful in detecting beauty even in ordinary things and actions and in distinguishing the nicer shades of feelings. He is a master of style and expression and his cleverness in adapting his words

1. See Peterson, *Subh.* 77-78, Jalhana's *Stūṭi* for which see *PR.* (1887-1891) xxxv, also appendix II of Harvard University Series Vol. xxii (It is not known whether this volume has yet been printed).

2. Printed, Haebelin, *SKC.* 282.

to sentiment is unsurpassed" Like Kālidāsa's, Bhavabhūti's language is full of melody and lyrical beauty. In religion Kālidāsa is a man of the city teeming with amorous intrigues. Bhavabhūti is rural. True to his lineage he would not lose sight of the minutest ceremony; his guest would not be allowed to depart without *madhuparka*.¹

646 Malati-Madhava is a prakarana in ten acts.² "The scene is laid in Ujjain, and the subject is (a fiction and is) the love-story of Malati, daughter of a minister of the country and Madhava a young scholar of the city and son of the minister of another state. Skillfully interwoven with this main story are the fortunes of Makaranda a friend of Madhava and Madayantika, a sister of the king's favourite. Malati and Madhava meet and fall in love, but the king has determined that the heroine shall marry his favourite, whom she detests. This plan is frustrated by Makaranda, who personating Malati goes through the wedding ceremony with the bride-groom. The lovers, aided in their projects by two amiable Buddhist nuns, are finally united."³

The poet displays here an all-round learning and develops the love of Mālātī and Mādhava, as it were, to illustrate the tenets of Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra.

There is an epitome of Mālātīmādhava in verse called Rjūlaghvi by Maññilasārman⁴ and commentaries on it by Dharānanda,⁵ Jagaddhara,⁶

1 Here is a traditional verse, attributed to Kālidāsa himself

अहो मे सौभाग्य मम च भवभूतेश्च भणिति
तुलायामारोग्य प्रतिफलति तस्यां लघिमनि ।
गिरां देवी साक्षाच्छ्रुतिकलितकल्हारकलिका-
मधूलीमाधुर्यं क्षिपति परिपूर्वैर्भगवती ॥

2 Ed BSS by R G Bhandarkar, There are several other editions in different languages

3 Macdonnell, *SL* 364, Wilson, *Theatre*, II, 166 Schwyler, *Bibl.* 29, gives the translations in foreign languages. For a short sketch, see *SR.* II, 69, R O Dutt, *CI* II 264, 270 and M Williams, *IW* 502. Tr into English by Wilson, *Theatre*, II 1 128 and by M R Kale, Bombay

4 *CG*, I 458

5 *PR*, V

6 Ed BSS Bombay and elsewhere and by M R Telang (Bombay)

Tripurārī,¹ (Mānānka,² Rāghavabhatta, Nārāyaṇa, Prākṛtaārya), J Vidyāsāgara,⁴ Pūrṇasarasvatī⁵ and Kunjavihārī⁶

647, Mahaviracarita describes in seven acts the life of Rām as a wārrior The plot follows Rāmāyana with slight variations meant to show Rāma's heroism in relief The last act describes the country traversed by Rāma and Sītā on their way to Ayodhya in the aerial car⁷

"The situation and sentiment of the drama" says Wilson, "are of a stirring and martial description and the language is adapted with singular facility to the subjects from which it springs It is sonorous and masculine, more vigorous than musical, and although highly elaborate and sometimes rigid is in general chaste and always classical and stately"

For long years the manuscript of the work beyond Act V, 46⁸ was not available⁹ The lost portion was completed by Subrahmanya Later

1 Ed Madras. Tripurārī was the son of Parvatanāṭha of Bhāradvājagoṭra His commentary extended only to 7 acts and the rest is continued by his pupil Nānyaḍeva son of Haricandṛa of Śaḥabhattaya family *SR*, II 73 Nānyaḍeva has written a commentary on the whole drama too (*TC*, II. 2220) He is probably identical with the king Nānyaḍeva of Tirhāt who is said to have been subjugated by Vijayasena of Bengal about 1200 A D and founded Simraon in 1057 A D and afterwards established a Kanātaka dynasty in the valley of Nepal See V Smith, *EH*, 418 19, S Levi, *Le Nepal*, II 198, Keilhorn, *EL*, I 313, note 57 See also *IA*, XI 188

2 Mānānka was a royal author and flourished about the 18th century A D He is quoted by Royamukuta in his commentary on Amara composed in 1431 A D His Brāḍāvanakāvyā relates the life of Kṛṣṇa and Meghābhayudaya is a highly artificial poem *PR*, III 11, 291 In *BR*, II (1907) there is a commentary on it by Lakṣminarasā where author is called Śāyankelī He wrote commentaries on Giṭagovindā and Mālatīmāḍhava

3 *CO*, I 453, II 104

4. Ed Calcutta

5 *TC*, III 4118

6 Ed Calcutta

7 Macdonnel, *SL*, 364, Weber, *IL*, 207, Wilson, *Theatre*, II 323 334, R C. Dutt, *Civ* II 274, M Williams, *IW*, 502

8 दौरात्म्यादरिभि etc, the last time was made up by Mahāḍeva हन्त प्रत्युत दारुण व्यवसित भिक्खयमेव विधम् and by Muḍḍurāma हन्त प्रत्युत दुष्कृत च सुमहत्कर्तव्यसुद्धीक्षितम् ।

9. There is a manuscript in the Tanjore Library No 10708 (*Tanj* VIII 8454) in which it is said राजशेखरदग्धशेषे which indicates a tradition that Rājasekhara had the manuscripts of Mahāvīracarita destroyed In *Tanj* VII 4433-5, it is said श्रीवश्यवाचा भवभूतिमहाकविना विरचित महावीरचरित नाम नाटकमेतावदेवास्मिन् देशे दृश्यते, शेष त राजशेखरेण दग्धमिति प्रसिद्धिः ।

however, the later portion was discovered¹ SUBRAHMANYA was probably identical with the author of the drama *Sītāvivarendīrāpannaya*,² which likewise in seven Acts describes the marriage of Rāma with Sītā Subrahmanya was the son of Kṛṣṇasūri of Kāsyapagoṭra He lived in Southern India in the 17th century A.D.

This is a commentary on the play by Virarāghava³

648 Uttararamacaritra describes in seven Acts the story of Uṭṭarakāṇḍa of Rāmāyaṇa, that is, the abandonment of Sītā, her residence at the hermitage of Vālmīki, the birth of Kusa and Lava and there the union of Sītā and Rāma "The catastrophe is differently brought about," says Wilson "in the Ramayana and the Raghuvamsa, and the poetical account of Rama and his race closes in a different manner Rama discovers his sons in consequence of their recital of the Ramayana at his sacrifice and Sita upon her innocence being recognised by the people is suddenly carried off by the goddess of Earth, and disappears for ever The denouement is very judiciously altered to her reunion with her sons and husband in the play"⁴

This play holds a high place in the theatrical literature of the world In the expression of genuine pathos (*Karuṇa*) and the description of wild scenery, it has rarely been surpassed anywhere

1 Ed Bombay 1892 (in which both the versions are given), with the commentary of Virarāghava, Ed Todarmall, Lahore, Ed F H Trithen, (London), Ed by A Boorosh, Bombay with Com and notes Trans into English by J. Pickford (London)

2 *DO*, XXI 8512

3 The manuscripts of Mahāviracarita in South India (*sg*, *DO*, XXI, 8451) were found incomplete and stopped with V 46 So it was that Virarāghava in his commentary could get at only the incomplete work and for the rest had to continue the commentary on Subrahmanya's supplement Apart from the name Subrahmanya, this is another indication that Subrahmanya was a native of South India

Virarāghava was son of Nṛsimha, a descent of Dāśarāṇi of Vādhulagoṭra and resident of Bhūṣarapura or Tirumalaisai near Poonamalli, Chingleput District He was called Annāvappangār.

4 For an introductory account and translation see Wilson, *Theatre*, I 275 334. Tr into English by H Mukhopadhyaya (Calcutta), by O H Tawney (Calcutta), by K K Bhattacharya (Calcutta) by S K Belvalkar, Harvard (*HOS*), by V S Patvardhan (Nagpur) For translations into other languages, see Schwyler, *Bibl* 81 For a general account, see M Williams, *IF*, 503 and R.O. Dutt, *Civ*, II, 275 For a full critique see Venkataramasastrī, *Sahṛdaya*, XXIV 7 and K Subbayaśastri, *Uttararamacaritarasavivara*, *Bharata*, VI Juy and the same by R. Venkataramasastrī, (*Jl cf Andh Sāh Par* XXI, 81)

649 There are commentaries on the play by Virarāghava,¹ Ātmarāma,² Lakṣmanasūri,³ A Borooah,⁴ J Vidyāsāgara, Abhirāma,⁵ Premacandra Tarkavāgīsa,⁶ Bhoṭajisāstrin,⁷ Ṭārākumārācakraṇartīn,⁸ Rāmacandra,⁹ B S Ghate,¹⁰ Ghanasyāma,¹¹ Lakṣmikumāra Ṭātācārya,¹² Rāghavācārya,¹³ Pūrnasarasvatī,¹⁴ and Nārīyanabhalla,¹⁵ and one anonymous¹⁶

650 LAKṢMIKUMARA Ṭātācārya known as Kavibhūṣana was son of Ṭiruvenkata of Śāthamarsanagotra He was a High Priest and lived at Triplicane, Madras He passed away in 1923 He wrote facile poetry and among his various poems are Bhavabhūtibhārati, Pūdukāstuti, Subhāṣitaranjini and Rāmabāna Besides a commentary on Acyutasataka (prākṛt) he attempts to show in his commentary on Uṣṭararāmacarita, that the prevailing sentiment there is not Karuna but Vipralambha-sṅgāra

VIRARAGHAVA popularly known as Anṇāvappangār, was the son of Nṛsimha and descendant of Ḍāsarathi of Vādhūlagotra He was born at Tirumalisai (Bhūṣarapurī) in Chingleput District, Madras, about 1770 A D and lived for 48 years He was much respected in Mysore and other provinces He wrote a commentary on Mahāvīracarita, the drama Malayajāparinaya, a poem Bhakṭisārodaya and other philosophical works He had no son and his daughter's grandson R Alasingarāchari now lives in the same town It is not known whether these works are now available there

1 Ed Bombay

2 TC, III 1599, 1601 Ātmarāma was father of Nīlakanṭha Dikṣita and son of Acoṣaikaṣita He also wrote a commentary on Sāhityaratnākara.

3 Ed Kumbhakṇam. About the author, see para 246 *supra*

4 Ed Calcutta

5. TC, III, 2323

6 Ed Calcutta with a preface by E B Cowell

7 Ed Nagpure by V S Pattayardhan.

8 Ed. Calcutta, with a preface by B P Mujumdar

9 Ed Madras

10 Ed Nagpur

11 TC, III 1720 Ed Bombay by P V Kane. On Ghanasyāma, see para 166 *supra*

12 The manuscripts are with his son S A T Singarācārya, Triplicane, Madras.

13 CC, I 63

14 About the author, see index *post*

15. See Sak XX 243 He was a Malabar Brahmin who wrote at the instance of Aluvancheri Tampakkal (Nettanārāyaṇa) Nambudri

16 TC, III 3503, 3536, CC, I 63

The story of Bhavabhūti's plays has been summarised by V Anantācārya in *Nāṭakakathāsaṅgraha*¹ *Uṭṭararāmacaritākāvya* is a poem in 5 cantos on the theme of the later life of Rāma² It is a sequel to Rāmapāṇvada's *Rāghaviya* and was probably composed by Meppathur (Nārāyaṇa) Bhaṭṭatāṭṭin

651. King Yasovarman wrote the play *Rāmābhivudaya* on the whole story of Rāmāyana Sārādātānaya says it was in 6 acts

षडङ्क दृश्यते लोके रामाभ्युदयनाटकम् ।

and quotes incidents for illustration³ Abhinavagupta in his commentary on *Dhvanyāloka* mentions Yasovarman as its author

सन्ति सिद्धरसप्रख्या ये च रामायणादय ।

कथाश्रया न तैर्योज्या खेच्छा रसविरोधिनी ॥

कथानामाश्रया इतिहासा, तै इतिहासार्थे सह खेच्छा न योज्या । कथचिद्वा यदि योज्यते तत् तत्प्रसिद्धिविरुद्धा न योज्या । यथा रामस्य धीरललितत्वयोजनेन नायिकानायकत्व कुर्यादिति तु अत्यन्तासम्भज्यम् । यदुक्त 'कथामार्गे न चाक्रम' इति रामाभ्युदये यशोवर्षणा । "स्थितमिति (?) (स्थितिमति) यथा शक्याम् ॥" *Locana*, p 148

652 Rājasekhara was the son of Durduka and Sīlavaṭī His family name was Yāyāvāra⁴ His father Durduka was a high priest His great-grand father Akāḷajalada⁵ was a great poet He was married to Avantīsundarī⁶ an accomplished Rajaput princess, "the crest-jewel of the Chauhan family" She was proficient in poetics and Rājasekhara quotes her views with regard⁷ He appears to have belonged to the Mahratta country i.e the Viḍarbha and Kuntala⁸

1 Printed, Allahabad.

2 Ed Annamalai University by K R Pisharodi There is *Uṭṭararāghaviyā-kāvya* (DO, XX 7694)

3 Rājasekhara was himself called "Yāyāvāra" or the Yāyāvāra Kavi He is so called in *Ṭīlakamañjarī* and *Uḍayesundarī* (See Int to *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, Gaekwad's Oriental series, xii) He is also referred to as *Bālakaḥ* and *Kaṣṭhā* (see *Karp* I. 9)

4 His name is referred to in Jalhana's *Suktimuktāvalī* and his verses are there said to have been plagiarised by Kāḍambatīrama in his drama For his verses in *Śūrg* see Peterson, *Subh* 102 F W Thomas, *Kav* 80

5 On account of this marriage with a Rajput princess Durgaprasad and Konow doubt whether Rājasekhara was a Brahmin or a Kṣatriya

6 See *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, (O O 46, 57).

7 Nārāyaṇa Dikṣiṭa in his commentary on *Viḍḍhasālabbhanjikā* says that Rājasekhara declared himself in the *Bālārāmāyana* as a native of Mahārāṣṭra and that to a large extent he made use of the language of that country In the colophon to the Bombay Edn of *Karpuramañjarī* the poet is styled Mahārāṣṭracūḍamañi, but in the *Suktimuktāvalī*, Surācanda an ancestor of Rājasekhara is called Ceḍimandala-mandanam that is the ornament of the country of the Ceḍis

He must have travelled all over India¹ and his knowledge of south India is particularly remarkable

In the prologues to his plays Rājasekhara calls himself the spiritual teacher of King Mahendrapāla and that he was patronised by his son and successor Mahipāla. The Sīydoni inscription mentions Mahendrapāla reigning in 903 and 907 A D and Mahipāla in 917 A D.² In Viddhasālabbhanjikā Rājasekhara refers to Yuvarājadeva who is probably the Kālacuri being Keyūrararṣa Yuvarājadeva I, who had his capital at Tripuri, the modern Fawar near Jabulpore.³

653- In the Sankaraviyaya of Mādhavācārya Rājasekhara is called a king of Kerala and it is stated that he presented three natakas of his own composition to the great Sanharacarya. In Sadāsivabrahmendṛa's Jagadgururaṇamālāśṭava composed in the latter half of the 16th century A D, Rājasekhara is said to have been easily cured of his blindness by Gangādhara, third in descent from Abhinavasankara. In Trav Arch series II 8-13, there is an inscription of king Rājasekhara dated on paleographical grounds as of 9-10th century A D and a learned discussion on the identity of that king with the author of these plays. The conclusion there arrived at is that Rājasekhara, the author of the dramas, was a successor of king Rājasekhara of the inscription, very likely also his nephew.⁴

1 V S Apte (*Rājasekhara and his writings*, Poona, 20) shows that Rājasekhara is specially acquainted with southern customs and places and often alludes to southern rivers as the Kāveri and Tāmraparni. The stanza 'Karnatī-dasanankito etc., in Kṣemenḍra's Anuṣṭupavijārasaracā (V 27) covers a range from Cambay to Cape Comorin.

2 *EI* I 162 79, IX, 1 10 Copper plates bearing dates 577 of the Gupta era, that is 899 and 900 A D. See also *EII* 178, 242, *IA* VII 190 *EI*, IX 1 130 *EI*, II 304, *IA*, XV 105 XVIII 90. For all references to inscriptions, see *JRAS* (1909), 70-75. See also The Asmi Inscription of Mahipāla (*IA*, XVI 173) comes from a locality only 90 miles south east of Kanouj, which is now identified with Mahodaya referred to in Rājasekhara's dramas. It is dated Sam 974-917 A D.

3 See the Bilhari Inscription (*EI*, I 251, 265) particularly verse 75 which refers to Rājasekhara, *Vismata kavī Rājasekhara stutya* and Kielhorn's *List of Northern Inscriptions*, Nos 186, 407, 416 and 419. E. Hultzsch justifies the identity by the fact that the hero of the Viddhasālabbhanjikā is called Karpuravarṣa, a name strongly reminding us of the name Keyuravarṣa. See also M. Duff, *Chronology*, 293, Konow (*Int to Karpuramanjari*, *EOS* Harvard, IV) 186 suggests that he may be Yuvarājadeva, a contemporary of King Vākpati of Malwa. See also *IA*, XXXIV 177.

4 कृतसङ्कसन्निनाट्यबन्धव्रतयायावर राजशेखराख्यम् ।

इतवन्तमनन्तमन्त्रशक्तिं व्रतिगङ्गाधरमाश्रयेत्सूक्तिम् ॥

On this the commentary of Āṭmabodhendrasarasvatī mentions the names of the plays

654. Rājasekhara praises Bhavabhūti as Vālmīki re-born,¹ and quotes the poet Vākpatirāja, and the rhetoricians Udbhata,² and Ānandavardhana.³ He is referred to by Somadeva,⁴ and Ḍhananjaya,⁵ and eulogised by Soddhala.⁶ From these references it appears safe to say that the poet flourished about 900 A D.⁷

655 In the prologue to Bālarāmāyana, Rājasekhara himself says that he wrote six works. Four dramas are known and Raṭnamanjari⁸ a nāṭikā is probably also his work.⁹ Hemacandra instances Rājasekhara's

1 Bālarāmāyana, I

2 Udbhata was the councillor of King Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir (779-813 A D.)

3 He flourished in the reign of Avantivarman of Kashmir (857-884 A D.)

4 His Yaśasīlakaśampū was finished in 960 A D.

5 He was in the Court of King Munja of Dhar (974-998 A D.)

6 His Uḍayasundarī, was composed about 990 A D.

7. As to the date of Rājasekhara, opinions are various. FLEET (*IA*, XVI 178), and KIELBORN (*EI*, I 162, *Nachrichten von der K. Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1904, 204 ff.), give the end of the 9th and beginning of the 10th Century A D. AUFRECHT (*ZDMG*, xxv 1-150) says he was the immediate predecessor of Jayadeva. See also (*OC* I 503 and III 107) BRANDARKAR [*BR*, (1892) 3, 44] called him preceptor of Mahendrapāla who flourished about the 10th century A D. BOARDMAN (*OC*, 17) makes him contemporary of Śaṅkara and assigns him to the 7th century A D. Pischell (*Review of Candakausika*) gives the 10th or the 11th century A D. PATERSON (*Subh* 101) gives the middle of the 8th century A D. "This is established by the fact that Kṣīraswami who wrote a commentary on the *Anarākosa* and who was the teacher of Kashmir (750 A D.) quotes a verse from the *Vidhasalabhanjika* in his note on *Amara* I viii, 4 and that King Mahendrapāla to whom Rājasekhara himself refers as a pupil of his own was reigning in 761 A D." This king Mahendrapāla is the one referred to in the Dighwa-Dubauli plate dated Harsha-Samvat 155 (=A D 761-2) edited *IA*, XV 105. CUNNINGHAM adopts this view (*Arch. Sur.* IX 85). AUFRECHT, on other hand (*ZDMG*, XXVIII 104) states that Kṣīraswami must have lived in 11th century A D. since he quotes Bhoja and is quoted by Varḍhamāna. FLEET discusses the Dighwa-Dubauli plate in *IA*, xvi 175. DURGAPRASAD and PARAB (*Kavyamala* No 4 Int.) gives the date 884-959 A D. and H. H. WILSON (*Theatre*, II. 362) the beginning of the 12th century A D. and Bhandarkar about the 10th century A D. [*BR*, (1892) 3, 44 and (1897), xliii]. MAXMÜLLER (*India, What can it teach us?* 328) confounds him with the younger Rājasekhara, the author of the *Prabandhakosa* (1347 A D.) AUFRECHT discusses all these views and places him between the 7th and the 10th centuries, probably the end of the 8th century. F. E. HALL in his paper on the "Vestiges of the Three Royal Lines of Kanyakubja," (*JASB*, XXI 1) gives the dates V Samvat 960, 964, 1006 and mentions two Mahendrapālas. See also JBRAS XVI 177, *EI*, (1917) Part v (on Paratagarh Inscription dated Samvat 1003), *JAOS*, XXVII 1. Levi, *Theatre*, 1347, Klein, *Geschichte des Dramas*, III, Henry, *SL*, 813.

8 A. E. Gough *Records*, 208.

9 See *Andhra Patrika*, Annual number (1930), 78, by E. V. Viraraghavacharya.

HARAVILASA¹ as containing the poet's *anla*, and for *asih*, Ujjvaladatta quotes from Haravilāsa² Bhoja mentions an Astapatradalakamala as Rājasekhara's³

It is possible that many laudatory verses about poets quoted in Jalhapa's Sūtimukṭāvalī under the name of Rājasekhara may be found in this lost treasure Rājasekhara's knowledge of geography was embodied in a work called Bhuvanakosa⁴ Rājasekhara belonged to a family of poets. From that family dawned⁵ the great men Surānanda,⁶ Tarala⁷ and Kavirāja He mentions Aparājit⁸ and Sāṅkaravarma,⁹ as his

- 1 स्तनामाङ्कता यथा राजशेखरस्य हरविलासे ।
ii आशीर्यथा हरविलासे—
ओमित्यकाक्षर ब्रह्म श्रुतीनां मुखमक्षरम् ।
प्रसीदतु सता खान्तेष्वेक त्रिपुरुषीमयम् ॥
- iii सृजनदुर्जनस्वरूपो यथा हरविलासे—
इतस्ततो मषन् भूरि न पतेत्पिशुनश्शुन ।
अवदाततया किञ्चिन्नभेदो हसतस्सत ॥
- 2 दशाननक्षिप्तसुरप्रखण्डित
क्वचिद्रताथो हरदीधितिर्यथा ॥
- 3 राता वधाधिराज्याविसरररस विदव्याजवाक् क्षापकारा
राकापक्षममशेषानवनननयन खासयान्तव्यमारा ।
रामाव्यस्तस्थिरत्वातु हिनननहितु श्री करक्षारदारा
राधा रक्षास्तु मद्य शिव मममवाशिव्यालविद्यावतारा ॥
निर्दिष्टाष्टदलन्यासमिद पादार्थमक्तिमि ।
अस्पृष्टकर्णिक कोणै कविनामाङ्कमबुजम् ॥
- 4 नदीना मेखलसुता नृपाणा रणविग्रह ।
कवीनां च सुरानन्द चेदिमण्डलमण्डनम् ॥

5 Rājavigraha is the title of a Cedi prince Śāṅkaragana who lived in 10th century
See Gaz of Bombay Presy I 414

6 Jalhapa's Sūtimukṭāvalī

7 Rājasekhara (I o) wrote

यायावरकुलश्रेणैर्मुक्तायष्टेश्च मण्डनम् ।
सुवर्णबन्धुरचिरस्तरलस्तरलो यथा ॥

8 Karpuramanjari (1-8) calls him 'Mṛgāṅkalekhākaiāra' Subhāṣitāvalī gives
'Kṣuṭksāmaṇa etc' (verse 1024) as his Paḍyāvalī quotes some other verses,

8 Mentioned in Jalhapa's Sūtimukṭāvalī

contemporaries and Vasukalpa and Abhinanda¹ were also of the same age

656 Balaramayana relates in ten Acts the whole story of Rāmāyana. The narration often deviates from Rāmāyana and the effect of such deviation has had a good dramatic effect. Rāvana is from the beginning represented as a rival of Ramā for the hand of Sītā and his love and longing are more prominent than his ferocity.² In describing the tale of Rāma Rājasekhara might call himself an incarnation of Vālmiki, Mentha and Bhavabhūti.³

There are commentaries by J Vidyāsāgara,⁴ and Lakṣmanasūri,⁵ and one anonymous.⁶

657 Balabharata or Pracanda-Pundava is incomplete. The two acts now available describe with vividity the marriage of Draupadī, the loss of kingdom at dice, the public insult of Draupadī and the departure of the Pāndavas to the forest.⁷

658 Viddhasalabhanikam,⁸ is a nāṭika in four acts. King Candravarman of Lāta having no sons tries to pass his daughter Mṃgāṅkavati as a boy and sends her to the queen of King Vidyādharma of the Keralas. This leads as anticipated to a real marriage in secret between the king and the princess and the confidence was suddenly disclosed by a messenger who brings news of the birth of a son to Candravarman.

There are commentary on it by Nārāyaṇa,⁹ by Ghanaśyāma and by

1 This must be Gaudābhinanda the author of the Kāṇḍamarikathasāra, see para 60 *supra*

2 Ed by G. D. Sastri Benares. The Acts are all named in the Mahānāṭaka

3 बभूव वल्मीकमव कवि पुरा तत प्रपदे भुवि भर्तृमेण्डताम् ।
स्थित पुनर्यो भवभूतिरेखया स वर्तते सम्प्रति राजशेखर ॥

4 Ed Calcutta

5 Ed Tanjore

6 *Tanj* VIII. 535

7 Ed Strassburg and Bombay. See generally Wilson, *Theatre* II 361, Macdonnell, *SL*, 866

8 Ed Benares by Vāmanaśācārya. The name has been rendered as *The Lady of the Statue*. On this play generally, see Levi, *TI*, 247 Wilson, *Theatre*, II 354 Henry, *SL*, 818 Tr. into English by L. H. Gray, *JAOs*, XXVII 1 ff)

9 Ed Poona. He was the son of Ranganātha and lived in 18th century. He also commented on Mālatī-Mādhava, Hanumannāṭaka and Vāsavaḍaṭṭo (*CC*, I 292) *Tanj*, VIII. 3664-8.

his wives Surdarī and Kamalā,¹ by Satyavratā,² by J. Vidyāsāgara,³ and by a pupil of Karunākara,⁴ and by Vāsudeva⁵

659 Karpuramanjarī,⁶ a Sattaka (in prakṛit), in 4 acts, describes the vicissitudes of the loves of King Candrapāla with a princess of Kuṇṭala the jealousy of the queen with the consequent impediments, the secret meetings of the lovers and the final marriage. The drama was enacted at the instance of his patron king for the pleasure of his own consort Avanti.

There are commentaries by (Kāmarāja, Dharmadāsa, Pītāmbara, Dharmacandra),⁷ Vāsudeva,⁸ by J. Vidyāsāgara,⁹ Kṛṣṇasūri,¹⁰ Nṛsiṃharāja,¹¹ and Anantadāsa.¹²

Rudradāsa's Candralekā is a similar Sattaka in four acts describing the story of the marriage between Candralekhā and Manavedarāja. He was pupil of Śrīkantha of Malabar.¹³

660 Jalhana quotes Rājasekhara's eulogies of | rilocana, Ganapaṭi, Pradyumna, Bhīmata, Māyurāja and Kādambarirāma. These poets must have lived before the 6 or 7th century AD.

कर्तुं त्रिलोचनादन्यो न पार्थविजय क्षम ।
तदर्थाश्शक्यते द्रष्टुं लोचनद्वयिनि कथम् ॥
अधोगणपतिं वन्दे महामोदविधायिनम् ।
विद्याधरगणैर्यस्य पूज्यते कण्ठगार्जितम् ॥

1 See para 166 *supra*

2 Ed. Calcutta

3 Ed. Calcutta

4 Anonymous. DC, XXI 8518

5 TC III 8870. He was also called Sāhityamalla and was resident of Malabar. He was pupil of Karunākara.

6 On this play, see Konow's Int. to Edn. (HOS, Harvard) Tr. into English by O. R. Lanman. See Schuyler, *Bibl.* 176 77. There is another play of this name by Rajanivallabha (OC I 82).

In the colophon of two manuscripts the play is ascribed to a Vācanācārya, pupil of Jināsāgara who is styled the "sun in the sky of Kharatara." Jināsāgara was the first high-priest of a new branch of the Kharatara sect which was established in Samvat 1686 or 1680 A.D. (See IA, XI 250).

7 OC, I 82, II 15, III 18, PR, IV 25, V, 428.

8 Ed. Bombay

9 Ed. Calcutta.

10 DC, XXI 8355

11 TC, III 882. He was the son of Samudrabandhayaṅgan who wrote a commentary on the *Setubandha*.

12 TC, III 8985. He was pupil of Kṛṣṇaśankaraguru, probably of Malabar.

13 OML, R. No. 8207.

प्रद्युम्नापापरस्येह नाटके पटवो गिर ।
 प्रद्युम्नापापरस्येह पौष्पा अपि शरा खरा ॥
 कालञ्जरपतिश्चक्रे भीमट पञ्चनाटकीम् ।
 प्राप प्रबन्धराजत्व तेषु स्वप्नदधाननम् ॥
 मायुराजसमो जज्ञे नान्य (मा?) कालचुरि कवि ।
 उदन्वतस्समुत्तस्थु कति वा तुहिनाश्व ॥

661 TRILOCANA'S verses quoted by Sārṅgadharma allude to Bāṇa and Mayūra

हृदि लग्नेन बाणेन यन्मन्दोऽपि पदक्रम ।
 भवेत्कविकुरङ्गाणां चापल तत्र कारणम् ॥
 तावत्कविविहङ्गानां ध्वनिलोकेषु शस्यत ।
 यावन्नो विद्यति श्रोत्रे मयूरमधुरध्वनि ॥

Extracts from his PARTHAUJAYA, a play on the exploits of Arjuna, are given in Śṛṅgārāprakāśa and Nātyadarpaṇa Ganapati's Mahāmōḍa was probably a play Pradyumna's plays are lost Kadambarīrāma is also unknown, unless he is identical with Kaṭambarī Rāma Kṛṣṇa, the author of the play Aṭitakundalāharapa

662 BHIMATA or Bhīmadeva was king of Kalinjara, a place 100 miles north-west of Prayāg He wrote five dramas, all of which are now lost Among them are Svapnadāsanana, Praṭibhācāpakya,⁴ and

1 See JOR, II. 248, for an account of the play by R. Ramamurti

2 CC, I 2

3. These are mentioned by Bhoja and Abhinavagupta and Rāmacandra who gives extracts from the last ND, p 144

4 अलङ्कारशास्त्रालङ्कारभूता अभिनवगुप्ताचार्या नाटकमिद द्वि उदाहरणाय लीकुर्वन्ति लकीयायामभिनवमारत्नाम् ।—

“भवतु तनय लोके जातापशब्दपरम्परा-

परिचयमयी वार्ता कीर्तिं निकृष्य निकर्तनी ।”

प्रातिभाचाणक्ये महाकविना सीमेन राजाऽपि विन्ध्यकेतु भूयसा व्यवहृत

(P 848, Vol II) अभिनवमारती ।

प्रवेशकाबाहुल्येन तावत्तापसवत्सराजप्रातिभाचाणक्यमुद्राराक्षसादिषु

(P 459, Vol II) अभिनवमारती ।

उदाहृतात् गद्यद्वयात् नाटकस्य द्वे नामनी विद्येते ‘प्रातिभाचाणक्य’ ‘प्रातिभाचाणक्य’
 चेति, नाटकमिद सीमो नाम कश्चन महाकवि निबन्ध इत्यपि चात्रगच्छाम ।

—R. Ramamurti, in Udayanapatrika,

Manoramā-Vatsarāja His son Vasunāga wrote the play *Praṭimāniruddha* ¹

663 Mayurāja ² (Mātrarāja) Anangaharṣa was a Kālacūri king who ruled over Ceḍi country, with his capital Māhīmatī ³ He was the son of Narendravardhana The word Māyurāja seems to be a version of the prakṛt Mā-u-rāja (माउराज) and Sodhdhara refers to him along with Vākpaṭi and Viśākhadeva ⁴

“ सामन्तैश्च वावतिजमाडराजविद्याखदेवप्रभृतिभि

Ḍamodaragupta deploras the demise of Anangaharṣa a patron actresses⁵ Murāri derides Mahīmatī and its king Anangaharṣa ⁶

Abhinavagupta, Bhoja, Ḍhanika, Hemacandra, Rāmacandra, Kuṇṭaka and Sarvānanda refer to and quote from Māyurāja's plays *Udātṭarāghava* and *Tāpasavatsārāja* ⁷

1 Mentioned by Rāmacandra in *ND*, (p 115-6) and Abhinavagupta in *AB Chap 19*

2 On Māyurāja see M. R. Kavi, *JAH*, I 155, Bhattachāwami, *IA* XLI, 189 There are quotations by Viśvanātha in his *SD*, p 265, 310

3 Māhīmatī is “Mahesvara or Mahes on the right bank of the Warbuda, 10 miles south of Indore It was the capital of Haihaya or Anupadesa, the kingdom of the mynahheaded Kartavyaryajuna of the Purana” N L Dey's *Geographical Dictionary*, 56 Ceḍi country embraces Behar and North Central Provinces

4 Later the capital was changed to Tripura, modern Tewar near Jubbulpore

5 वयमपि दैवनिकेतनमनङ्गहर्षे गते त्रिदिवलोकम् ।
आश्रितवन्तो गत्या तीर्थस्थानानुरोधेन ॥ (777)
इह तु कदाचित्किञ्चिद्वृत्तिनिरोधामिशङ्कया निरुत्साहा ।
रत्नबलयामेता विदधति करपादविक्षेपम् ॥ (77)

Kuttanmata

See para 310 *supra* Bur N L Mehta (*JBOES*, XIV 353) says that Anangaharṣa's is only a titular name given to Harṣa, another of *Priyadarśikā* from the verse

अनङ्गोयमनङ्गत्वमथ निन्दिष्यति ध्रुवम् ।
यदनेन न सम्प्राप्तं पाणिस्वर्णोत्सवस्तव ॥

6. See under Murāri

7 पुनरारब्धविश्रान्ते रसस्याङ्गिनोऽनुसन्धिञ्च यथा तापसवत्सराजे *Abhinavabharata*
शृङ्गारानन्तर नियमेन करुणे व्याप्रियते । तज्जन्मनि यथा तापसवत्सराजे—*Lācana*

In illustrating *anka* in poems, स्वामिपायखनामेष्टनाममङ्गळाङ्कितसमाप्तिर्यथा in *Kāvya-nuśāsana* (p 335), Hemacandra gives illustration तेष्वभिप्रायाङ्कता यथा धैर्यं मायुराजस्य, उत्साहः सर्वसेनस्य, अनुरागः प्रवरसेनस्य । खनामाङ्कता यथा राजशेखरस्य हरविलासे । इष्टनामाङ्कता यथा लक्ष्म्यङ्कता किराते मारवे । श्रवङ्कता शिशुपालवधे माचस्य । मङ्गळाङ्कता यथा अम्युदयः कृष्णचरिते, जयाः उषाहरणे, आनन्दः पञ्चशिखस्य शूद्रकथायामिति ।

Udāttarāghava is based on Rāmāyana Tāpasavatsarāja relates the story of the life of Udayana, king of Kausambi in Vatsas, the second half of it narrated in 2nd and 3rd Lambhakas of Kaṭhāsarit-sāgara The first half is the story of Vāsavadatta and the second of Padmāvatī.¹

"To strengthen the suggestion that *Tapasavatsarāja* might be an older work than *Ratnāvalī* arguments are not wanting Before Sri Harsha, the themes of the marriages of Vāsavadatta and Padmāvatī were exhausted by Subandhu, Sūdraka, Bhāsa, and probably Māyurāja and hence Ratnāvalī who takes the place of Padmāvatī in the original story of Udayana has been newly invented while the marriage of Padmāvatī, the central theme of this work exists even in Bṛhatkatha If the Kashmerian version is thought as an improvement upon later dramas in Sanskrit, the Nepalese version also contains it

महावरोधनस्यापि भार्याबद्धिर्द्वये स्थिता (?)

तस्य वासवदत्ताया पञ्चावल्या च भूपते ॥

Udayana is the hero of a cycle of dramas and *lavys* in early centuries of the Christian era both before and after, for Subandhu a contemporary of Bindusāra, introduced in his Vāsavadatta a series of inter-dramas, one in another Bhāsa used the same theme in his *Svapnavasavadatta* If the printed edition does not represent the real work of Bhāsa in entirety the story is the same and the author of

Bhoja quotes a verse probably from *Udāttarāghava* whose latter half coincides with the latter portion of a verse at the end of the first act in our drama This shows that even if *Udāttarāghava* is not his work there must be another yet not available to us.

सन्ध्याकान्तिकषायितेन नमसा प्रत्यक्षसन्न शनै-

र्लीलावेश्मनि दीपरश्मिजटिल नील तमो जुम्भते ।

वेष्टद्वाहुलताविलोलवलयस्नानैरित सूचित-

व्यापारा प्रनियोजयन्ति विविधा वाराङ्गना वर्णकान् ॥ *Udāttarāghava*.

प्रारब्धो मणिदीपयष्टिषु सम पात. पतङ्गैरितो

गन्धान्धैरामितो मधुव्रतकुलैरुत्पद्ममिस्स्थीयते ।

वेष्टद्वाहुलताविलोलवलयस्नानैरित सूचित—

व्यापारा प्रतियोजयन्ति विविधा वाराङ्गना वर्णकान् ॥ *Tapasavatsarāja*.

Under these circumstances on the strength of Sarvananda alone *Tapasavatsarāja* may be ascribed to Mayuraja, the author of *Udāttarāghava* "—M R Kavi

1 Edited by M R Kavi. Madras with an introduction Hultsch says that the author is indebted to Buddhist sources for his plot Nachrichten Wissenschaften, 1886 No. 7.

Natyadarpana quotes from it as भासकृते स्वप्नवासवदत्ते and Bhoja gives the explanation of the word Svapnavāsavadatta as

स्वप्नवासवदत्ते पद्मावतीमलस्था दृष्ट्वा राजा समुद्रगृहक गत वासवदत्तां च स्वप्नवदस्त्रे
ददर्श । स्वप्नायमानश्च वासवदत्तामावभाषे

There is a drama called *Manor amavatsaraja* written by Bhūmaṭa who according to Rājasēkhara was the author of five dramas in which *Svapnavadasanana* is mentioned by Bhōja. We know that Manōrama was the handmaid of Priyadarsika who was set to put on the character of Udayana in the inter drama in it. Viśākhadēva, now assigned to the court of Chandragupta II, wrote three dramas (*Mudrarākṣasa*, *Devichandragupta* and *Abhisarikavanchitaka*) and in the last of these Padmāvatī is characterised as murderess of Udayana's son. This terrible characterisation of Padmāvatī was probably borrowed from the Buddhist *Jataka* stories where Mālandika or Anupama, an envious creature, dupes Udayana.¹

664 Saktibhadra belonged to Dakṣināpāṭha (Deccan). Beyond this general statement in the prologue² there is nothing to indicate the place of his birth or sojourn. He is held in high esteem in Malabar and his play *Cūdāmaṇi* is known to the Sakyas, professional players of Malabar along with some of the plays attributed to Bhāsa,³ with which it exhibits similar peculiarities of dramaturgy.⁴ Tradition says that he was a pupil of Śankarācārya. Leaving aside Ādi Śankara of pre-Christian period Śankarācāryas of equal fame flourished in the 8th and 9th centuries and if Śaktibhadra was a disciple of an Ācārya of that period, he might have lived about 800 A.D. The surprise expressed in the prologue that the south produced a dramatic work shows that other plays of merit had not been known then in Malabar and from this it is inferred that Kulasekhara's plays of about the 10th century were of a later date. There is parity of idea and expression in some verses of *Cūdāmaṇi* and Bhaṭṭanārayana's *Veṇīsamhāra* which may show that Śaktibhadra was well familiar with *Veṇīsamhāra*. These considerations

1 M. R. Kavi, Int. to Edn., o. c.

2 आर्ये दक्षिणापथादागतमाश्रयचूडामणि नाम नाटकमभिनयाग्नेडितसौभाग्यमसि-
लुषाम इति ।

3 In a manuscript in the Oriental Manuscript Library, DC, XX 8882 *Cūdāmaṇi* is found written along with *Abhiṣeka* and *Pratimā*.

4 The play begins with नान्धन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधारः the word स्थापना is used instead of प्रस्तावना.

make the end of the 8th and beginning of the 9th century a likely date for Sakṭibhadra ¹

1 S Kuppusami Sastri sums up these arguments in his introduction to edn

R Vasulevasarma (Hindu 2nd Feb 1947), thus summarises the views of S Kuppusami Sastri, on the connection between Saktibhadra and "Bhasa's" plays and refutes them

The arguments of Professor S Kuppuswami Sastri are —(1) That these plays are what are called "Chakkir plays" and being such are relegated to the last place in the "Attaprakaram" where 14 plays are being treated of the order adopted being 1 and 2 "Tapatisamvarana" and Subhadradhananvaya" of Kulasekhara Varma 3 "Nagananta" of Sriharsha 4 "Ascaryacudamani" of Saktibhadra 5 "Kalyana saugandhika" of Nilakantha, 6 an anonymous poet's Krishnacarita and 7 to 14 being eight plays ascribed to Bhasa, thereby indicating the contemporaneity or, may be, a chronology as evidenced by the order of mention,

(2) That the oldest Sanskrit play in South India was possibly "Ascaryacudamani" by Saktibhadra as in his "Sthapana" to that play Saktibhadra himself distinctly says 'Sir! Novel indeed is it to hear that a dramatic composition should hail from the south! Likelier still that the horizon should burst to blooms and the sands yield some oil',

(3) That Saktibhadra announces himself as the author of an "Unmada Vasavadatta and other works," that this play might be the same as the present "Pratignayaugandharayana,"

(4) That inasmuch as 'Ascaryacudamani' was found written alongside of 'Abhisheka' and "Pratimanataka" in manuscript they were all written by the same author, viz, Saktibhadra,

(5) That the departure from the injunctions of Bharata were not peculiar to these dramas, as in fact all the South Indian dramas exhibited the same characteristic (vide "Bhagavadajjukiyam" "Mattavilasaprahasanam" etc),

(6) That Bhamaha might have referred to Brihatkatha and not necessarily to the "Pratignayaugandharayana",

(7) That Kautilya is found quoting from a work called "Manugita" as is disclosed by Madhavayajvan's "Nayacandrika",

(8) That the quotation by Abhinavagupta beginning with "Sanotapakshmakavatham" taken expressly from Svapnavasavadatta is not to be found in the Trivandrum drama,

(9) That there is no 'krida' or sport in the 'Svapnavasavadatta' which according to Abhinavagupta's, 'Abhinavabharati' should be characteristic of that drama,

(10) That quotations in anthologies ascribed to Bhasa by name are not to be found in the published plays,

(11) That "Carudatta" is but a crude abridgement of Sudraka's "Mricchakatika",

(12) That Mahasena's queen behaved much like a latter day Malayalee lady and used "Sambandham" in the sense of marriage (Pratigna p 87 and 78) quite as they are used to day in Malayalam,

(13) That "Avimaraka" uses 'Vicaritam' in the vernacular sense of "enquired",

(14) and that 'the exceptional degree of solicitude and respect for 'matula' (uncle) shown in the duplicated "abhiwadana" (salutation) bears the influence of 'Marmakkattayam custom'

In the play *Ascaryacudāmaṇi*,² the introduction of *Āscaryacudāmaṇi* and *Adbhuṭāṅgulīyaka* to act as a charm to detect fraud and disguise in the creation of fictitious Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmana acts as the main proof of the sentiment

“ The seven acts which compose the play present in dramatic form episodes of the Ramayana—the coming of Surpanakha into Rama's hut, her mutilation by Rama, the rape of Sita by Ravana, his passion for her in Lanka, Hanuman's visit to Lanka, and the final scenes where Rama, after his victory over Ravana, ascertains Sita's purity by the fire-ordeal and a message delivered by Narada and it takes its name from the miraculous crest-jewel and ring given to Rama and Sita by the hermits ”³

Here are some of his fine ideas

क्वेद वन वनचरैरपि दुर्दिगाह क्रेय वधू कुवलयच्छविचारुनेत्रा ।
हेमारविन्दमकरन्दरसोपयोगा कश्चधीत जलधौ कलहमकन्याम् ॥
नियमाभिषेकजटिल तपोवने दिनवद्धरीकुसुममात्रमण्डनम् ।
रचयामि देवि रथयानवेगत श्लथित शिरोरुहनिबन्धन तव ॥
वसुदेवमहीभुज प्रियेय पतिरस्माकमपामिवैष राशि ।
अनयोरयमन्तराभवन्तौ मयकन्या क्षितिपालिनीव वेला ॥
अरुणे परिशिर्षमञ्जलौ निपतन्तो नयनोदबिन्दव ।
शकलीकृतभौक्तिकविषो हिमलेश इव पङ्कजोदरे ॥

The arguments advanced by Mr Hirananda Sastri are much in the same strain, additional reasons being

(15) That the patron Rajasimha referred to by Bhasa might be some Pallava Prince of the 6th or 7th century A D

(16) That the Pratimagriha in the Pratimanataka might have been borrowed from the sculptured rocks of Mahabalipuram of the 6th century A D

(17) That the great resemblances, coincidences to the extent of expressions, and casts even, must be due to plagiarism

(18) And that possibly there might have been two “*Svapnavasavadatta natakas*” and two “*Balacartas*”, the other unrecovered one being Bhasa's

1 Ed by S Kuppusami Sastri Madras, with a valuable introduction where he incidentally says that the plays attributed to Bhasa are not his

On Śaktibhadra, see A Krishna Pisharoti, *Bhasa's works* (Sridhara Press, Trivandrum) and A Krishna Pisharoti and A Rama Pisharoti, *Bhasa's works. Are they genuine?* (*Bull of London Sch of Or Studies*, III 107-117)

The prologue calls Śaktibhadra, author of *Unmāḍavāsavadatta* and other Kāvya's, but there are not now available

See articles by T K. Krishna Menon in *Annals*, VIII 43.

2 F. Thomas, review in *JRAS*, (1927), 352

The description of Kāncī is enchanting

देवि द्रविडमण्डलमोलिमण्डनमाणिक्यमणिस्तवकमिदं काञ्चीनामधेयमायतनं मानकेतनस्य ॥

(सीतामपवार्य) इह हि—

खेदजलपिच्छिलाभिस्तनुभिर्यूना च शिथिलमाशेषम् ।

विपुलं पुलकाशलाकपटलं घटिति प्रतिकरोति ॥ अपि च—

अभिमुखपतयाकुर्मिललाटश्रमसलिलैरुच्युतपत्रलेखम् ।

कथयति पुरुषायितं वधूना मृदितहिमद्युतिनिर्मलं कपोल ॥ vii 106 7

and so is the devout obeisance of Bhīmesvara to the Sapta-Godāvarī and to Māhākālā of Ujjain and to Gangā

विभीषण — देव प्रणम्यतामयमान्प्रविषयलक्ष्म्या सप्तगोदावरहारफलापकनायको भगवान् भीमेश्वर । राम — (कृताञ्जलि)

तुल्यारम्भपरित्रसद्विरसुतारितार्थसम्पूर्यते

निर्व्यूढमिविभ्रमाय जगतामीशाय तुभ्य नमः ।

यश्चूडाभुजगेश्वरप्रभृतिभिस्तादृग्भ्रमन्तीर्दिश

पश्यद्विभ्रमपूर्णमाननयनैश्चान्तोऽपि न श्रद्धये ॥ vii 104

विभीषण — इहैवायमलकायाश्चाखानगरगौरवमाजि त्रिपुरदहनाधिष्ठानप्रतिष्ठो भगवान्महाकालनाथ । अयं हि

उद्धामभ्रमिवेगाविस्तृतजटावल्लीप्रणाळीपतत्

सर्गङ्गाजलदण्डिकावलसितं निर्माय तत्पञ्जरम् ।

सम्भ्रान्त्यद्भुजदण्डपक्षपटलद्वन्द्वेन हसायित-

ल्लोलोक्यव्ययनाटिकानयनटस्त्वामी जगत्त्रायताम् ॥

राम — (प्राञ्जलि)

नमस्तुभ्य देवासुरमुकुटमाणिक्यकिरण-

प्रणाळीसम्भेदस्नपितचरणाय स्मरजिते ।

महाकल्पस्वाहाकृतभुवनचक्रेऽपि नयने

निरोद्धुं भूयस्तत्प्रसरमिव कामं द्रुतवते ॥ vii 112

राम — (सहर्षम्)

गौरीविसज्यमानार्थसङ्कीर्णहरमूर्धनि ।

अम्ब द्विगुणयम्भीरे भागीरथि नमोऽस्तुते ॥

(सीतां प्रति) देवि, किन्दस ।

देवस्याम्बुजसम्भवस्य भवनादम्भोधिभगांमुका

सेय मौलविधूषणं संगतौ सगैस्त्रिभागीरथी ।

उत्थातानपह्नाय विप्रहृष्टमिव सौतं प्रदीपानिव

स्रोतस्तीव्रतरत्नरा समयति द्वाग्ब्रह्मलोक जनान् ॥ vii 118 9

665 **Murari** was the son of Vardhamāna and Āntumañi of Moudgalyagotra. On the age of Murāri, there is some uncertainty. Rāṭnākara in his *Haraviṇaya* has a verse, where there is a punning reference to Murāri as a playwright,¹ and Rāṭnākara was in the Court of King Avantivarman of Kashmir (855-884 A D).² In the course of Rāma's aerial car on his way back to Avodhya, Murāri describes among other cities Māhiṣmatī, the capital of the Kalacuri dynasty and of the Cediterritory, and by the middle of the 8th century A D Kalacuri kings had left Māhiṣmatī and became settled in two lines at the capitals Ġṛipurī and Rāṭnapura. On these considerations Murāri may be assigned to the end of the eighth century A D and to the beginning of the 9th century A D.³

666 His **Anargharaghava** in 7 acts is an elaborate play on the story of Kāmāyana and for his merit and eloquence he has been called Bāla Vālmiki and from the beauty of a particular verse he is known as Indru Murāri. His diction is chaste and learned and though sometimes not very perspicuous displays an impressive scholarship. To a mind saturated with the conventional similitudes, his similes,

1

अङ्कोत्थनाटक इवोत्तमनायकस्य

नायकविर्व्यथत यस्य मुरारिरात्थम् । xxvii 167

2 इयं च कलचुरिनरेन्द्रसाधारणाग्रमहिषी माहिष्मती नाम चेदिमण्डलमुण्डमाला नगरी । इह हि—

आश्लेषचुम्बनरतोत्सवकौतुकादिक्रीडादुरोदरपणप्रतिभूरनङ्ग ।

मोगस्तु यद्यपि जये च पराजये च यूनोर्भनस्तदपि वाञ्छति जेतुमेव ॥

It is not unlikely that Murāri is ridiculing Kalacuri king Anangabharṣa Māyūrāja who was the author of *Uḍḍattarāghava* and is known by tradition, to have been enjoying the company of actors (and women). So it is said in *Kuttinimata* (see para 668 *supra*). If Anangabharṣa had lived just before the author of *Kuttinimata*, Murāri may have been his contemporary.

See *LI*, VIII App I 16, 17

3 If the allusions to Murāri (our author) by Rāṭnākara and by Murāri to Mālaṭī Maḍhava or Anangabharṣa cannot be accepted, it is certain he lived in the 11th century, because he is quoted by Mankha, Śāraḍāṭṭanaya and Kaviṇḍavacana-samuocya and not mentioned by Bhoja or Abhinavagupta.

On Murāri generally, see Aufrecht, *ZDMG* XXVII, 74, XXXVI 377-8, *OG* I 462, II, 106, Peterson *Subh*, 91, PR IV xxvii, Bhandarkar, *BR* (1897) xx, xl, Durgaprasad's *Int.* to *Anargharāghava*, Thomas, *Kav* 71, Schuyler, 71 2; Wilson, *Theatre*, II 375.

often original, strike as peculiar, but they are quite natural all the same ¹ Many of his verses show lyrical harmony, but his style must generally be characterised as magnificent He is one of those poets whom European critics have been unable to appreciate, but the fault is on the side of the critics only, for none will agree with Wilson's thought that Hindu pandits have shown Murāri an unjust preference, for "the Hindus of these days are little able to estimate purity of conception, delicacy of feeling or brilliancy of fancy" But these are the very qualities with which Anargharāghava is replete The play has been considered a standard for poetic criticism and grammatical learning In his Siddhānta-Kaumudī, Nagojibhatta cites Murāri's expressions as authority ²

There are commentaries on the play by Pūrṇasarasvaṭi,³ Harihara,⁴ Mānavikrama⁵ Rucipatidatta,⁶ Dharmānanda,⁷ Kṛṣṇa, son of Varada,⁸ Lakṣmidhara *alias* Rāmānandāsrama,⁹ Viṣṇupandita,¹⁰ Viṣṇubhatta, son of Muktinātha,¹¹ Lakṣmaṇasūri,¹² Jinaharsagani,¹³ (Śrīnīdhi, Puruṣoṭṭama, Tripurāri),¹⁴ Naracandra,¹⁵ (Abhirāma, by Bhāvanāthamiśra),¹⁶ by Dhaneśvara, son Udaya and one anonymous

- 1 So it is said मुरारेस्तृतीय पन्था ।

मुरारिपदचिन्ताचेतदा माचे मतिं कुरु ।

मुरारिपदचिन्ताचे ॥

मुरारिपदचिन्तायां भवभूतेस्तु का कथा ।

भवभूतिं परिलज्य मुरारिमुररीकुरु ॥

- 2 Here is a verse in praise of Murāri—

भवभूतिमनाहल्य निर्वाणमतिना मया ।

मुरारिपदचिन्तायाभिदसाधीयते' मन ॥ *Śūrngadharapaṇḍhats*

3 TC, III 9880

4 Tanj. VIII 3315

5 TC, II. 2580

6 Ed, Bombay Of Khaṇkula family Written at the instance of King Bhīrava *alias* Harinārāyaṇa, son of Narasimhaḍeṇa, probably of Orissa who ruled also 1286 A D

7 Son of Rāmabala of Bharatpur DC, XXI, 8355

8 DC, XXI, 8357 Tanj VIII 3322. SR, II 67, 209 TC, II 1450

9. DC, XXI 8359 Tanj. VIII 3319

10 DC, XXI, 8360.

11 Ibid 8381.

12 Ed. Madras.

13. PR, IV 25

14. CC, I 15.

15. Ibid. SKC, 77

16 Mentioned in Int to Bombay Edn

Lak-midhara was son of Yagnesvara and brother of Cerukun Kondubhatta. After he became sanvāsi, he was named Rāmānanda-svāmī. Kondubhatta's son Yagnesvara wrote Alankārarāghava, Alankārasūrvodaya and commented on his son Venkatesvara's Citrabandharamayāna composed in Saka 1537 (1635 A.D.)¹

667 Mahanataka² traditionally known as the work of Hanūman himself was for long lost, until fragments of it were washed ashore from the sea on inscribed slabs and restored during the reign of king Bhoja of Dhar. It is said that Vālmīki became alarmed that with the rival work of Hanūman his own poem would go to the shade and with the leave of Hanūman, cast off Mahānātaka into the sea.³ Bhojacaritra records an anecdote of some verses attributed to Hanūmān being discovered by a merchant engraved on rocks on the seashore and Bhoja deciphered on the spot a verse which is found in the present drama. In the form in which we have it, it is a voluminous work, more a poem than a play and often we discover verses of other authors freely imported into it. The sentiments are lofty and ideas fanciful.

A poet Hanūmān has written Khandaprasasti, a series of stotras on Viṣṇu's incarnation on which there are commentaries by Gāṅgadāsa, Raghunātha, Jayasomagaṇi and Guṇaviyayaṇi.

Śaraḍātanaṇa who wrote Bhāvaṇprakāśa in 12-13 century A.D. instances (at p. 245) Mahānātaka as a drama of Samagra (full) type

सर्ववृत्तिविनिष्पन्न सर्वलक्षणसयुतम् ।
समग्र तत्प्रतिनिधिं महानाटकमुच्यते ॥

We may therefore assign the composition of this play latest to the days of king Bhoja in the 10th century A.D.⁴

The work as it is, is found in two recensions⁵ wholly different from each other, in contents and extent. Of these the one by DAVODARA seems to be the earlier.⁶ It was probably made up during

1 See para 841 *supra*

2 *Bhav.* pp 200, 212, 282, 287 See article by R. Ramamurti in *Uḍḍyanapatrikā*.

3 Mitra V

4 Śaraḍātanaṇa's approval of this play indicates that the recension he had with him was considered to be an original drama worthy of citation by a rhetorician. It is therefore possible that verses of other authors found in the present editions might have been later interpolations.

5 Schuyler, *Bibl* 357

6 Ed. Bombay. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 363-78,

the reign of Bhoja himself and is quoted by name in his *Sarasvatī-kanṭhābharana*¹ Dāmodara was the compiler or restorer² His work is in 14 acts dealing with the whole story of the Rāmāyana in it With two verses of benediction the play opens and continues and there is not the prelude or the mention of the Sūtradhārā³

There are commentaries on it by Mohanaḍasa⁴ and by R Siromani⁵

The second recension is the work of MADHUSUDANA'S⁶ It has only 9 acts and is short in narrative

There are commentaries on it by (Candrasekhara, Nārāyaṇa)⁷ and Mohanaḍasa⁸

Mahānāṭaka-Sudhānidhi is in the nature of an anthology of the story of Rāmāyana, composed by king Immedi Devaraya V of Vijayanagar⁹

668 Hastimalla, son of Govinda of Srivatsagoṭra, became a Jain Avyapārya says in his Jinendrakalyāṇacampū composed in Sam 1375 that Hastimalla was so named because he fought with an elephant For this act of prowess he was eulogised by the Pandya King¹⁰ in a hundred verses in open assembly His father was a remote disciple of Guṇabhadra, the disciple of Jinasena who lived about Saka 705

1 See *JRAS*, (1897), 287 ff

2 रचितमनिलपुत्रेणाथ वाल्मिकिनाम्भौ
निहितममृतबुद्ध्या प्राङ्महानाटकं तत् ।
सुमतिनृपतिभोजेनोद्धृतं तत्क्रमेण
अथितमवतु विश्व मिश्रदामोदरेण ॥

Dāmodara, author of the play *Kamsavadha* (*CC*, I 77) and author *Vāṇibhūṣaṇa* (a work on prosody, *SKC*, 55) and Dāmodara son of Viśvaṇātha author of *Bhagavat-prasāḍacariṇa* (*SKC* 371) are different Schuyler (Bitt) makes the author of *Vāṇibhūṣaṇa* identical with the author of *Mahānāṭaka*

3 Tr into English by K K Bahadur (Calcutta)

4 Ed Bombay,

5 Calcutta

6 Ed Calcutta *DC*, XXI 8449

7 *CC*, I 488, II 100, 216

8 Ed Bombay

9 *Tanj* VIII 3704, *TC*, I 879 II 2115. See *SII*, I 110

10. See para 259 *supra* For discussion on the date of *Sundarapāṇḍya Jātavarman* see *IA*, XXII. 219 On Pāṇḍya rules see *IA*, XLII 163, 221, XLIV, 165, 189, 245 K V Subramania Ayyar, *Earliest manuscripts of the Pandya country and their inscriptions*

Haṣṭamalla probably lived in the 9th century A D Besides the poem *Ādipurāṇa*, *Purucarita* and *Udayanarājakāvya*, Haṣṭamalla wrote several dramas of which the known are *Arjunaraja*,¹ *Bharatarāja*,² *Meghesvara*,³ *Maithiliparinaya*,⁴ *Subhadrāharana*,⁵ *Anjanāpavananjaya*⁶ and *Vikrāntakaurava*.⁷

669 Kṣemīvara was the grand nephew of Vijayaparakoṣṭha and votary of Śiva. He was a poet of the Court of King Mahīpaladeva who ruled at Kanouj (9-10th century A D). His *CANDAKAUSIKA*, a play in 5 acts, describes the story of Hariscandra and his truthful stand against Viśvāmitra's persecutions. "The play presents a vivid picture of the workings of a curse uttered by an angry priest Kausika against an upright king who had innocently offended him. The king forfeits his realm, and loses his wife and child, the latter by death and his consort by being sold into slavery. Though tried to the utmost the job-like patience of the righteous monarch never fails and in the end he has his wife, his son and his kingdom restored to him by divine intervention so that all ends in happiness."⁸ Kṣemīvara was probably the author of the play *Nasadhānanda* on the story of Nala.⁹

670 Kṣemendra¹⁰ wrote some dramas two of which are quoted in his *Aūciṣṭavicāracarcā*. Of these *Lalītaratnamālā* has been noticed¹¹ and *Citrabhārata*¹² is another.

1. *Op* II 316, *CC*, I 80

2. *Op* II 325

3. *Op* II 326

4. Printed Bombay. There is a play *Maithilīnātaka* by a Jain author mentioned in *Rice* 804.

5. *Mys* 287. There is a Śrīgaṇita of this name by Mādhavabhaṭṭa (Printed, Bombay). There are plays named *Subhadrāparinaya* by Raghunāṭhācārya (*Op* 726, 2125) and a *Āyānātaka* by Rāmaḍeva (*CC*, I 728) and a play *Subhadrāvijaya* (*Op* 8079).

6. *Mys OML*, 273

7. Ed by Mohanlal, Bombay, with an introduction. *TC*, II 1688

8. Ed. Bombay, Mysore, Calcutta (with a commentary by Tarkālaṅkāra and and again with a commentary by Viḍyāsagara.) On Kṣemīvara and the play, see M. Schuyler, *Bibl* 12, 66.

Other plays dealing with the story of Hariscandra are *Hariscandrayasāscandra-andrikā* of unknown authorship (*COI*, 761) and *Rāmacandra's Śatya-Hariscandra*.

9. *PR*, III 21, 340.

10. See para 69 *supra*.

11. See para 69 *supra*.

12. It is also quoted in *Kavikanthābharaṇa* p. 180,

यथा मम चित्रभारते नाटके—

नदीवृन्दोद्दामप्रसरसलिलापूरिततनु
स्फुरत्स्फोतज्वालाभिबिडबडबाभिक्षतजल ।
न दर्प नो दैन्य स्पृगति बहुसत्त्व पतिरपा-
मवस्थाना भेदाद्भवति विकृतिनत्र महताम् ॥

Kanakajānaki was also his play and is quoted in his *Kavikānthā-bharana* (p 131)

रमगतो यथा मम कनकजानक्याम्—

अत्रार्यं गुरदूषणत्रिशरसां नादानुबन्धोद्यमे
मन्थाने भुवन त्वया चकितया योद्धा निरुद्ध क्षणम् ।
मस्नेहास्सरसास्सहासरमसास्सश्रुभ्रमास्सस्पृहा
सोत्साहास्त्वयितद्वले च निदधे दोलायमाना दृश ॥

671 Vighararājadeva (IV) or Viśaladeva, (Cahamana of Sakambhari or Sambhar was son and successor of Arnorāja¹ He successfully waged war against Musalman invaders² His play *HARAKELI* represents the story of the fight between Arjuna and Siva (that is, Kirātārjunīva) and the gift of the mystical weapon, Pāsupata The play is inscribed on stone at Ajmere above date Samvat 1210 (1153 A D),³ There is a verse of Vighararājadeva quoted in *Subhā-sitāvalī* In honour of this king, **SOMADEVA**⁴ composed the plays *Lalitavighararāja*, also inscribed there in stone It treats of the love of the king to Desaladevī, daughter of king Vasantapāla at Indrapura. There is a reference to the battle with Hammīra, but the battle does not take place

672 Ramacandra⁵ was the famous one-syed pupil of Hemacandra and lived in 12th century "Two legends are connected with regard to this circumstance According to them, Ramacandra was

1 This is according to *Prithvirājaviṣaya*, but according to Siwahkh pillar inscription, Delhi, (IA, XIX 215) his father was Avalladeva

2 See IA XIX 218

3 For extracts and accounts by Kielhorn, see IA, XIX 215, XX. 201-212 (at Ajmeer dated Sam 1210—22nd Nov, 1153 A D), *Trubner's Record*, II 65 66; *Got Nach* XIII 552-570, *VOJ*, VII 191

4 Someśvara, author of *Kaṭhāsariṣṭāgara*, was a different poet So also Someśvaraḍeva, author of *Rāmāyananāṭaka* (OO, I, 524)

5 Rāmācandra, author of *Aṇḍavānanāṭa*, a play in 8 acts on the story of Yāyāti (*Tan*, VIII 3854) was the son of Śrīhara and patronised by a Canda king of Bengal, Rāmācandra, author of *Vāsanṭikā* (OO, I, 556, III, 120) was a different author

unruly and when taken before the sage Jayamna he made him have a single eye to the furthering of the Jain faith. (On this Ramacandra lost one of his bodily eyes.¹ According to the other legend the loss was the punishment for criticism passed by Ramacandra in spite of the warning of his teacher on a poem of Sripala's.² He is reported to be the author of a hundred works,³ of which only a few are now available. Of these some are dramas,⁴ Nalavilāsa,⁴ Raghuvilāsa, Rāghavābhya-daya, Yādavābhya-daya, Nirbhayaabhīma, Vanamālīkā, Mallikāmakaranda, Saṅgyahariscandra,⁵ and Kaumudīmītrānanda.⁶

Rāmacandra along with Guṇacandra wrote a treatise on dramas, NATYADARPANA. It is valuable in literary history for its quotations from various works of great merit, now lost to us.⁷

Of the several plays mentioned or quoted from are — (1) Viśakha-deva's *Devicandraguṇṭam* (2) Amātya Sankuka's *Ciṣrotpalāvalambitakaprakaraṇam* (3) Puṣpaduṣṭakam (4) Śrī Sūktivāsakumāra's *Anangasenā-Harmandinī prakaraṇa* (5) Kṛtyārāvaṇam (6) Chaitanyarāmam (7) Tāpasa vaṭṣarājam (8) Bālīkāvāncitakam (9) Pandavānandam (10) Anangavātinātūkā (11) Kṣīraswamin's *Abhinavārāghavam* (12) Udātтарāghavam (13) Bhīmaparākramam (14) Dharmapālam (15) Bhaṭṭasrī Bhavanutacūda's *Kosalikānātūkā*, (16) Māyāpuṣpakam (17) Indulekhā-nātīkā (18) Bhejjala's *Rādhāvipralambham* (19) *Ṭarangaḍaṭṭam* (20) Bhīmala's *Manoramā-vaṭṣarājam* (21) *Daridracāruḍaṭṭam* (22) *Pārṭhavijayam* (23) *Vilakṣa-ḍuryodhanam* (24) Bhāsa's *Svāpnavāsavaḍaṭṭam* (the quotation made is not found in Ganapati Sastri's edition) (25) *Prayogābhya-dayam* (26) *Mallikāmakarandam* and *Vanamālī* (27) *Saṅgyahariscandra* (28) *Rohiṇimṛṅgāṅkam* (29) *Kaumudīmītrānandam* (30) *Bhīmādeva's Svāpnada-sananam* and *Pratimāniruddham*.

673 Devacandra was a pupil of Hemacandra. In the Court of King Kumārapāla, he wrote the play *Candralekhāvijayaprakaraṇa*, in 5 acts, enacted at the spring festival of Aṣṭanātha. At the end of it is a praśasti mentioning Kumārapāla's victory over Arjorāja.⁸

1 *PR*, IV 16, V 144, Buhler's *Hemacandra*, 19, 46

2 *PR*, IV vi

3 *CC*, III 60, 104, 107, 102, I 293

4 *Anarghanalacanta* is a play on Nala's story by Sudarśanaśācārya of Paṇcanada (Tiruvadi, Tanjore District)

5 Printed, Bombay. Ed. by Mario Vālladri at Florence with an Italian translation

6 Printed, Bhowanagar

7 Ed. *GOS* with an elaborate introduction

8 *Jes. Cat.* 64

674 Jayadeva¹ was the son of Mahādeva and Sumitrā of Kaundinya gotra and pupil of Harimīra. He was probably a native of Vīdarbhā in Northern India. For the excellence of his poetic composition, he was called Pīyūṣa. Though a Saivite in religion, he was an ardent devotee of Rāma. Among his works are *Sītāhīra*,² *Prasannarāghava* and *Candrāloka*.³ In the prologue to his play *Prasannarāghava*, Jayadeva eulogises Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Bāṇa, Mayūra and Cora.⁴ Verses from this drama are quoted in Jalhana's *Sūktimuktāvalī* (composed on 1247 A.D.)⁵ Seeing that Bhoja does not mention this work, it may be safe to assign its composition to the 12th century A.D. The tradition current in Bengal on the identity of this Jayadeva with the logician of that name who bore the title Pakṣadhara may be true.⁶

"In the Prologue, it is said that the manager had a brother named Gunarama, that he objected to being called 'prince of players' owing to the fact that his elder brother was living, that the title should be conferred on the latter and that he wrote a drama called *Haracaparopana* which was acted at the court of a king called Ratjanaka and obtained a great fame as an actor. A contemptible player stealthily assumed the title of Gunarama and misappropriated the fame to himself. Having heard this, the real Gunarama went to the south and secured the alliance of a singer named Sukantha and began to fight against his enemy at the courts of the kings of Southern India.

While we can clearly see in the above statements, an allusion to the story of Ravana carrying off Sita, the wife of Rama, and the latter allying himself with the monkey leader Sugriva and fighting with Ravana to recover his wife, we cannot help thinking of the probability of a reference to Appayyadīksita's modification of the *Candrāloka* and commenting upon the work. Jayadeva might have considered this to be a plagiarism and resorted perhaps to the court of a king of

1 See Peterson, *Subh* 37. Aufrecht *ZDMG*, XXVII 207 identifies this Jayadeva, with the author of *Gītāgovinda*. This is a mistake apparent from the names of their respective parents.

2. See Peterson, *loc* 39.

3 *DO*, VIII No 3998 *CC*, I 723.

4 I 22. Cora does not mean Bilhana as has been commonly supposed.

5 See S. M. Paranpje, *Int* to *Edn* Poona.

6 Jayadeva is described as a logician in the prologue to this drama. His *Āloka* is the earliest commentary on *Taṭtvacintamani* of Gaṅgeśa. Gaṅgeśa lived about 1120 A.D. for Gaṅgeśa mentions Uḍḍayana, Nyāyasilākaṭīkāra (Vallabha) and Śrī Harṣa. These dates make the identity probable.

Southern India where Appayyadiksita was living to expose the plagiarism before the king and the people assembled"¹

675 Prasanna-Raghava is a drama in seven acts, embracing the story of Rāmāyaṇa. The author has introduced several alterations in the original story to give to his work an extraordinary dramatic effect. The first act is very amusing where the demons Bāna and Rāvana are brought together as Sītā's suitors and ridiculed. The last act introduces a pair of Vidyādhara, who describe the battle and the purification and restoration of Sītā. The return in the aerial car and the coronation of Rāma conclude the story.²

There are commentaries on it by Lakṣmīdhara,³ by Venkatārya,⁴ by Raghunandana,⁵ by Lakṣmana,⁶ by Narasimha or Rājarāya.⁷

676 Prahlādana was the son of Yaśodhavalā and brother of Dhārādhavalā, of the Paramāra dynasty of Mt. Abu whose capital was at Candrāvātī. When Yuvarāja under his brother he distinguished himself as a man of arms as well as letters. He assisted Vasṭupāla in repelling the attack of armies from Delhi and independently too put to work the forces of Kumārapāla and Pṛthviraj.⁸ He predeceased his brother and could not ascend the throne.⁹ He was working as Yuvarāja in Sam. 1220 and was living till Sam. 1265. He built the city of Palanpur, the capital of the state of that name in Gujarat.¹⁰ As a poet famed for felicity and lucidity of expression Prahlādana is praised in Kīrtikaumudī¹¹ and is quoted in Sūktimuktāvalī.¹²

1 *SR*, II 68

2 Ed. Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, Banares, etc. For an account of the drama, see *SR*, II 68, S. N. Paranjape and N. S. Panse, *Int. to Edn* (Poona), S. R. Khopkar, *Int. to Edn* (Bombay). Translated into English by Ganganath Jha, Banares.

3 Same as the commentator on *Giṭagovinda* and *Anargha-Rāghava*.

4 Ed. Bombay

5 *CC*, II 81, 211, *IOC*, VII 4158

6 *TC*, III 3220. He wrote a commentary on the *Giṭagovinda*, where he gives his patron's genealogy.

7 *TC*, III 8894. He was son of Suramātya of Bhāradvājagoṭra. The work was composed at Raṇnapurī probably in the circles in the year Hevilambi.

8 See *Surāṇḍhāra* XV 82 and Mt. Abu *Lunigavasati Prasasti*, 38.

9 See *Upadeśataranginī*, *Prasasti* of the *Aṣṭimuktacarita* of Puruṣabhadra, composed in Sam. 1283, *Somasambhāgya* 18 15 and *Hirasaubhāgya* (I. 69 128).

10 He is consequently known as Yuvarāja Prahlādana.

11 These verses are collected and printed in the *GOS*. (No. 4) appendix.

12 I. 14-15.

HIS PARĪHAPARĀKRAMA, a Vyāyoga¹ of one Act, describes the exploits of Arjuna in rescuing the cattle of the Virāta from the hands of the Kaurava Army—the story of the Gograhana in the Virāṭa Parvan of the Mahābhārata, and was enacted on the occasion of the festival of the investiture of Acaleśwara, the literary God of the Pārmāras at Mt Abu with the sacred thread²

677 The same story has also been dramatised in the Dhananjaya-vijaya, likewise a Vyāyoga by Kancanacārya, son of Nārāyaṇa of the race of Kappimuni. Owing to his skill in composing plays, he was patronised by King Jayadeva of Kanauj³ whom he mentions in the prologue and who flourished in the 12th century A D. The mode of narration is however indirect and the spectacle of the battle is described in a dialogue between Indra and his attendants. The drama was enacted before an assembly of the learned, presided over by a great Gadādharamisra.

The model of Prahlādāna's play was adopted by Vyāsa Mokāḍḍitva in his drama, Bhīmaparākrama⁴. He was the son of Bhīma and pupil of Harihara and composed his work in Sam 1385 (1328 A D).

678 Madana was the preceptor of King Arjunavarman⁵ of Paramāra dynasty. His Pārījāṭamanjarī, a nāṭkā of extreme beauty, of which only two acts are now available in fragments, was inscribed on stone at Dhārā in 1213 A D⁶. It describes the loves of Arjunavarman and a damsel Pārījāṭamanjarī, long kept secret from his queen Sarvakalā. The heroine was the daughter of a Calukya king of Gujrat whom Arjunavarman defeated, who having given up her life in the struggle was born as a cluster of Pārījāṭa flowers, which became afterwards transformed into a beautiful woman Pārījāṭamanjarī.

1. Schuyler (*Bibl* 97) confuses this Yuvarāja Prahlādāna with Yuvarāja alias Rāmavarman of Oranganur, the author of *Rasasadanabhāna*.

2. Edited with an elaborate preface by O. D. Dalal, *GOS* No. 4.

3. Printed Bombay. There is a commentary by Rāmākṛṣṇa (*CC* III 58). For a short account, see Wilson's *Theatre*, II 874. It is quoted in the *Rasārṇavesudhākara* of the 14th century A D. See *SR*, I 6, 10. There is *Dhananjayavijaya* of Yaśoḍhana (*CC*, I 266).

4. *Cat. S. Mus. of Br. Museum*. It is called by Schuyler (*Bibl* 71) as Bhīma vikrama.

5. Arjunavarman was the son of Subhatavarman and grandson of Vinḍhyavarman. His grants are dated Samvat 1267, 1270, 1272 (See *JAOS*, VII 25, 32, *JBAS*, V 378). See also for a discussion of these grants by Kielhorn, *IA* XIX 341, Colebrooke's *Mis. Ess.* II 297-314 and *Transactions of Royal Asiatic Society*, I 280-289. Arjunavarman wrote a commentary on Amaruka. Jalhana in Suktumuktāvalī quotes a verse of his. See Peterson, *Sūbh* 5.

6. Ed. by Hultzsch, Leipzig. See *IA*, XXXV 236.

679 Ramabhadra or Rāma, the Jaina monk and poet, was the desciple of Jayaprabhasūri who was the desciple of Vādidevasūri according to Prabhāvakacaritra Vādideva died in Sam 1226 (1272 A D) His play Prabuddha-Rauhineyam¹ was enacted at the festival of Sriyugāddeva in a temple constructed by Chahamana chiefs Yasovīra and Ajayapāla, sons of Pārsvacandra, whose munificence is recorded in inscriptions bearing dates Sam 1242, 1268² The poet therefore flourished about the last quarter of the 13th century A D

680 Ravivarma Sangrāmadhīra of Jayatunganādu was born in A D 1266-7 He was the son of King Jayasimha Virakerala and Umādevī and belonged to the Yādava family "After defeating his adversaries, he married a Pandya princess and when 33 years of age took possession of Kerala (which he ruled as he did his town of Kolamba) He defeated a certain Virapāndya, made the Pāndyas and the Colas subject to the Keralas and at the age of 46 (about 1312-3) was crowned on the banks of the Vegavati (at Kūnci) He made munificent donations to temples and upheld religion He was a poet himself and patronised learning He was an expert in the science of music He was called Dakṣiṇa-Bhoja³ Samudrabandha, the commentator on Alankārasarvasva, was a poet of his court.⁴ His PRADYUMNABHYUDAYA is a drama⁵ in five acts describing the destruction of Vajranābha, king of Vajrapura, and the marriage of Pradumna with the princess Prabhāvatī The interdrama Rambhābhīsarāṇam is interesting and shows a nice device for the first aspect of the lovers at a theatre

681 Rudradeva alias Pratapa-Rudradeva was the king of Ekacila (Warrangal) and ruled over an extensive country in 1268-1319 A D⁶ He was a great patron of poets and a poet himself of a high order His name has been commemorated in the most popular work on Rhetoric, Prāṭaparudra-Yasobhūṣana of Vidyānātha (Agastya) Agastya's nephew Visvanātha was in his court Of his writings, only

1 Printed at Bhojnagar, with an introduction

2 *Ibid* Introduction See inscription at Jalordurga, printed in Prachina Jainalekha-sangrahā

3 *Tr, Arch. Series*, II 58 IV 89 and inscriptions, in *BI*, IV 145 52, VIII 8

4 *Ed, TSS*, Trivandrum

5 *Ibid* It is not known whether the manuscript in *CC*, I. 862 is the same work, Pradyumnaviṇaya of Śāṅkaraḍikṣiṭa and Pradyumnānanda of Venkatādhvārī have the same theme.

6 On Kakatiya History, see K V. Subrahmanya Ayyar "Historical sketches of ancient Decan." *Andhra Patrika* Annual Number (1922-23), *Tailor's Oriental Historical Manuscripts* (Madras) 82, "Yeerabhadrarow's" History of the Andhras.

two² have survived to us, a *nāṭikā*, *Uṣārāgodava*,³ relating the loves of *Uṣā* and *Anuruddha* and *Yāyāṭicarita*,⁴ a drama in 7 acts describing the loves of *Yāvāṭi* and *Sarmisthā* as her servant with a thousand other female attendants. "*Devayani* married the king *Yayati*. At the time of her marriage *Sukra* obtained the king's promise that he would never take *Sarmisthā* to his bed, but after some interval the king met her, fell in love and espoused her privately. The intrigue continued secret, until *Yayati* had two sons by *Devayani* and three by *Sarmisthā*, when it was discovered by the former, and excited her resentment as well as that of her father. The violation of the king's promise was punished by premature decay, as denounced upon him by *Sukra*, with permission, however, to transfer his infirmities to any one who would accept them. *Yayati* appealed to his sons of whom the youngest alone, *Puru*, consented to assume the burden. After a sufficient period *Yayati* took his decrepitude back again, and left the sovereignty of the world to *Puru* in reward of his filial piety. All the sons of *Yayati* were the founders of the distinguished races. *Yadu* gave birth to the *Yadavas*, *Turvasu* to the *Yavanas*, *Druhya* was the ancestor of the *Bhojas*, and *Anu* of the *Mlechchhas*. The *Pauravas* were the descendants of *Puru*, in whose line the *Kaurava* and *Pandava* families were comprised."⁵

682 The same story has been handled by other poets. *VALLI-SAHAYA* of *Vadhūlagotṭra* lived at *Virincipuram* near *Vellore*. He wrote a biography of *Śankara* styled *Ācāryādīgviyaya*.⁶ His *Yayāti-Taruṇānanda* is a drama in five acts was enacted at the vernal festival of God *Margasahāya* at *Virincipuram*.⁷ His *Rocanānanda* is a fragment of a drama probably in five acts, describing the loves of *Anuruddha* and *Rocanā*.⁸

Yayāti-Devayānicarita is an anonymous play, having the same plot but with no division into acts.⁹ *Śarmisthā-Yayāti* and *Yayātivijaya* are mentioned in *Sāhityadarpaṇa*. There is a play *Sarmisthā-Yayāti*

1 This is a commentary on the *Prabodhacandrodaya* by *Rudraḍeṣa* (*CBod*, 281)

2 *CC* I 71. Analysed by *Wilson*, *Theatre* II, 888, *Mitra's Notices*, III 192

3 Probably the same as *Śarmisthāyāyāti* mentioned in *Sāhityadarpaṇa*. *Mitra's Notices*, III 192

4 *Wilson*, *Theatre*, II, 888

5 *DC*, XXI, 8807.

6 *DC*, XXI 8477

7. *DC*, XXI 8489.

8. *DC*, XXI, 8479

composed by Bhāgavaṭa Kṛṣṇa Kavi.¹ Śarmisthāvijaya of Nārāyaṇa Sāstrin will be noticed elsewhere

683 Manika, son of Rājavarḍhana, was the pupil of Natesvara, an expert in dramaturgy. His BHĀIRAVANANDA is a secular drama, the hero being Bhairava and the heroine Madanavatī, a celestial damsel cursed by a Rṣi to become human. The drama was enacted at the marriage of Jayadharma Malla Deva, the son of Jayasthiti Malla and Rajalla Devī. "He came apparently from Mithilā, a place of learning, and so he had cultivated a fine literary taste for the display of which his new position as king of Nepal afforded him ample opportunities. The birth ceremony of his son, the same Dharma Malla, was celebrated by the performance of a four act Ramayana. Dharma Guṇṭa, son of Rāmadasa, wrote a four act Rāmāyaṇa, probably Rāmāṅkanātaka in 1310 A.D., and was probably a king of Simraon as the epithet used is Surakikulakamalākaraṇikāsanāikabhāskara, i.e., he helped in the establishment of the Surkī dynasty of Jaunpore. The troubles in the then eastern (Shurg) dominion of Delhi commenced at the end of the reign of Sultan Firoz Shah of Delhi, 1368, and Yutha Simha appears to be one of those Hindu Rajas who helped Malik Sharwar, a Khauja, to establish himself as Malik-us-shurb. Yutha Simha seems to have been a contemporary and a relative of Jayasthiti who, by marrying Rajalla Devī, made himself master of Nepal."²

684 Jayarana Malla Deva was the husband of Nathalla Devī, the rightful heir to the throne of Nepal and the son of Vijaya Malla. His PANDAVAVIJAYA, also called Sabhāparvanātaka, represents the events of that part of Mahābhārata.³

685 Jyotirisvara, surnamed Kaviśekharācārya, was the son of Dhīreswara and great-grandfather of Viḍyāpati. He was the lord of the village of Paliyanma. He was a friend of king Harisimha of Simroan who ruled about 1324 A.D. and at the conclusion of his war with a Muhamadan Sultan wrote a prahasana, Dhūrṇasamāgama,⁴ which

1 *OC*, I 688. The identification may not be correct. Kṛṣṇa Kavi may be identical with Śeṣakṛṣṇa, who flourished during the reign of Emperor Akbar.

2. About this king and his literary tastes, see Appendix by Bendall, p. 11-14.

3. Bendall's, *Cam Cat* 87.

4. Bendall's Preface, 19, 115.

5. Ed by O. Cappeller (Jena). Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II, 408. For other editions and translations in France and Italy, see Schuyler, *Bibl*, 48-44. Mahāśvara's Dhūrṇavidambana is a similiary play.

was staged at the victory festivals "Viswanaguru, Jangama or mendicant of a particular class, quarrels with his disciples for the possession of Anangasena, a courtesan They refer the case to Asajjati-Misra, a Brahmin, who lives by solving knotty points of law, and he decrees that until it can be decided to which the damsel belongs, she shall remain under the protection of himself as umpire "

In his Pancasāyaka,² a work on erotics in five parts, of exquisite lyrical beauty, he purports to epitomise all that is said in the standard works on Kāmasāstra

Mundiṭaprahasana, a farce in 3 acts,³ is probably his work

686 Bhaskara's² Unmaṭṭa-Rāghava⁴ was composed to entertain an assembly of learned men met together to pay homage to Vidyāranya If this latter were identical with the famous scholar of Vijayanagar, then the work must be assigned to the middle of the 14th century This piece of a single act describes the maddened soliloquies of Rāma on the sudden disappearance of Sītā in the recesses of a shady garden, where, on account of the curse of Durvāsas, blossom-collection was prohibited on pain of the trespasser being turned to a deer Agastya understands the mistake and restores Sītā to Rāma, freed from the

1 Ed Lahore. PR, II 110, TC, III 4035

2 The author's name is given as Śivajyotirīśvara, most probably identical with this poet PR, II 122

3 He is different from Bhāskara of Kerala who wrote Śṛṅgārātīlakabhāṣa. He was a poet of the Court of Vikramadeva, TC, III 3881 Printed *Jl. Sam. Sah Par* Calcutta, XVII

4 Printed Bombay This work is different from one of that name quoted by Hemacandra in his Kāvyañuśasana (page 97).

अप्रियदर्शनश्रवणविगो यथा उन्मत्तराघवे—

चित्रमाय —(ससम्भ्रमम्) मगवन् कुलपते राममद्र, परित्रायतां, परित्रायताम् (इत्था कुलतां नाटयति) इत्यादि ।

पुन चित्रमाय —

मृगरूप परिलज्ज्य विधाय विकट वपु ।

नीयते रक्षसा तेन लक्ष्मणो युधि सक्षयम् ॥

राम —

वत्सस्यामयवारिधे. प्रतिभय मन्ये कथ राक्षसा.

त्रस्तश्चैव मुनिर्विरौति मनसश्चास्त्रेव मे सम्भ्रमः ।

मा हासीर्जनकात्मजामिति मुहुस्तेह्लादशूर्यार्चते

न स्थातुं न च गन्तुमाकुलमतेर्मूढस्य मे निश्चय ॥

effects of the unconscious curse The story is a close imitation of the fourth act of *Vikramorvasī*

687 Gangādhara,¹ was the son of Agastya's² sister He is said to have composed a play visualising the story of the *Mahābhārata*³ He was probably also the author and the two plays *Candravilāsa*,⁴ *Raghavābhyudaya*⁵ The former has an imaginary story on the union of Candra and Kumudinī Gangādhara had two sons Narasimha and Visvanātha

688 Narasimha dramatised the story of Kādambarī in his *Kādambarikalyāna*⁶ in eight acts, as related by Bāna in his famous romance The poetry is very imaginative and excels in the description of nature and pathos An *Antarnāikā* is introduced in the 5th act to bring Kādambarī in the presence of *Candrāpida*

689 Visvanatha lived at Warrangal under the patronage of Pratāpa Rudra Deva (1294-1325 A D) Left as an orphan while yet a child, he was educated by his maternal uncle Agastya Called upon to entertain an assembly of Pandits at the Warrangal durbar, he wrote

1. Gangādhara, father of Lakṣmanasuri (*DC*, XXI 8263) and Gangādhara, son of Dattātreya of Uḍaya family were different persons. The latter wrote the *Madrakanyā parinayacampu* celebrating the marriage of Kṛṣṇa with Lakṣmī, daughter of Brhatsena, King of Madras (*DC*, XXI 8265) So also was Gangādhara, the author of *Gangādhara-pratāpavilāsa*, a play in 5 acts, on the life of King Gangādhara Bhuvallabha Pratāpa deva of Campakapura (Champanur) in Guzerat It takes us to the Court of King Sultan Muhammad of Ahmadabad (1443 1451 A D) *IO*, VII. 1508 14, analysed in *ibid* 4194)

2. See para 126 *supra*

3. So says Gangādevī

स्तुमस्तमपर व्यास गङ्गाधरमहाकविम् ।

नाटकच्छन्ना दृष्टा यश्चक्रे भारती कथाम् ॥

Mathur āvṛjaya, I 15

4. *CC*, II. 36

5. *CC*, II 36 There are other dramas of this name by Bhagavanterāya (*CC*, II. 117), by Rāmacandra (*CC*, III 107) and by Venkatesvara (*CC*, I 500)

6. *TC*, III 3489 This work is quoted in the *Sāhityachintāmaṇi* by Vemabhupāla (about 1400 A.D) See also M Ramakrishnakavi, *Andharī Patrika*, *Annual Number* (1918), 101 The 1st verse of this play bears a close resemblance to the first verse in *Kanakalekhā* of Vāmanabhatta Bāna and this leads S Kuppasami Sastri to suspect whether the real name of Vāmanabhatta is Narasimha See his report of tour (1919) Narasimhamīra, the author of the play *Śivanārāyaṇabhaṇjanamahodaya*, (*CC*, III 134) is a different author.

his Saugandhikāharapa¹ Occupying but a short interval, the dramatic piece has only one continued scene, forming a long vehement altercation between Bhīma and Hanūmān. The plot is based on the story of Mahābhārata, wherein Draupadī, enamoured of the beauty of the flower brought by a Gandharva, requests Bhīma to fetch some more and when the incognito brothers were about to come to blows, Kubera intercedes and squares up the feud by explanation and by direct presentation of a cluster of flowers to Yudhishthira. The speeches are throughout very vigorous and insinuating. Gangadevī, author of Maṭhurāvijaya was his pupil²

690 Jivarama Yāgnika describes in Murārvijaya of 5 acts the early life of Kṛṣṇa as related in 10th section of Śrī Bhāgavata. It was probably composed in Samvat 1541 (1485 A.D.)³ There is another play of the same name and theme by Viśvarūpa Kṛṣṇabhāṭṭa, son of Nṛsiṃha⁴

691 Ramanandaraya was a follower of Caitanya. By order of King Pratāparudra of Orissa (1480 A.D.) he wrote Jagannāthavallābhanāṭaka in 5 acts, in which the main theme is the curbing of the spirit of Rādhā⁵ Govindavallabha is probably his work. It is a play in 5 acts describing the youthful sports of Kṛṣṇa, "designed like the Parsian plays of Europe, to place the early life of the deity as an attractive spectacle"

692 Śeṣa Narasiṃha lived near the Godāvarī and later in his life settled at Benares about the 1st half of the 18th century⁷ under the

1 Ed. Kavyamala, Bombay

There is a Saugandhikāharapa (pariṇaya) vyāyoga mentioned in Sāhityadarpaṇa (CC, I 727), Viśvanāṭhabhāṭṭa, son of Mahādeva, author of Śṛṅgāravāpikā (CC, I 661, II 158, Analysed IO VII 4196) and Viśvanāṭha, son of Tṛmaladeva, author of Mrgāṅkalakṣāṇāṭikā (CC, I 466, Analysed by Wilson, Theatre II, 391, Printed Sarasvatī Bhavana Series) are different authors

2 She says

चिरं स विजयी भूयाद्विश्वनाथ कवीश्वरः ।

यस्य प्रसादात् सार्वज्ञ्यं समिन्धे माहोष्पति ॥ Maṭhurāvijaya, I 16

3 CSO (1908), 148

4 PR, III 21, 849

5 Ed. Murshidabad Mitr, IV 1565, CC, I 196

6 Ibid. 1672 CC, I 169

7 See S P V Ranganathaswami 'On the Śeṣas of Benares' (IA, XLI 245) Śeṣa Kamalākara and Śeṣa Rāṭṭākara who commented on Gītagovinda, Śeṣa Govinda who commented on Amarasūtra, and wrote Vināyānandavyāyoga and Gopālāliṅgar-

patronage of king Govindacandra of Tandava At his instance he wrote Govindārṇava, a work on Dharmasāstra He was a great grammarian and originated the famous Benares School of Grammar, to which Bhattoji and Nagoji¹ belonged

Narasimha had two sons, Cintāmaṇi and Kṛṣṇa Cintāmaṇi wrote the play Rukminīharana² the Rasamanjarī-Parimala³ Kṛṣṇa had two sons Vīresvara and Nārāyaṇa⁴ Of these Vīresvara was the tutor to Paṇḍitarāja, Bhattoji and Annambhatta⁵

KRSHNA'S patron was Govardhanadhārī, son of Todar, "the ornament of the race of Tandava and disciple of Girdharinath" Todarmal was the famous finance minister of Emperor Akbar who died in 1586 A D⁶ Girdharinath was the grandson of Vallabha who founded the Gokulastha goswamins early in the 16th century A D⁷ His works are many Kamsavadha, enacted at the festival of Visvesvara at Benares in seven acts, embraces the story of the destruction of Kamsa as related in the 10th Skanda of the Bhāgavata and ends with the coronation of Ugrasena, father of Kamsa in the sovereignty of Mathurā⁸ He wrote the plays Murārīvijaya,⁹ Mukṛtācarita,¹⁰ Saṅgabhāṃaparīnaya,

navabhāṇa (CC, I 103, 676) and Śeṣa Rāmacandra who commented on Naiṣadha belong to the Śeṣa family (See IA, XLII 252)

1 See Belvalkar, l c 46-50 Nagśi wrote commentary on Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa ascribed to his person his 1714 A D

2 CC, I 527

3 For his other works, see CC, I 77

4 He was author of Sukṛatnākara, a rare commentary on Mahābhāṣya

5 See Dec College Mss No 183, (1882 3),

6 It is not known whether Kṛṣṇakaviśekhara, who wrote Kuvalayāvaṇatīkā before 1642 A D was identical with this author (CC, III, 25, IO, VII 4184)

7 In Sam 1687 (1631 A D) Kṛṣṇa's pupil Jayanta wrote an abridgment Ṭaṭṭva-candra of Kṛṣṇa's Prakriyākaumudī which was composed for the benefit of Prince Kalyāṇa, son of a petty chief of Patrabunja in the duab between Ganges and Jumna, Prakriyāprakāśa gives the genealogy of the kings of Anṭarveḍī with capital Patrabhunja for five generations ending with Kalyāṇa See Belvalkar's *Sys Sk Gr* 45

8 *Eld Kavyamālā*, Bombay Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre* II, 400 There is an anonymous commentary on it, CC, I, 77, II 15, III. 17. There is another play of this name by a poet Dāmodara, CC, I 77 The first play of this name is mentioned by Paṇḍarjali, see para 554 *supra*

9 CC, I. 462, II 106, PR, III 21, App. 337

10. PR, IV, xxi

the campūs Pārijāṭaharaṇa,¹ Usāpariṇaya and Satvabhāmāvilāsa,² Kriyāgopānarāmāyaṇa³

693 Gokulanatha was the son of Umādevī and Pitāmbara, a brahmin of Phanadaha family of Mīṭhila of Śrīvatsagotra. He flourished in the court of king Fāteḥ Sāha of Śrīnagara in the 16th century A.D. At the king's instance he composed *Ekāvalī*, a work on metrics and there he says

वृत्तसागररत्नानां सारमुदञ्चल्य निर्मिता ।

एकवली फतेसाह तत्र कण्ठे लुठत्यसौ ॥

His only daughter Kādambarī was drowned, when yet a child, in the Ganges and in her memory he composed the poem *Kundakādambarī*. There he wrote

आराम्बाव प्रकृतिरूपणा बाधिसिर्बाध्यमानै

विक्रोशार करुणवचन पुत्रि कादम्बरीति ।

कोऽयं लोकः क इव विषयः किं पुरः को निवासः

यस्मिन्नस्माद्विमुखहृदया त्वं निलीय स्थितासि ॥

At a ripe age of 90, he passed away at Kāśī. Besides a gloss of *Kāvyaaprakāśa* and the poem *Sivastuṭi*,⁴ he wrote the plays *MUDITA-MADALASA* in 7 acts on the marriage of *Madālasā*, daughter of *Viśvāvasu* and *Kuvalayāśva*,⁵ and *Amṛtodaya*, an allegorical play illustrating the ills of *Samsāra*.⁶

694 Lakṣmanamanickyaḍeva was ruler of Noakhālī during the reign of Emperor Akbar (1556-1605 A.D.)⁷ He was a poet and patron of letters. He is said to have written several dramas, but only two are now available, *Kuvalayāśvacarita* on the loves of *Kuvalayāśva* and *Madālasa*, and *Vikhyāṭavijaya*⁸ in six acts depicting the battle between *Nakula* and *Kauravas*.

1 Ed. Bombay. This was written at the instance of king *Naroṭṭama*, brother of king *Tāndavapura* near Kāśī.

2. *Opp* II 2888

3. See para 346 *supra*

4. Printed, Bombay

5. *DO*, XXI. 8444, 8446 (where there is an anonymous commentary)

6. Printed, Bombay

7. *CC*, III 26. Other dramas on the subject are by *Vaṁśamaṇi* and *Kṛṣṇa-daṭṭa* (*CC*, I 118, *CC*, III. 88). On *Vaṁśamaṇi*, see para 299 *supra*

8. *CC*, III 120, *HSR*, (1904)

MAHESVARA PANDITA, flourished in the Court of Bahadur Shah of Guzarat (1526-1537 A.D.) In his play *Svarnamuktavivāda*, he describes a dispute between gold and pearl and king Balabhadradeva of Śrīnagarī acts as refereee¹

695 Balakavi lived in Mullandrum in N Arcot District. He was son of Kālahastī of Bhāradvājagotra. He must have been related to Dindīmas². In the prologue to *Nalacaritanātaka*, Nilakantha has praised him. He was a contemporary of Uddanda³. He was in the court of King Rāmavarman of Cochin, who abdicated in 1537 A.D. in favour of his brother Godāvarman (1537-1561 A.D.). This story of the abdication and pilgrimage to Benares is described in his *Rāmavarman-vilāsa*, and in the play *Ratnaketūdaya* he traces the fortunes of that king till the abdication⁴.

Godāvarman appears to have ruled along with Ravivarman. After them came Virakeralavarman (1561-1565 A.D.). In his court flourished the poet NILAKANTHA. He was probably the same as Nilakantha of Sangamagrāma (Kūdalur) in Nārerī near Pattāmbu in Malabar and of a well-known Nambudri brahmin family⁵. In his *Kamalīnikalahamsa*, a play in facts, he describes the marriage of Kamalīnī with Kalahamsa⁶.

696 Vilinatha was son of Kanakasabdhūpaṭi and grandson of Yagnanārāyaṇa of Kausikagoṭra. He lived in Viṣṇupuram in Tanjore District and in the court of King Acyuta (1577-1614 A.D.) was enacted his play *Maḍanamamājarimahotsava*⁷. It describes the destruction of king Candravarman of Pāṭalīputra by Rudra in mortal form to help his devotee king Parākrama Bhāskara of Pāncāla. The following is typical of his style and orthodoxy.

(प्राचीमालोक्य) आ कथमुदयनेव भगवानखिलानामपि द्विजानामाचारमुपदिशतीव
कर्मणैव कर्मसाक्षी । तथा हि—

1 *IO*, 1628

2 See para 184 *supra*.

3. See para 169 *supra*

4 *JOB*, V 141.

5. Nilakantha of Muktiśthala who commented on Vāsuḍeva's *Śaurikaṭhā* (*DC*, XXI 8464) is different

6. *DC*, XXI 8390. For his commentary on *Mahāvīracarita*, see *DC*, XXI 8497.

7 *Tanj.* VIII. 8447. Printed *Sah* XXVI Madras. The manuscript breaks off in 5th Act

स्नात प्रातः पयोधौ द्रुतविधुततमा खीकृताच्छाम्बरोऽयं
 धूर्लीपालीतुषाधिष्ठितदलसमिधो दीप्तिधाराधमन्या ।
 उत्क्षिप्य क्षिप्रमञ्जाकरशुचिसदने कर्णिकाहन्यवाह
 कुर्वन्सर्वङ्गधाम कुसुमरसधृतैर्दीप्यते येन देव ॥
 (विमृश्य) ईदृशानामपि तेजसां विलसितमीश्वरातुग्रहणिय
 न्निवृत्तमिति विचिन्त्य ममाऽऽनन्दमन्थरमिदमन्तःकरणम् ।

697 Bhudeva Sukla was the son of Sukadeva and pupil of Śrīkanthadikṣiṭa. He lived at Jambūśaras in Kashmir about the beginning of the 17th century A.D.¹ In *Dharmaviṇaya*, a play in 5 acts, he demonstrated the merits of a life regulated by spiritual ordinances and meant it as a corrective of the several lapses from religion rampant during the time of Emperor Aurangzeb and his successors.² His *Rasaviḷāsa* is a work on poetics.³

698 Sathakopa was a famous Pontiff of the Ahobila Mutt of Southern India. He was seventh in apostolic descent from the founder of the Mutt of a like name and was the immediate successor of (Sastha) Parāṅkusa, who was a contemporary of Aliya Rāmarāja of Vijayanagar. He himself lived in the days of Śrī Rangarāja of Vijayanagar. He was the son of Śrīnivāsācārya of Bhāradwajagotra of Blankādu (Balavana) village. His original name was Irumala and bore the title Kavitārkkikākanthirava. His *VASANTIKAPARINAYA* is a drama in five acts of splendid poetry, describing the marriage of Ahobila Narasimha with Vāsantīkā, a wood nymph. He was capable of dictating poetry to 100 persons at a time and was praised by a poet Vāhinīpaṭi.⁴

699 Kumara Tatacārya (Saṭakrāṭu) was son of Venkatācārya and grandson of Śrīnivāsa of Sathamarṣanagotra. He was a descendant of Śrīsailapūrṇa the preceptor of Rāmānuja. Śrīsailapūrṇa's line branched off over various parts of the Madras Presidency. Lakṣmī-kumāra ṭātācārya⁵ represents the line that stayed in Kānci and there are other lines at Kumbakonam and the Circars etc. This poet belongs to the family that settled itself at Tirupatī and its progenitor is

1. Printed Bombay and Benares. See Mitra's *Notes*, I 97. There is a commentary on it by his disciple Bhavānīśankara (10 VIII 4189).

2. See Int. to *Edn. Sarasvatī Bhavan Series*.

3. *CC*, I 496, II 116, III 106. For his other works, see *CC*, I. 414.

4. *Sources of Viṣṇu-nagar History*. He was adored by Mukundaśeṣa, a Gajapati prince of the 16th century. *DO*, XXI, 8500%.

5. See para 212 supra.

ḌRŚYAKĀVYA

called Ṭolappācārya Kumāra was the High Priest of Raghunātha Naik and Viṣayarāghava Naik of Tanjore who ruled from 1614 A D ² His Parijātanātaka in five acts is based on the story of Pārijātaharāṇa ³

700 Jagannatha, son of Piṭāmbara, was a Brahmin of Miṭhila and contemporary of Gokulanāṭha to delight the feudatory chiefs who were assembled at the court of Fateh Shah, he composed the play Atandracandrikā, early in 17th century A D ⁴

701. Mathuradasa was pupil of Kṛṣṇadāsa He was a Kāyastha of the city of Suvarnasekhara on the banks of the Jumna His Vṛṣabhānuja is a nāṭikā describing the loves of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, daughter of Vṛṣabhānu ⁵

702 Madhusudana, son of Nārāyana of Sāndilyagotra and desciple of Kṛṣṇasarasvatī, wrote play Kṛṣṇakuṭūhala, ⁶ and is different from the famous Madhusūdana Sarasvatī ⁷

703 [MADHUSUDANA (SARASVATI) whose original name was Kamalanayana was a Gauda Kanojia brahmin of Kāśyapagotra He was the son of Purandara Yādavānanda was his brother. It is said that Yādava's son Mādhava, contemporary of Praṭṭipāditya (16-17 century A D), bore the title of Avilambasarasvatī, ⁸ for extempore poetry With his two sons, Purandara once went to the Court of Mādhava Pāsa in Barisal District, ⁹ and exhibited the extraordinary faculties of Madhusūdana The chief was delighted but refused to grant a site on which Purandara wanted to build a hut Madhusūdana was much grieved and took his father's leave to renounce the world.

1 The statement in para 146 and the footnote (9) there that Kumāra Ṭāṭācārya was a resident of Kānci is an error, due to the confusion between his name and that of Lakṣmikumāra Ṭāṭācārya Kumāra Ṭāṭācārya alias Aparyāptamarṭa who commented on Campubbhārata (TC, III 3582) was the great great grandson of Lakṣmikumāra of Kānci See also DC, XXI 8204

2 TC, II 2874, SVH 254

3 PR, II 22.

4 Ed Bombay See Mitra's *Notices* (1875)

5. OC, I 119, There are poems Kṛṣṇakṛīḍita by Keśavārha (Orf 840), Kṛṣṇakauṭūhala, anonymous (CO, I 119) and Kṛṣṇakuṭūhala by Rāmacandṛa Bhatta (Pāndit, VI. 108).

6 See P. O. Divanji's Int to Siddhantabindu (GOS, Baroda p. xi), Abhayankara's Int to Siddhantabindu (Govt Or. Series, Class A No 2, p 27)

7 See under Oranjiya post.

8 The kingdom was called Candradvipa and kings Candṛa kings (See EI, XII. No. 12).

He went to Benares and was initiated into Brahmayidyā by Visvesvara Sarasvatī. There he composed his famous Advaitasiddhi Tulasīdāsa, the poet to whom we owe the Hindi masterpiece Rāmacaritamānasa, was his friend, whom he praised thus—

आनन्दकानने काश्या तुलसीजङ्गमस्तर ।

कवितामञ्जरी यस्य रामभ्रमरचुम्बिता ॥

In Kotalipara near Faridpur in Eastern Bengal there is still a village known as Purandaravāṭikā and a shrine attached to it of Śrī Dakṣināmūrti and Kālīkā said to have been built by Purandara. In Bhavabhūmivārtā or history of Kotalipara, composed by Raghavendra Kavīsēkhara says Madhusūdāna was brother of Purandara and not the son. Emperor Akbar (1556-1605 A.D.) invited Madhusūdāna to his Court and after pleasant disputations held with the learned men of that court he was well honoured there. Madhusūdāna¹ must therefore be referred to the 16-17th century A.D. Besides several works² on Bhakti cult and Advaita philosophy he wrote commentaries on Vedasūti, Mahimnaṣṭotra,³ probably Bhāgavata,⁴ and Harilīlā,⁵ and a poem Ānandamandākinī⁶ on Kṛṣṇa.]

704 Ramanuja was the son of Saranammacārya and grandson of Rāmānuja of Vādhūlagotra and lived at Trivellore, Chingleput District. They trace descent from Dāsaraṭhi or Mudaliyandan. Saranammacārya was the fourth in descent from Rangarāja who was honoured by Kṛṣṇarāja of Vijayanagar (1509-1529 A.D.). Rāmānuja wrote the Vasulakṣmikalyāṇa⁷ on the marriage of god Ranganātha.

1 See Iśvarachandra's int. to Harilīlāviveka, where he takes the information, from Vaidikavāṇīmaṇḍa, a family chronicle of the Western Vaidika brahmins of Kāśyapagotra. Das Gupta's *History of Indian Philosophy*, 420, Prahlād C. Divyāji's *Madhusūdāna Sarasvatī, his life and works*, *Annals*, VIII, 149, IX 313, and Int. to Sūddhantaśāstrī (GOS), Kshetresvarachandra Chattopadhyaya, *Ibid*, VIII 425, Ś. N. Tād-patrikar, *A work on Arthasastra, by Madhusūdāna*, *Ibid* VIII 33, Cintaharan Chakravarti, *Ibid*, IX 304.

2 *CC*, I 427.

3 Printed, Bombay and Calcutta.

4 Printed, Bombay. His commentary on the 1st verse (printed, Brindavan) is classical. There is another interpretation of this verse in 100 meanings by Vamāsīdhara (Printed, Bombay).

5 Calcutta Oriental Series, Calcutta. Harilīlā is ananukramāṇī by Bopadeva for Bhāgavata. R. Krishnaswami Sastri, *Madhusūdānasarasvatī (Annals*, XI 192, *JOR*, II 9). K. T. Telang, *Note on the date of Madhusūdāna*, (*JBRAS*, XXX 368).

6 Printed Bombay. See Gopināth Kaviraj on his date, *Saras. Bhav. Series*, VII. 177.

7 *DC*, XXI 8504.

with Vāsulakṣmī, well known as Goddess Urayur Nachiyar and was enacted at the vernal festival of Vīrarāghava at Trivellore. His other works are Vīraraghavakanakavallīvivāha, Vedapāḍirāmāyana,¹ Rāmāyanacampū, Vārdhikanyāparinaya. He must have lived early in the 17th century A.D.

Rāmānuja's brother was Bhāvanārāyaṇa.² His son Rāmānuja wrote the Rāmānujacampū on the life of Rāmānuja.³ Rāmānuja's paternal uncle was Varadaguru. His pupil was Kunāla Venkatārya of Āṭreyagoṭṭra and his son Varadārya wrote bhāna Anangabrahmavidyāvilāsa intended to be enacted at the festival at Triplicane.⁴

705 Ramabhadra's Dikṣita's Janakiparinaya is very popular. It is framed as a comedy of errors. "Two sets of characters are brought to action, the one genuine and the other disguised, so that a confusion arises among themselves when they are made to meet each other. Vidyujihva, Ravana and Sarana appear respectively as Kausika, Rama and Lakshmana and so do Iataka and Sita. The marriage of Rama and Sita comes up not at Mithila but at the hermitage of Visvamitra. Most noteworthy is an inter-drama, enacted at Ravana's Durbar. The sub-plot begins with Rama's search for Sita and closes with Vali's warfare. The last act brings up the culmination of the mischief of the Rakshasas. Surpanakha shows herself to Bharata in the disguise of a Tapasī and leads him to a misapprehension of Rama's death. Just when Bharata was prepared to mount the funeral pile, Rama's arrival is announced and all ends happily with the coronation of Rama." The drama must be considered a masterpiece of Rāmabhadra. The style is learned and amusing. The poetry is not intricate and the whole story of the Rāmāyana is run over with rapidly without omitting reference to any important detail.⁵

706 Venkatesvara⁶ was the son of Dharmarāja of Naidhru-

1 Printed, Arsha Press, Vizagapatam

2 DC, XXI 8275

3 DC, XXI 8275

4 DC, XXI 8345

5 Ed. Madras and Bombay. For a critical account, see *Sah.* XXII. On the author, see para 160 *supra*.

6 In CC, I 696, Sabhāpativilāsa is wrongly given as the work of Dharmarāja. This mistake is copied in Schuyler, 84. There is a drama called Nīlāparinaya (CC, I, 802, Levi App 16) by Drghavat. It is not known whether Venkateśa, author of the drama Rāghavābhyaudaya (CC, I 500) and Bhānuprabandha Prahasana, (*Tanj.* VIII, 862f, VI 2805), and Venkateśa, author of Venkateśaprahasana (DC, XXI 8325) are different.

vakāsyapagoṭṭa of Manalur and lived in the Court of Kings Shahaji and Serfojee of Tanjore (1684-1710, 1711-1728 A D) Besides Bhosala-vamsāvali, a history of that royal dynasty,¹ he wrote the dramas² Rāghavānanda, Nīlāparinaya and Sabhāpativilāsa and a prahasana Unmattakavikalasa.³

707 Sankara (Dikṣiṭi) was son of Bālakṛṣṇa and grandson of Dhundirāja, probably the same as Vyāsayajvan, who lived about 1713 A D.⁴ He wrote the play Pradūmmūṣijaya for performance at the coronation of Sabbāsundari, Rājā of Pannah, the grandson of the celebrated Chitrāsai of Bundelkand.⁵

Dhundirāja's pupil Visvanātha wrote the naṭikā Sṛṅgāravātikā on the loves of Candralali, king of Avanti and Kāntimatī, daughter of king of Campāvatī.⁶

708 Jagannatha was the son of minister Bālakṛṣṇa and Lakṣmī and pupil of Kamesvara. He was in the Court of King Serfojee of Tanjore (1711-1728 A D). His Raṭumanmaṭha⁷ is a drama on Raṭi and Manmaṭha, and Vasumatiparinaya⁸ is another drama on the marriage of Vasumatī.

Rāmacandrasekhara performed Paundarikayāga and was proficient in grammar. At the behest of King Tulaja of Tanjore (1765-1787) he wrote the play Kalānandika on the story of the separation of Kalāvati and Nandaka and their reunion. Nandaka is said to be a prince born of a royal pair as a gift of Rāmabhadra, the deity of Bhadrācala.⁹

709 Kṛṣṇadatta was the son of Sadārāma and Ānandadevi. He was the brahmin of the village of Gramatiya in the Vajjada district in Mithila, and lived about the middle of the 18th century.¹⁰ His Puranjanacarita, a drama in five acts, relates the story of Puranjana

1 See para 163 *supra* Tanj VII 3287

2 Tanj VIII 3496, 3518, 3415

3 Tanj VIII 3616 Otherwise called Lambodaraprabhasana (Printed Madras)

4 See para 163 *supra* Śankaramiśra, who wrote the play Gauriḍigambara (CC, III 37) is different

5 CC, I 352 Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 402

6 IO, 274

7 Tanj VIII 3490

8, CC, I 557

9, Tanj, VIII. 3361

10 PR, IV xxi, Schuyler, *Bibl*, 63 gives first part of the 17th century A D

of Bhāgavata Purāṇa,¹ his Kuvalayāśvīya,² a drama in seven acts, relates the loves of a vedic student and a maiden Mādilasī, and Sāndra-kutūhala³ is an entertaining farce. In his Rādhārahasyakāvya he relates the amours of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, in 22 long cantos, and it is accompanied by his own commentary. He wrote a commentary on Gītagovinda and a poem Gītaganapaṭi in imitation of it.⁴ Candīcaritacandrikā is also attributed to him.⁵

(710) **Viṣvanatha**, son of Trimaladevā, originally lived on the banks of the Godāvarī and subsequently migrated to Benares where he composed the nāṭikā Mṛgāṅkalekhā which was enacted at the festival of Viśveṣvara about the end of 18th century.⁶ In four acts it describes the marriage of Mṛgāṅkalekhā and Karpūratilaka. "Mrigankalekha is the daughter of the king of Kamarupa, or Assam, she has been beheld by Karpuratilaka, king of Kalinga whilst hunting, and the parties are mutually enamoured. The obstacle to their union is the love of Sankhapala, a demon, to oppose whose supernatural agency the minister of the king of Kalinga, who alone is aware of the circumstance, invites to the palace a benevolent magician, Siddhayoginī, and Mrigankalekha is also lodged in the palace as the friend of the queen Vilasavatī. Notwithstanding these precautions, she is carried off by Sankhapala to the temple of Kālī, when the Raja wandering disconsolate beyond his garden bounds comes to the spot, rescues her and kills Sankhapala. He is then united to Mrigankalekha in the presence of her father and brother, and with the consent of his queen, killing also, before the conclusion of the rite, the brother of Sankhapala, who comes to revenge him in the form of a wild elephant, but is encountered and slain by the king."⁷

Though imitating Rātnāvalī in plot, the poet has an enchanting style and fancy

कावेरीजलसङ्गच्छीतलशिलापृष्ठे लुठन्त क्रमा-
दान्ध्रीपीनपयोधरोच्चशिखरप्रोद्धारसञ्चूर्णिता ।

1 CC, I 389 It was composed in Śāka 1701

शाकान्दे धरणीवियन्मुनिधरासभासमाने शुभे माघे मासि

2 CC, I 118

3 PR, III. App 359, 362, CC, I 707. In the prologue he mentions king Dharmavarman as dead

4 See para 298 *supra*

5 CC, 120

6 OSC, (1908), 152 Printed, Sarasvatī Bhavan Series, Benares.

7 Wilson, *Theatre*, II 391.

चोलीलोचनलालिता कुचतटेलाटीभिगलिङ्किता-
दूता एव मनोमवस्य भुवने चञ्चन्ति चत्रानिला ॥

711 Kṛṣṇanātha Sārvabhauma, Bhaṭṭācārya, was son of Durgādāsa Cakravartī. His ANANDATILAKA, in 5 kusūmas, is really a collection of poetry, descriptive and narrative interspersed with dialogues and quasi stage directions. He probably lived in Guzarat in the 18th century.¹

712 Devaraja was son of Sesāḍri and belonged to a brahmin family that migrated from Pattamadai in Tinnevely District and settled at Āsrama, a village near Śucīndram in Travancore which was gifted to twelve brahmins in 940 M. E. He was a poet of the Court of King Mārtāṇḍavarman (1729-1758 A.D.) of Travancore. In his play BALAMARTANDAVIJAYAM² in 5 acts, he describes the victorious marches of his patron, acquisition of wealth and the renovation of the shrine of Śrī Padmanābha at Trivandrum. In the prologue he mentions his name by means of a conundrum

परस्परादेशतया प्रयुक्तहृवर्णकत्वादधृतवेदेरूपम् ।
सकीयनामाद्यपद वहन्त बाले कवि वेत्ति हि राजचूडम् ॥

and the series of royal presents with which he was honoured

एका भूषणभूषितेयमितरा माणिक्यहारोज्ज्वला
कौशेयाम्बरधारणीयमपरा चासीकराज्या परा ।
एषा पेटचतुष्टयी मणिमयी सम्मानिता ते मया
धीमन् मामकपद्मनामचरिताख्यातु प्रबन्धात्मना ॥

713 Ramavarma Vanci Yuvaraja known as Asvinī Mahārāja was the then Yuvarāja of Tavancore and lived in 1757-1789 A.D. He wrote the plays Rukminīpariṇaya³ and Śṛṅgārasuḍḍhākara⁴ and campūs Kārṭavīryaviṇaya⁵ and Saṅtānagopāla⁶ and Vanciśaṣṭava

1 IO, 248. He wrote also Rāmāyaṇasāra. For his other works see CC, I 121. There is one Ānandatilakabhāṣa (Opp 1824) Kṛṣṇanātha Paṇḍana who commented on Sakuntalā (Opp 8882) is different.

2 Printed TSS, Trivandrum. His commentary on Bhāṛavi is printed partly in *Jl Sam Sah Pt* Calcutta.

3. Printed, Bombay.

4. Trav, 79. There is Śṛṅgārasuḍḍabhāṣa by Līvaraśarma (I c.)

5. Printed, Bombay. Trav, 80.

6. Trav, 81.

714 Godavarman Yuvaraja, or Yuvarāja merely, was a prince of Cranganore and lived in 1800-1831 A D Besides the poem *Rāmācarita*, he wrote the *bhāna Rasasadanā*, and poems *Sripadī-saptaka*, *Muraripustotra*, and *Sudhānandīlahari* ¹

715. RAMAVARMAN (Yuvarāja) known as *Kavīśrīvalbhauṇa Kochunni ĩampuran*² was a younger member of the royal family of Cranganoor and lived in 1858-1926 He had five brothers versed in all the sciences He was the recipient of a *killiat* from the Prince of Wales on the eve of his visit to India His poem *Īripuradahanī* shows exquisite poetry His *Anangavijaya* and *Vitarajavijaya*³ are *bhānas* replete with pleasant sentiments Among his other works are *Vallyudbhava*, *Viprasandesa*, *Devadevesvarasatīka*, *Uttarārūnacarita* and *Bānayudhacampū* He completed *Rāmācarita* which was left unfinished (up to *Āranyakānda*) by Rāmavarman (Godavarman ?) He wrote a summary of *Devīsaptasatī* of Markandeyapurāṇa ⁴

Closely related to him was another Rāmāvarman known as *Mahākavi Kunjikuttan Tampurān* of Cranganore (1865-1913) He wrote *vāyogas*, *Kirātārjunīya* and *Jarāsandhavadhā* ⁵

716 Another RAMAVARMAN was the nephew of Ravivarman, Raja of Kollam and Keralavarman His *Candrikākālāpīdan* is a drama in five acts describing the marriage of Candrika and Kandarapasekhara The drama was to be enacted at the *Caṭra* festival of *Nīlakantha* in *Cellur* in Malabar ⁶

In *Subālāvajratunda*, a drama in 5 acts, Rāmākavi, a royal prince of Malabar, describes the story of the killing of a serpent called *Raktāṅgada* by a rat named *Vajratunda* for having carried off his beloved *Subālā*, as his prey ⁷

1. Printed, *Kāvyamālā*, Bombay See introduction there for other works See para 177 *supra* Rāmavarman M A a young member of that family, born 1901 February, has written *Kaṇṇudī*, a poem in 9 sargas, (an adaptation of Goldsmith's *Hermes*) and *Devīpādāḍḍikeśastōtram* in about 500 slokas He informs me that this author's name was Godavarman and not Rāmavarman.

2. See para 180 *supra*.

3. Printed, Trichur

4. DC, XX 7845 See para 177 *supra*

5. Printed, *Sah Madras*

Ravivarmanakulasakhara, son of *Umāyamma Rāṇi*, wrote a poem *Rāmāyana saṅgāha* (Trav 91).

Mānavikrama Kavirājakkunṇi wrote poems *Viśkhavijayollāsa*, *Maudānopa saṅghāra*, *Rajasingarājacarita* and lived about 1900 A D. Trav 191, 198

6. TC, III. 3959.

7. DC, XXI. 8551.

717 Venkatasubramanya was the son of Venkatesvaramakhin and was the fifth in descent from Śrīkanthādhvarin, son of Appayadīkṣita. In honor of his patron king Rāmavarman of Travancore (1758 to 1798), he composed a drama *Vasulakṣmīkalyāṇam*, describing his marriage with Vasulakṣmī, a Sindhu princess, to secure a political alliance ¹

718 Varada Acarya was son of Ghatikāsata Sudarsāna. He lived at Kāncī and was a contemporary of Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita² in the latter half of the 18th century. He was fifth in descent from Nadādūr Ammāl (Varada) who was grandson of Sudarsana, nephew of Rāmānuja. To vie with Rāmabhadra's *Spṅgārātīlaka* called *Ayyā Bhāṇa*, Varada wrote *Vasantātīlaka*³ called *Ammāl Bhāṇa*, wherein there are descriptions of magic shows, snake charmers and the like. His *Vedāṇṭa-vilāsa* or *Yatirājaviṇaya*, a play in 6 acts, describes the life of Rāmānuja⁴

719 Perusuri was the son of Venkata of Kausikagoṭṭra. His *Vasumangalanāṭaka* with an anonymous commentary on it is in five Acts and describes the marriage of Uparicaravasu and Girikā, daughter of Marut kolāhala, and was to be staged at the festival of Minālāṣī in Madura. The prologue refers to his other works, *Rāmacandraviṇaya*, *Bharatābhyudaya*, *Venkatābhāṇa* and *Cakorasandesa*. He lived in 18th century A.D.⁵

720 ARJHAPANCAKANAṬAKA in five acts of unknown authorship describes how Manmatha was reborn as the son of Saurirāja, the deity that is worshipped at Kṛṣṇapuram (Irukkannapuram), Tanjore District, how as an infant he was cast into the sea by Śambarāsura, how the servants of Sambara found the infant in the belly of a fish and how Ratī, the daughter of Sambara, enamoured of him, had him tended well, and in the end he married her after killing Sambara⁶

1 *Trav 78* For a description, see *Trav Arch Series*, V 22-25 wherein the genealogy of the author is also given. *Vasulakṣmīkalyāṇa* of Rāmānuja is a different work (*DC*, VIII 8604)

2 See para 160 *supra*

3. Printed Madras, Keith, *SD*, 263.

4 *DC*, XXI, 8530 Printed Madras

5 *DC*, XXI 8497

6 *DC*, XXI 8877 It is called *Arjhapauca* because it embodies five things

चिन्ता योगस्समारम्भो व्यापारो हेतुदर्शनम् ।

असीष्टलाभ इत्यर्थपञ्चक नाटकीकृतम् ॥

721 Sundararaja Acarya, son of Varādarāja of Āṭreyagoṭra, was a native of Elathur Agraharam in Travancore. He was born in the year Plava in Kollam year 1016 (1841 A.D.) and lived on for 63 years. He had the control of Mārūtīmantra with which he was able at will to command the presence of the energies of Hanumān in predicaments of distress. Venkatalakṣmī was his wife. He was proficient in all Sāstras and was a born poet. He was patronised by the rulers of Travancore and Ettiappuram and was a friend of the royal poet Keralavarman of Travancore. His writings are many. Among Campūs are Godāpariṇaya, Kamsavadha, Rāmabhadravijaya and Srinivāsa-dikṣitendracarita. Among poems are Nīṭrāmāyana, Rāmabhadrastuti and Kṛ-pāryāṣṭuti. Among dramas are Padminīpariṇaya, Vaidarbhi-vāsudeva, Snu-āvijaya, Hanumadvijaya and Rasikaranjana. He wrote commentaries on Keralavarman's Kamsavadhacampū, Swāmīdikṣita's Vallīpariṇaya and Godāpariṇaya.¹ His brother's grandson Varadarāja wrote his biography in a campū.

722 Vaidyanatha Vacaspati Bhattacarya lived at Nuddea about the middle of the 19th century A.D. He wrote his Catrayagna in five acts at the instance of Īśvaracandra, Rajah of Nuddea. It depicts the legend of Dakṣa's sacrifice in all its details, the assemblage and reception of the Gods and the ceremonial of the sacrifice.²

723 Viraraghava was the son of Īśvara and Kāmākṣī and of Kaundinyagotra. He lived in Sahajimahārājapuram (Iruvasmallur) and was patronised by a King called Sivendra, Sivaji of Tanjore (1835-1865 A.D.)³ His Rāmārājyaabhiseka is a drama in seven Acts describing the story of the Rāmāyana, and Vallīpariṇaya⁴ is a drama in five acts describing the marriage of Vallī and Subrahmanya.⁵ Pārvāṭi-ṣṭoṭra is a lyric in praise of Pārvāṭī.⁶

1 These books have been printed in different manuscripts in Travancore, Ettiappuram and Madras. I am indebted for this information to Mr. A. Parthasarathy Iyengar, Vyākṛhāṇasa Paṇcāṇana, Akalamannaḍu, Kistna District.

2 CC, I 187. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre* II 412-415. Vaidyanātha, author of Kṛṣṇalīlānāṭkā (CC, I 123, II 24, 195), Vaidyanātha, author of Miṭhyācāra prahasana (CC, I 455) and Vaidyanātha, author of Saṭsangavijayanāṭaka (CC, I 690) are different persons and are themselves probably not identical.

3. See Subrahmanya Iyer's *History of Maharatta Kings of Tanjore*, 33.

4 DC, XXI 8484.

5. Ibid. 8493.

6 DC, No. 9608.

724 Sundaravīraraghava was the son of Kastūrīranganātha and grandson of Vīrarāghava of Vādhūlagotra. He lived at Balakīn-gṛhapura (Siruvallūr) in the South Arcot District. In Bhojarājānka he describes the domestic conspiracy at the Court of King Munja against the life of Bhoja.¹ His RAMBHARAVANIYA² is a drama describing the rape of Rambhā by Rāvaṇa and the consequent curse by Nalakūbara, her lover, that Rāvaṇa's head should split into thousands, if he should outrage any woman. It was intended to be staged at Srīrangam at the Caritra festival. His play Abhinavarāghava³ describes the story of Rāmāyaṇa.

His father wrote Raghuvīravijaya,⁴ a samavākāra in 3 acts describing the marriage of Rāma and Sītā. At the end the following dates are given for Rama's birth, marriage, banishment and coronation.

जातो वर्षे विलम्बिन्यज्जुषि मिहिरे जाग्रतीन्दौ नवम्या
सौम्येऽन्दे मासि मीने जनकवृषसुता पूर्णिमायास्तदूक्ष ।
इन्दुस्यन्दे च चैत्रे विपिनमधिगतो मासि मीने युवान्दे
हत्वा शत्रून् स धातौ खलु मधुसमये राघवो राज्यमाप ॥

725 Vallisabayakavi of Vādhūlagotra was the pupil of Nārāyaṇa and lived at Virincipuram in North Arcot Dt. in the middle of the 19th century. Vedapurīśādhvarin, the author of Mārgasahāyacarita, belonged to the same family. His Yayāṭitaruṇānandam⁵ is a drama in five acts on the loves of Śarmisthā and Yayāti who regained his youth by exchanging his old age with his son Puru.⁶ His Rocanānandam is probably five acts describing the marriage of Anuruddha, son of Pradyumna and Rocanā, daughter of Rukmavarman.⁷ His Ācāryādīgviyaya is a campū on the life of Śaṅkara.

726 Padmanabha was the son of Kāmasāstrin of Bhāradvāja-goṭra, a Telugu brahmin of Kotipalli, Godavari District. On the occasion of the festival of Someśvara at Kotipalli he composed his Ṭripuravijayavyāyoga,⁸ celebrating the conquest of Ṭripura by Śiva.

1 TC, II, 2418 See para 515 *supra*.

2 TC, II 2386

3 TC, III 3283

4 TC, II 2444

5 DC, XXI, 8477 Another Drama Yayāti-Devayāmanjantram seems to have been composed with some songs for staging DC, XXI, 8479

6 Ibid 8489.

7 DC, XXI 8087

8 TC, III, 3870.

He visited Benares and on that occasion wrote his *Līlādarpanabhāṇa*, a piece of erotic narration.¹ He lived in the 19th century.

727 Narayana Sastrin lived at Nadukāveri in Tanjore District. His brother Śrīnivāsa was a great authority in the Darsanas and edited the Journal called *Brahmavidyā*. Nārājaua was a born poet. He bore the title of Bhatta Śrī and Bālasarasvatī. He was an impressive lecturer and gave the benefit of his lectures on the *Gītā* to many in assembly in Madras. He passed away in the year Sādhārana (1911 AD) at the age of 51. His learning was versatile and in the field of poetry his authorship was prolix and he can well rival in volume and quality any other writer of the world. He wrote 92 dramas with themes embracing almost all Indian mythology as well as imagination. Of these ten are in print.² His *Mythiliyam* in 10 acts relates the story of Rāmāyaṇa, *Sarmisṭhaviṇṇayam* in four acts treats of the marriage of Yayāti and Sarmisthā, and *Kalavidhūnam* in 10 acts describes the story of Nala. Two other plays are *Jatrayavitrakam* in 7 acts and *Sūramayūram* in 7 acts.

He wrote *Sundaravijaya*, a long poem in 24 cantos, *Gaurivilāsa-campū*, *Cintāmaṇi* an *Ākhyāyikā* in 3 parts and *Ācāryacaritra*, a prose narrative in 2 parts on the life of Sankara. In rhetoric, he wrote *Nāṭakadīpikā* in 12 parts, *Vimarsa* in 6 parts and *Kāvya-mūlamsā* in 2 *Adhyayas*.³

The following are his other dramas:

मैथिलीयम् (10), शर्मिष्ठाविजयम् (4), प्राज्ञसामन्तम् (5), मामन्तसंविद्वहम् (7), सुदतीसमितिञ्जयम् (7), मुष्टपाथेयम् (5), मुग्धबोधनम् (9), भामाभिषङ्गम् (7), चित्तिनिग्रहम् (7), त्रिबदरम् (5), चित्रदीपम् (10) त्रिपुरविजयम् (12) शरमविजयम् (1), भट्टभासीयम् (9), बिल्हणीयम् (5), बालचन्द्रिका (9), (10), गूढकोशिकम् (7), मदालसा (7), मन्दारिकाविलासम्, महिलाविलासम् (7), रत्नमाला (7), मीमरथी (5), मुग्धमन्दारम् (6), प्रसन्नपार्थम् (5), वरुणोदयम् (7), तरङ्गिणी (3), खैरवार (3), राजीविनी (6), कान्तिमती (5), हारहैमवतम् (7), मुक्तमन्दारम् (10), कलिविजयम् (7), कृतकयौवतम्, (10), मुक्ताप्रवालम् (7), मधुमाधवीयम् (10), शशिधारदीपम्,

1 *Ibid* III 3177

2 Printed Madras and Chidambaram

3 The manuscripts of his works are said to be with his son at Alampallam village near Kollengode. My attempts to get at them have been of no avail and my better to the Curator, Oriental Manuscript Library giving the information seems to have been of no effect too in getting them preserved. Some of these plays are with Nanganuram Rajappa Iyer of Trichinopoly.

(6), धूतध्वजम् (5), भगनाशोकम् (7), रक्तसारसम् (8), मञ्जुलमन्दिरम् (6), अयश्चक्रम् (7), दृष्टरोहितम्, अवकीर्णकौशिकम् (10), काममञ्जरी (6), कनकाङ्गी (7), भट्टराजीयम् (5), काञ्चनमाला (7), माकन्दमकरन्दम् (10), मणिमेखला (1), शोभावती (2), अमृतमधनम् (8), माहिषासुरवधम् (1), मृकण्डमोदम् (9), सुमद्राहरणम् (6), मुक्तकेशी (1), प्रौढपरन्तपम् (7), मन्दारमाला (6), मूढकौशिकम् (5), मासुतिमै रावणम् (7), मेथिलीविजयम् (8), पुष्कररावणम् (6), लवणलक्ष्मणम् (7), सीताहरणम् (5), कूरसापत्यम् (6), स्तब्धपण्डवम् (5), ह्यन्तकौन्तेयम् (7), छिद्यकीचकम् (5), प्लुष्टखाण्डवम् (5), धृष्टधौरेयम् (5), शिशुविनिमयम् (6), निरुद्धानिरुद्धम् (5), व्यत्यस्तवक्त्रम् (7), श्येनदूतम् (5), शिवदूतम् (6), विश्ववीरव्रतम् (8), विद्वेधनम् (5), विजययादवम् (7), वीरवैश्वानरम् (8), विष्टञ्चपापलम् (5), विद्राणमाधवम् (6), हुतवीरम् (5), मुक्तावली (4), मनोरमा (5), मधुविधूननम् (3), बद्धबाणवम् (5), बहुलबालिष्ठम् (8), बालप्राहुणिकम् (6), ब्रह्मविद्या (10), मुक्तमन्दरम् (5)

728 Ramacandra was son of Lakṣmaṇa and Subbama of Korāḍa family and Kaundinyagotra. He was Pandit in Noble College, Masulipatam. He lived at Idipalle near Masulipatam late in 19th century. Among his works are Kumārodayacampū, Devīvijaya, a long poem and a bhāṇa Ṣṅgārāsūdhārṇava.¹

729 Parthasarathi (Rompivarla, Bhattar) is the son Kodandaramācārya. For proficiency in grammar he bore the title Vaiyākaraṇa-Paṇcāṇana. He was patronised by the Zamindar of Nuzvid Venkatadr Apparao who like Bhoja was himself a poet and patron of poets in the 19th century. Besides Ārtiṣṭava and Svāpaprāṇaya, a didactic poem, he wrote Madanānandabhāṇa.²

730 Ecacambadi Srinivasacarya was the son of Vedāntacārya of Kaundinyāgotra of Tiruvahindrapuram in South Arcot District. He lived in 1848-1914 A.D. His exposition of Kāṇḍāsa's works, particularly of Sākuntalā, was unique. He was professor of Sanskrit in the Government College, Kumbakonam. Himself a poet, he had a high standard of poetic excellence. He wrote a bhāṇa Ṣṅgārāṭarangiṇi and a play Uṣāpariṇaya and a poem Hamsavilāsa in 6 cantos which is allegorical.³ Among his prose pieces⁴ are Śrī Kṛṣṇalīlāṣiṭa (partly published on Saḥḍaya) and Śārngakopākhyāna

1. Printed, Masulipatam.

2. Printed Nuzvid. See Chapter on *Śaṅkara* poem on this Zamindar and Index.

3. Printed, Madras.

4. The manuscripts are with Mr. T. R. Sundararaghavachariar, M. A. L. T. Tiruvendipuram and Mr. T. R. Saṅgacchari, Adyapete, Cuddalore.

His proficiency in music was manifested in the poem of songs, *Amṛtamaṭhana*¹ on the style of *Gītagovinda* and on the same he has left an incomplete poem. He wrote commentaries on *Nāgānanda* and *Mṛtchakatikā*.

Among poets of Tiruvahindrapuram there were others equally great. *Aṣṭāvadhānam* Anantācārya, whose *extempore* composition of *Samasyas* and enigmas was a wonder. In some of his verses he artistically wove the names of *rāgas*, e.g.

चिकुराली तु बराली वदन तव भाति शङ्करामरणम् ।

Deśikabhakta Kavi Venkatācārya talked in verses to his last breath and some of them are now remembered locally.²

731 Sonthi Bhadradri Ramasaststrin (1856-1915) was a Velanāṭi Vaidiki Brahmin of Pithapur in Godāvāri District. He was the son of Gangāramayya of Gautamagotra. A great Sanskrit scholar and poet, he adorned the Courts of the Zamindars of Urlam and Lakkavaram. Besides Śrī Rāmavijayakāvya, and Sambarāsuravijaya-campū, he wrote a play *MUKTAVALI*.

732 Padmanabhacarya was an advocate at Coimbatore and passed away about fifteen years ago. He wrote the plays *Ḍhruvaṭapas* and *Govardhanavilāsa*³. They are divided into scenes and do not follow the rule about *Ankas* (acts).

733 Sankara Lala was the son of Mahesvara of Bhāradvāja-gotra. His mother was Monghibai. He belonged to the family of Prashmora Nagar Brahmins of Kathiawar. He was born in 1844. He was proficient in *Avadhāna*. He was made Principal of Sanskrit College at Morvi at the age of 21. He then wrote *Rāvajirājakīrtivilāsa*, a poem on the royal family of Morvi State. He wrote the *Kaṭhas*, *Anasūyābhayudaya*, *Bhagavātibhāgyodāya*, *Candraprabhācarita*, *Maheśa-prāṭhapriyā*, a long poem *Bālacarita* and minor poems *Pāncalicarita*, *Arundhativijaya*, *Prasannaopāmuḍra*, *Kesavakṛpālesalahari*, *Bhogavātibhāgyodaya*, *Kailāsayātrā*, *Bhrāntibhayabhanjana*, *Meghnaprārthanā* and several *śloṭras* and *prastāsis*. Among his dramas are *Sāvitrīcarita*,

1 For instance

उदिताम्बुजसदनात् उदिता शशिवदना ।

2 I am indebted for this information to Mr. Chetlur T. B. Sundararaghava-chariar, M. A., L. T.

3. Printed at Coimbatore with English translation.

Ḍhruvābhyudaya, Bhadrāyurvijaya, Gopālacintāmaṇi, Kṛṣṇacandrābhyudaya, Vāmanavijaya and Parvaṭīparinaya. He was made Mahāmahopādhyāya in 1914 and passed away in 1916. In his memory, his admirers have founded Sankarāsrama, where sanyāsins are invited to deliver discourses on religion ¹

734 Narayana Sastrī of Radhāmangalam was the son of Vaidyanātha. He was Professor in the Sanskrit College, Trivadi near Tanjore and died in 1932. He says he wrote more than 108 works, of which 24 were dramas. Among them are Mahesvarollāsa, Uḍāra-rāghava and Mukundamanoratha, the last of which is on the sports of Kṛṣṇa ². The rest are not known.

735. Srinivasacarya son of Kṛṣṇamācārya, was born in 1863 near Tiruvadi, Tanjore District. He was Sanskrit Pandit in the Board School of Rājamadam. He wrote two plays, Ḍhruva and Kṣīrābdhisayanam which were staged in the school there. He passed away in 1932 ³.

736. Srisaīla Tatacarya son of Venkatavarada, of Śāthamarṣanaḡoṭra lived at Conjeevaram in 1862-1925. Besides a small play Yugālāṅgulīya, he wrote Vedāntadesikacarita on the model of Sankalpaspūryodaya on the merits of Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy, ⁴

737. Peri Kasinatha Sastry (1857-1918) was the son of Venkata Sastry of Gautamaḡoṭra. Ānanda Gajapati (1851-1897) Maharajah of Vizianagaram was his patron. He was a professor of Grammar and Rhetoric in the Maharajah's Sanskrit College, Vizianagaram. Besides minor poems, Gangāstava, Godāvarīstava and

1. Many of these works have been published and further particulars can be had from the poet's grandson Bhatt Shukdeo Khelsankar (S. K. Bhatt) Kathiavar.

2. Printed in *Samskr̥ta Kamadhenu*. Some verses on a maiden's ball play are fine.

अंसकसितकेशपाशमसक्तसदृष्टकांचीगुणम्
मुक्ताहारविधूर्णनाविगलितश्यामाशुक्रैस्तनम् ।
वत्सेपत्रमणावपातनमल्लतेशोडुगणस्थलम्
तन्त्रंगया ललितप्रकारबहुल तत्कन्दुकनीडितम् ॥
कुचकम्पिभिरञ्जलददुकूलैः सुहृद्वर्चनविशिष्टकटाक्षैः ।
कनरीकृतकङ्कणावुबन्धैः कुर्वते कन्दुकविभ्रमैर्विनोदम् ॥

3. The manuscripts are with his son R. S. Krishnamachariar, Rajamadam.

4. Rangasāmi Tātācārya wrote a poem 'Deśikābhyudaya' on the life of Vedānta deśika. See para 122 supra.

Durgāsoundāryasaṭaka he wrote the plays Pāncālikārakṣanam and Yāminīpurnatūlakā

To the same place Vizianagaram belonged JAYANĪI VENKANNA (1864-1924) He was a vakīl but devoted his time to Sanskrit learning Besides poems of melodious verse Abhinava-Rāmāyana a summary of Rāmāyaṇa in 700 slokas (printed in Telugu script), Mukundānandalahari (in imitation of Śivānandalahari of Sankarācārya) and Lakṣmī-paṭisaṭakam, he wrote Prahlādacampū on the story of Nṛsiṃhāvatāra.

738 Mūlasankara Maneklal Yagnik of Gautamagoṭra was born on 31st January 1886 at Nādiad in the Vadnagra Nagar Brahmin community from which came some of the celebrities of the Gujarati literature and the ablest Dewans of Native States of Gujarat and Kathiawar He studied in the Baroda College and graduated in the year 1907 After some service in the Indian Specie Bank, he became Principal of Rājakiya Sanskrit Mahāvidyālaya of Baroda. He was initiated into the cult of Śrīvidyā by His Holiness Abhinava Saccidānanda Bhārati, Sankarācārya of Sivaganga Pith in 1916 His proficiency in music is apparent from the Geya Padas of his Sanskrit dramas His Vijayalaharī is a minor poem In the field of historical research, he prepared genealogical tables of Solar and Lunar dynasties with a map of Jambūdvīpa and wrote a lucid prose summary of Viṣṇupurāṇa. His dramas are three, all with a historical grounding referable to standard works on medieval Indian history CHATRAPATI-SAMRAJYA in 10 acts describes the reign of Śivājī, PRATAPAVIJAYA in 9 acts depicts the life of Śrī Mahārāna Pratāpa Sinha of Mewar, and SAMYOGITA-SVAYAVARA exhibits the amorous intrigues of Pṛthvīrāja Chauhan, the last Kṣātriya Emperor of India For melody of diction, for grace of expression, for choice of scenes, Mūlasankara's poetry is much appreciated The introduction of songs that can be set to lyre and sung on the stage makes the plays very realistic ¹

739 Pancanana Tarkavāgīsa (Mahāmahopādhyāya) of Bhatpura (24 Parganas) was born in Bengali year 1273 and was son of Nandālāta Vidyārāṭha of Gautamagoṭra He is one of the greatest living erudite scholars of Bengal and he lives in Benares City. Besides a poem PARĪHASVAMEDHA published in the Viḍyodaya journal (now defunct) he wrote the play Amaramangala on the life of Rāna Amarasimha, son of Rāna Pratāpa, in Saka 1835 Among his illustrious ancestors was Alla Bhatta of Kānyakubja

1. All his works have been printed in Baroda,

740 Cantrakanta Tarkalankara (Mahāmahopādhyāya) was son of Rādhākānta and was professor of Philosophy and Rhetoric in the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta in 1883-1887 Besides Saṭī-pariṇaya and Candravamsa, poems in imitation of Kumārasambhava and Raghuvamsa and Alankārasūtra on rhetoric he wrote the play Kaumudīsudhākara ¹

741 Haridasa, Siddhānta Vāgīsa² was the son of Vidhumukhī and Gangādhara Viḍyālakāra of Kāsyapagoṭra He was born on 7th Kartick 1798 Saka (1876 A D) at Unashia near Kotwalipara in Faridpur District, East Bengal, a place described traditionally as "Second Kāśī where Brahmīns worship a hundred thousand idols of Śiva" Gangādhara's father, Kāśicandra Vācaspaṭi was an eminent scholar and was ninth in descent from Yādavānanda Nayācārya.³ Among his ancestors was the famous Maḍhusūdana Sarasvatī ⁴

Haridasa was renowned from boyhood for his piety and before he was 18, he had acquired high proficiency in Sanskrit literature At 14, he composed a play Kamsavadha and a campū Kamsavadha, at 16, the poem Śankarasambhava in 5 cantos, at 18, the play Jānakivikrama, and at 20 a poem Viyogavaiḍbhava

He was a pupil of Jivānanda Viḍyāsāgara Later, he wrote the plays Virājasarojinī, and Vangīyapratāpa, a poem Rukmīpīharaṇa and a romance Saralā. He also composed commentaries with historical introductions on Naṣadha, Māgha, Kāḍambarī, Dasakumāracaṇṭa and Sāhityadarpana and on the poems and plays of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūṭi ⁵

He was professor of Sanskrit in the Tol of Zamindar of Nakipur His present undertaking, an edition of Mahābhārata with a Bengali translation, has been highly appreciated and Ādiparvan and part of Vanaparvan have been published It is hoped that the learned scholar will live long to complete the edition

1. This information was kindly forwarded to me by Saṭīś Kumar, Managing Director, Borelley Corporation Ltd.

2. He bears titles Kāvyaśīrṣha, Vyākaraṇaśīrṣha, Smṛtiśīrṣha, Sāṅkhyarāja, Purāṇasāstra, Śabdacārya and Mahopadeśak

3. The earlier history of the family has been furnished to me by Jogesandra Bhattachārya, manager, Karmasachiv to whom I am indebted for varied information on modern Bengali authors.

4. See para 704 *supra*.

5. Most of these have either been printed at Calcutta or are in course of publication.

742 Deviprasada Sukla, Kavacakravartī, of Benares is a scholar of renown. He wrote a poem Lakṣmīnārayana and a play Nalacarita¹

743 Kalipada Tarkacarya is the editor of Samskritasahitya Parishat Patrikā, Calcutta. Besides commentaries on many poems and plays he wrote the plays Syamantakoddhāra and Naladamayantīya and an account of Kāvya literature called Kāvyaacintā²

744 K S Ramaswami Sastri is the son of K. Sundarama Iyer and Campakā Lakṣmī lives at Kumbakonam. Rāma-swāmī recently retired as District Judge. His appreciation of Sanskrit poetry is at once critical and æsthetic. His Rativijaya is a small play in five acts, suggested by Kālidāsa's story of Raṭi in Kumārasambhava and aims "at presenting the rebirth of love under a new inspiration and with true loyalty to Dharma and to God and at giving a new interpretation to an ancient and beautiful story and its underlying *motif* i.e. the Lord's sentiment in the Gīta. चर्मविरद्धो भूतेषु कान्योऽस्मि सरतर्षभ ।

745. V Krishnan Tampi, B-A, Principal, Sanskrit College, Trivandrum, has written some short plays for amateur dramatic entertainment with scenic directions, Laṭṭā, Pratīkriyā, Vanajyotsnā and Dharmasyasukṣmagathā³

746 Makalinga Sastri (M.A., B.L.) is an advocate of the High Court of Madras. He is the son of Yagnaswāmī, great-grandson of Tyāgaraja (better known as Rāju Sastrigal),⁴ and 12th in descent from Appaya Dīkṣita. He was born in July 1897. Love of Sanskrit has rightly been his heritage and young as he is, his writings are many and of merit. There are his minor poems such as Vanalaṭā, Nadīpūra, Vyājokṣapraṇāvali, Arthāntaranyāsapancāsaṭ, Bhāraṭīviśāḍa, Bhramara-sandēśa, Puṇjanahṭṭaya, Laghupāṇḍavacarīṭa, Laghurāmacarīṭa, and Drāvidāryāsuhāsiṭasaptāṭi. Besides short stories like Kaliprādur-bhāva, he has an abridgment in prose of Bhāsa's dramas, Bhāsa-kāṭhā-sāra, which has been widely appreciated by the Universities⁵. There are his plays Udgāṭṭridasānana, and Pratirājasūya. The latter dramati-

1. Published in Suprabhāta

2. Published in *Jl, Sam Sah Pt*

3. Printed, Trivandrum

4. Rāju Sastrī was a famous authority on Dharma Sastras and in the field of philosophy was an unrivalled professor

5. Some are printed in Udyānapatrīkā, Trivadi. Other minor poems have been collected under the title Kṛkṣīṇmālā. The manuscripts are with the author.

ses the anecdotes of Vanaparvan of Mahābhārata¹ In Kaundinya-prahasana the hero is a complacent glutton and his inevitable raids on the kitchen become impossible to thwart. It is said that appetite is "presented here as the root cause of fiction between the two classes of men--the owner and the trespassers" and appetite stands for all the incommittable animal cravings in man

747 R Shama Sastrin, B A., Ph D, has translated the play of German poet Lesing, *Amelia Galathea* in 11 scenes²

SECTION 5

Allegorical plays

748 Personification of inanimate beings and personal qualities or senses, shortly called, allegory, is as old as the vedic literature. The comparative superiority of the various organs and senses was often illustrated by dialogues and action. Such, for instance, are the controversies between *vāk* (speech) and *manas* (mind) and the *prāna* (life) and the five *indriyas* (senses)

अञ्जमट्टकार वाक्चमनश्चातीर्यतां, अह देवेभ्यो हव्यं वहामीति वागब्रवीत्, अह देवेभ्य इति मन ॥ तौ प्रजापतिं प्रश्नमैताभ्याम् । सोऽब्रवीत् प्रजापतिर्दूतीरेव त्वं मनसोऽसि, यदि मनसा श्यायति तद्वाचा वदति तत्सम्यक् । तुभ्यं । न वाचा छद्मवशित्वब्रवीत् । तस्मान्मनसा प्रजापतये छद्मति ॥

Kṛṣṇayajus, II. v. xi. 4.

The following story is in *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣat*, *Adhyaya*, VI.

ते ह्येते प्राणा अहश्चेत्येते विवदमाना ब्रह्म जग्मुः, तद्वोचुः, को नो वसिष्ठ इति । तद्वोवाच यस्मिन्व उत्क्रान्त इदं शरीरं पापीयो मन्यते स वो वसिष्ठ इति ॥ 7.

वाग्वोचकाम, सा सवत्सरं श्रोत्र्यागत्योवाच, कथमशक्तं महते जीवितुमिति । ते होचुः यथाकलाः, अवदन्तो वाचा, प्राणन्तः । प्राणेन, पश्यन्तश्चक्षुषा, शृण्वन्तश्श्रोत्रेण, विद्वांसो मनसा, प्रजायमाना रेतसैवमजीविष्येति । प्रविवेश ह वाक् ॥ 8.

चक्षुर्होचकाम, तत्सवत्सरं श्रोत्र्यागत्योवाच, कथमशक्तं महते जीवितुमिति । ते होचुर्ह्यन्धाः, अपश्यन्तश्चक्षुषा, प्राणन्तः । प्राणेन, वदन्तो वाचा, पश्यन्तश्चक्षुषा, विद्वांसो मनसा, प्रजायमाना रेतसैवमजीविष्येति । प्रविवेश ह चक्षुः ॥ 9.

श्रोत्रं होचकाम, तत्सवत्सरं श्रोत्र्यागत्योवाच, कथमशक्तं महते जीवितुमिति । ते होचुर्ह्यधोवाधिरा, अशृण्वन्तश्श्रोत्रेण, प्राणन्तः । प्राणेन, वदन्तो वाचा, पश्यन्तश्चक्षुषा, विद्वांसो मनसा, प्रजायमाना रेतसैवमजीविष्येति । प्रविवेश ह श्रोत्रम् ॥ 10.

1. Printed, Madras.

2. Printed *Jl. of Mys. Sanskrit College*, VII. 116.

मनो होच्चक्राम, तत्सवत्सरं प्रोष्यागत्योवाच, कथमशकत मद्गते जीवितुमिति । ते होचुर्यथा-
गृध्रा, अविद्वांसो मनसा, प्राणन्त प्राणेन, वदन्तो वाचा, पश्यन्तश्चक्षुषा, शृण्वन्तश्चोत्रेण,
प्रजायमाना रेतसैवमजीविष्मेति । प्रविवेश ह मन ॥ 11

रेतो होच्चक्राम, तत्सवत्सरं प्रोष्यागत्योवाच, कथमशकत मद्गते जीवितुमिति तेहोचु र्यथा-
ह्मीबा., अप्रजायमाना रेतसा, प्राणन्त प्राणेन, वदन्तो वाचा, पश्यन्तश्चक्षुषा, शृण्वन्तश्चोत्रेण,
विद्वांसो मनसैवमजीविष्मेति । प्रविवेश ह रेत ॥ 12

अथ ह प्राण उत्क्रमिष्यन् यथा महासुहृद सैन्धवः पद्वीशङ्कून् सवृहेदेव ह्वैवान्
प्राणान् सववर्ह, तेहोचुर्मांमगव उत्क्रमी., नैव शक्यामस्त्वदृते जीवितुमिति । तस्योमेवलिं कुरुतेति
तथेति ॥ 13.

सा ह वायवाच, यद्वा अह वसिष्ठास्मि, त्व तद्वसिष्ठोसीति । यद्वा अह प्रतिष्ठास्मि त्व
तत्प्रतिष्ठोसीति चक्षु । यद्वा अह सपदस्मि त्व तत्सपदसीति श्रोत्र । यद्वा अहमायतनमस्मि
त्व तदायतनमसीति मन । यद्वा अह प्रजातिरस्मि त्व तत्प्रजा रसीति रेत * * * 14.

749 In the fables like *Pancatantra*, animals are humanised and their dialogues impart ethical precepts. In *Aśvaghoṣa's Sāriputraprakaraṇa*, *Buddhi*, *Kīrti*, *Dhṛti* are personified and at the end of their dialogues, *Buddha* appears. This is adopted by *Kavikarṇapūra* in his *Carṇanyacandrodaya*, in which *Carṇanya* takes the place of *Buddha*.¹ Later literature has abundantly made use of this dramatic artifice to represent with vividness, tenets of particular schools of philosophy and other questions of religious controversy.

750 *Kṛṣṇamīra*² was an ascetic of the Hamsa order. He was a follower of Śaṅkara and missionary for the propagation of *Advaita* doctrines. It is said that among his several disciples there was one who was averse to the study of philosophy. To put him in the way, the ascetic composed the play *Prabodhacandrodaya* on the plan of *Purāṇanopākhyāna* of *Sri Bhāgavata*.³ With the apparent exterior of erotic ideas, it dramatises the supreme truth of *Advaita Vedānta* and ridicules the tenets of other schools of philosophy. The characters are personifications of abstractions. "The Evil king Error appears on the scene, as ruler of Benares surrounded by his faithful adherents, the Faults and Vices, while Religion and the noble king Reason, accom-

1. Ed, *Bibl Ind Calcutta*.

2. *Kṛṣṇamīra*, author of the *Vitavijaya Itamṛga* (CC, I. 595) is probably different.

3. III. 25-28.

panied by all virtues have been banished There is however a prophesy that Reason will some day be reverted into Revelation, the fruit of the union will be True knowledge, which will destroy the reign of Error The struggle for this union and consummation, followed by the final triumph of the good party, forms the plot of the piece ”¹

751 The prologue to the play mentions the victories of king Kīrtivarman,² and his general Gopāla over the armies of Karnadeva,³ as the occasion of immediate rejoicing and the enactment of the drama, recently composed, as an item in the programme of festivities Kīrti-

1 Ed Bombay Tran into Germ by Goldstucker, Kolnburg (gives end of 12th century), by Herzel, Zurich, into English by Taylor, Bombay On this drama, see Schnyler, *Bibl* 12, Macdonell *SL* 366-7, Weber, *IL* 207, S Levi, *TI*, 229-35 H Brookhaus, *Int to Edn* (Leipzig), M Williams, *IW*, 508, *Jl Tal Ac* III 408-22, *Kash*, *SD* 251 (This contains a very full and critical account of the play and its time). *S.R.* II, 67 For quotations in the anthologies, see Peterson, *Subh* On the Bibliography of Kṛṣṇamīṣra, see *JAOS*, *XXV* 189

VENKATESH VAMAN SOVANI, discovers a long metre at the end of Act IV, a passage forming a magnificent hymn of Ādikesava at Benares

अमरचय (चम्) चक्रचूडामणिश्रेणिनीराजितोपन्तपादद्वयाम्भोजराजवखथोतखधोत-
किर्मीरितखर्णपीठ स्फुरदद्वैतविभ्रान्तिसतानसंतसवन्दारुससारनिद्रापहारेकैदक्ष क्षमामण्डलोद्धार-
समारसवद्दृष्टाप्रकोटिस्फुरच्छैलचक्रकमामान्तलोकत्रय ।

प्रबलभुजबलोदध (हू) तगोवर्धनच्छत्रनिशा (वर्ष) रिताखण्डलोद्योजिताकाण्डचण्डाम्बु-
वाहातिवर्षत्रसद्गोकुलत्राणविस्मापिताशेषविश्वप्रभो ।

विबुधरिपुबधूर्वासीमन्तस्त्रिन्दूरसन्ध्यामयूखच्छटोन्मार्जितोद्दामधामाधिप तस्तदैत्येन्द्रवक्ष-
स्तटीपाटनाकुण्ठमाखवखश्रेणिपाणिद्वयसस्ताविषा (स्ता) रिरत्ताणैवामलोकत्रय ।

त्रिभुवनरिपुकैटभोदण्डकण्ठास्थिकूटस्फुटोन्मार्जितोद्दामदोर्दण्ड खण्डेन्दुचूडप्रिय प्रौढदो-
र्दण्डविभ्रान्तसन्ध्यावलम्बुधदुग्धाम्बुधिप्रोत्थितश्रीभुज(जा)वह्नै (हि) संश्लेषसक्रान्तपीनस्तमामोण
वक्षवलीकम्बितोरस्थल स्थूलमुत्तपलोदारहारप्रमामण्डल(प्र)स्फुरत्कण्ठ वैकुण्ठ मत्तस्य
क्रौंस्य संसारमोहच्छिद देहि बोधोदय देव तुभ्यं नम ।

2 According to the Mahoba inscription, the king Kīrtivarman here referred to was a Chandella king who with his general Gopāla defeated Karna, king of Oedi. There is, however, some difference between the accounts given in the inscription and the play Kīrtivarman is mentioned as the friend of Gopāla in the drama, whereas in the inscription, the latter is said to have been the general of Kīrtivarman

3. Karnadeva, son of Gangayadeva, was the king of Oedi (1040-70 A D) who joined Bhima, king of Gujarat in crushing Bhoja, the king of Malwa, about 1060 A D K. Smith, *BH*, 398, Benodini, *History of Nepal* (*JASB*, (1903), 13), S Levi *de Nepal*, II, 212 note. R. D. Banerji, *Palae of Bengal*, (*JASB*, *Memoirs*, 1913). M. Duff (*Chronology*) gives the date about 1090 A.D.

varman ruled between 1049 and 1100 and his victory over the Karṇa-deva was about 1063 A D ¹

The geneologies² of the Kamakoti Pīṭha record that Mankha and Kṛṣṇa-miṣra were contemporaries of Candrasekhara Sarasvatī the 47th occupier of that seat (1097-1165 A D)

752 There are commentaries on the play by Rudradeva,³ Gaṇeśa,⁴ Subrahmanyaśudhī,⁵ Rāmadāsa,⁶ Sadāṣṭamamuni,⁷ Ghanasyāma,⁸ Maheśvara Nyāyāṅkārā,⁹ R V Dikshit,¹⁰ Ādhyānātha,¹¹ and Govindā-mṛta ¹²

753 Venkatanātha's Sankalpasūryodaya is an answer to Kṛṣṇa-miṣra and inculcates Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy¹³ Venkatanātha is Vedāntadesika

[GOPALACĀRYA was the son of Rangācārya of Vadhūlāgoṭra and lived at Mannārgudi and Pudukotta in 1881-1907 Rangācārya's father

1 Hulsloh (*EI*, I 220) shows that the play was composed between 1050 and 1116 A D and refers to coincidence between the passage relating to Kīrtivarman and a passage in Mahoba inscription See Grierson, *JRAS*, (1908), 1136

2 मङ्गलश्रीजयदेवकृष्णसुहृदप्रेष्ठमहिष्ठैर्वृत
विद्वद्धि परित क्षिति विरचयन् यात्रा विजेतां कृती ।
विद्यालोककुमारपालचपतेस्ससत्समुत्तसित
हेमाचार्यमपि व्यपाकृतगिरावागष्टकव्याकृतम् ॥

Puṇyasthokamanjari, 20-

See also N K Venkatesa, *Sankaracarya and his kamakoti Peetha* (Kumbakonam), 28

3. *Cal Bod* 281 Ed Bombay with Candrikā.

4 *CC*, III, 75

5 *DC*, XXI. 8429 *Tanj* VIII 8436 He was son of Venkatesa and Venka-lāmbā of Ponduri family

6 *Trav* 77 He was son of Vināyaka Ed, Madras, Leipzig and Poona. A manuscript is dated 1545 A D.

7 *CC*, II 78, 211 His original name was Gaṇādhara. The Ms. is dated Śaka 1486 (1571 A D)

8 *Tanj* VIII 8432

9 Ed Calcutta, Leipzig

10 Ed Poona

11 Ed Shibpur

12 *TC* III 8818 Printed 1888, Trivandrum. He was apparently an ascetic and disciple of Prakāśatīrtha

13. See para 120 *supra* There are commentaries on it by Abhinā, by Kauṣika Śrīśaila Tāṭārya (Ed Conjeevaram), by Nārāyaṇa, and by Rāmānuja (*CC*, II. 168, 232)

was Gopālācārya, the well known scholar of eminence of Mannargudi under whom Mahāmahopādhyāya Raju Sastrigal studied. While yet very young, Gopālācārya was master of all the sastras and for his special proficiency in poetry and poetics he was honoured by then Maharaja of Pudukottah. In 700 verses in Arya metre called Arya Saptasatī apparently named after Govardhana's work he wrote a biography of Vedāntadeśika, replete with devotion and poetic beauty. Parts of the book were published in Pudukotta Sanskrit Journal and will, I am told, be completely edited by his younger brother R. Srinivasachariar, State Vakil of Pudukotta, who has himself composed a short poem on the Lord. His elder brother is R. Krishnamachariar, the present Assistant Administrator of Pudukotta.

On Vedāntadesika, there are also the poems Deśikastotratratnamanjūsā and Śrīsūktiratnakara and Cetlur Śrīnivāsācārya's Abdamālikā.]

754 The attempt of Kṛṣṇamīśra to establish the truth of particular tenets of religion by allegorical representation has been fruitful in the production of similar plays covering also the range of theology and ceremonial.

755 Gokulanatha was a poet of the court of Fatteh Sāha of Śrīnagara, and contemporary of king Rāghavasīmha of Miṭhila who ruled in 1615 A.D. His Amritodaya¹ treats the story of the Jīvātman from creation to annihilation. His Maḍālasā² is a play on the marriage of Madālasā³. His Rasamahārṇava is a treatise on rhetoric and Śivasataka a lyric in praise of Śiva⁴.

756. Yasappala was the son of Dhanadādeva and Rukmīṇī of the Moḍha family and himself minister of king Ajayadeva. His MOHAPARAJAYA⁵ is an allegorical play in 5 acts celebrating the support given by king Kumārāpala to the Jain religion. The play was first enacted at Tharapadra, probably the capital of Marwar. Yasappala was one of the eminent men who heard the first reading of Maturātana's Amāmasvāmīcarīṭa at the temple of Śāntānātha at Patan in Sam 1252 (1306 A.D.)⁶

1. Ed. Bombay. See S. K. De, *SP*, 291. See para 1, *supra*.

2. *CC*, II, 97. There are Maḍālasāparīṭaya⁷ (anonymous) and Maḍālasā by Rāmabhatta, *CC*, I, 426.

3. Ed. Kavyamala, Bombay.

4. Ed. *GOS*, Baroda.

5. *PR*, IV, xlix. III, App. 89, 208. Keith, *SD*, 258.

757 Samaraja Dikshita, son of Narahari Bindu Purandara, lived at Maṭhura in the latter half of the 17th century Ānandarāya Chief of Bundelkhand was his patron His *Irripurasundarīśoṭṭa* is in praise of Pārvaṭī¹ and *Kāvyaenduprakāśā* is a work on poetics.² Besides a farce *Dhūrṇanartaka* he wrote *Srīdāmacarita*,³ a play in five acts in 1681 A. D. describing the elevation of Sridāman or Sudāman, companion son of Kṛṣṇa, to sudden affluence "The opening of the piece is in the style of our ancient moralities, and in the first Act Poverty and Folly are said to assail Sridaman, who is abnoxious to Laxmi for his attachment to Saraswati or, in other words, who prefers learning to house and lands, for Fortune, it is said, will not even glance upon the pious and wise but flies from them in proportion as they are devoted to philosophy and virtue. On the other hand, Krishna or Vishnu employs the same agents to recover those whom fortune has corrupted. Folly, entering into their hearts, prepares the way for Poverty, and when reduced to distress, their minds are weaned from wordly affections and they are fitted to heaven. These allegorical personages effect their purpose with Sridaman, by demanding the rites of hospitality, and being accordingly admitted into his dwelling."

His son Kāmarāja wrote the poem *Sṅgārakalikā*,⁴ his grandson and great-grandson, v. rajarāja and Jivarāja composed commentaries on *Rasamanjari* and *Rasaṭaranginī*.⁵

758 In *Dharmavijaya*,⁶ BHUDRVA ŚUKLA demonstrates, in five acts, the advantages of a life regulated by spiritual ordinances and lived in 16th century A.D. He also wrote *Rasavilāsa*.⁷

759 Bhuminatha called Nallā Dikṣita was son of Bālacandra of Kausikagoṭṭa.⁸ He was pupil of Rāmalāhadra Dikṣita and wrote *Dharmavijayacampū* on the life of king Shahaji of Tanjore (1684-1710)

1. Ed. Bombay,

2. *BB* (1887-21), No 601.

3. *CC*, II 68, III. 142, with a commentary also. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II 404-6. See also S. K. De, *SP*, 320

4. Ed. Bombay

5. See under Bhānuḍaṭṭa, Chapter on *Alankara post*

6. *IO*, VII 1598. Printed, Bombay and *Sar. Bhav Series*, Benares. See Mitra's *Notices*, I. 37. There is a commentary by his disciple Bhavanāṅkara (*IQ*, VII 4188).

7. Printed, *Sar Bhav Series*, Benares

8. See para 162 *supra*.

A.D.¹ Besides the play *Subhadrāparinaya*² and *Śṛṅgārasarvasvabhāṣa*³ he wrote the allegorical plays *Cittavṛttikalayāna*⁴ and *Jīvanmuktikalayāṇa*⁵.

760 Jagannatha Sighrakavi was a poet of Kalthiawar and lived in the 17th century during the days of Nānā Fatāvis. His *Śaubbhāgyamahodayanātaka* represents all alankāras as courtiers in the Durbar of Maharajah Vakhatsingji of Bhow Nagar recounting their functions.⁶

761 Anandarayamakhin describes the marriage of Jivātman or the individual soul and Vidyā or spiritual wisdom. The real author of this play *VIDYAPARINAYA* was *VEDAKAVI* and by him it was attributed to his patron Anandarao Peshwa, minister of Sārabhoja I and Tukkoji, kings of Tanjore in the 18th century. *Anandarāya*⁷ is referred to by Vancīsvara in his *Mahīṣasāṭaka*⁸. *Vedakavi* also wrote *Jivānandanātaka*, a play of similar import.

762 Jataḍevas of Visvāmītragoṭra performed Soma sacrifice and became an ascetic. He lived in Malabar about 1800 A.D. His *Pūṅnapuruṣārthacaadrodaya*⁹ represents the union of king *Paśāva* or *Ātman* possessing ten horses (representing ten senses of man) and *Anandapakvavallī*. The various systems of thought are introduced as demons and are vanquished, and *Suśradḍhā*, and *Subhakṛti* bring about the union.

763 Mallari Aradhya was the son of *Sarabhaśārādhya* of Chaganta family probably of the Kṛṣṇa District. His *Śivalīngasthodyaya* in five acts is intended to establish the supremacy of Viṭaśaiva religion. He composed it for the delectation of Basavesvara of Kandukūri family, probably a local chief of Kalyāṇapura of the 18th century A.D.¹⁰

1. *Tanj.* VII. 3269.

2. Probably *CC*, I. 726.

3. *Tanj.* VIII. 3609. Printed Bombay.

4. *CC*, I. 186.

5. *CC*, I. 207.

6. *Mod. Rev.* XVI.

7. *Tras.* 73. See para 165 *supra*.

8. See para 163 *supra*. A similar satirical poem is *Kāṭāṭaka*, censuring one Kāṭāṭi, a courtier of King Ekoji of Tanjore. (*Tanj.* VII. 3038).

9. *DQ.* XXI. 8417.

10. *Mod. Rev.* 3195.

764 NRSIMHA'S Anumitipariṇaya explains the Nyāya doctrine of inference Anumiti, the daughter of Parāmarsa, marries Nyāyarasika Nṛsimha was son of Venkatakr̥ṣṇa of Bhāradvājagoṭra and lived in Triplicane in the beginning of the 18th century A D ¹

GHATTA ŚESACARYA, son of Rāmanuja of Vādhūlagōṭra, belonged to Kavītārka family and lived about the beginning of the 19th century A.D. at Manchalagadda, Madras Presidency ² His Prapannasapindī-karaṇanirāsa established that for Prapannas there cannot be Sapindī-karaṇa.

KRSNANANDA Vācaspati has lessons on grammar in the form of a dramatic entertainment in his Nātyapariśiṣṭa or Antar-Vyākaraṇa-Nātyapariśiṣṭa ³ Ramescandra's Saralacīṣukhīsarā is a similar work ⁴ Narasimha's Sivanārāyaṇamahodaya is a philosophical play in honor of a prince of Keonjhor ⁵

765 Madabhūsi Venkatacarya was son of Anantācārya of Naidhrvakāśyapagoṭra His play Sudḍhasaṭva inculcates Viśiṣṭā-ḍvaiṭa doctrines ⁶ He lived in Samarlakota about 1860 A.D

766. Rani Mahagni Cinna Narasimha Kavi, popularly known as Rani Cayanulu was born in 1862 in the village of Yenugumahal of Godavary District After spending sometime with Ānanda Gajapaty Raj, Maharaja of Vizianagaram, he became an ascetic. He was a mathematical prodigy and died very recently at Bezwada His drama Cīṣūryaloka is allegorical ⁷ and his two works Kālamānopapaṭṭi and Tīṭhumanjari indicate his astronomical scholarship

767 Harihara's Bhārṭṭharinirveda, ⁸ Ghanasyāma's Pracandarāhūdaya, Nārāyaṇasāṣṭrīn's Brahmavidyā have been noticed Besides these

1 DC, XXI 8362

2 Ibid. 8424

3 Printed Calcutta

4 Printed, *Ji Sam Sah* XVIII.

5 CC, III 184

6 The manuscript is with P. V Subramanya Sastri, Sanskrit Pandit, Rasole, Gadaveri District

7 Mr. P L Narasimham, Advocate, Vizagapatam, tells me that this play is different from the one of the same name (printed, Vizianagram) by Mudumbal Narasimhaācārya and that he had seen another old play of the same name elsewhere

8 See para 268 *supra* Eld Bombay Analysed by Gopinatha in his edn. of *Satatas*, Bombay. Translated into English by L. H. Gray, *JAOS*, XXV. 1. It is doubtful whether he is identical with Harihara, the author of *Prabhāvaṭipariṇaya-nāṭaka* (in *Mitra* VII, No 2895, *Levi* II 77, 88, *CC* I 354, 762) Schryder (*Bibl*)

plays there are the following allegorical plays — Jñānasūryodaya of Vādicandra,¹ Saṅsangaviṇaya of Vaidyanātha,² Saṁmatanātaka of Jayanta-bhatta,³ Mukṭipariṇaya of Sundaradeva,⁴ Bhaktivaibhava of Jīvaḍeva,⁵ Vivekacandrodaya of Śiva,⁶ Vivekaviṇaya of Rāmānuja,⁷ Śāntīrasa of Vaikunṭhapuri,⁸ Vedāntavilāsa of Varadācārya,⁹ Mithyājñānakhandana of Ravidāsa,¹⁰ Śivabhaktānanda,¹¹ Gairvaṇaviṇaya of Bālakavi,¹² Svānu-bhūṭyabhidhā of Anantārāma,¹³ Jīvanmukṭikalyāna of Mallā Somayājīn¹⁴ and probably Śuklesvara's Pramānādarsa.¹⁵

768 Ramadeva or Vāmadeva is known better by the pet name Ciraṅjīva. He was son of Raghavendra Bhattācārya, who was a renowned Śatāvadhānī¹⁶ and grandson of Kāsīnātha, the great palmist

treats them as identical. Bhartṛhari's fourth Paḍḍhati Śāntipadḍhati is found mentioned in *Int. to Cat. O. P.*

1 Printed Bombay CC, I 210 Composed in 1580 (?)

2 CC, I 690 Probably Mithyācāraprahasana (CC, I 455) and Kṛṣṇaśīla nāṭika (CC, I 123, II 247) are his works

3 PR, V 437

4 Tanj VIII. 3465. He probably wrote Vīnoḍarāṅgaprahasana (CC, I, 577).

5. He wrote on the Court of Pratapasimha Gaṇapāṭi of Orissa about 1500 A. D. He also wrote Bhaktibhāgavata. This is Kṛṣṇabhaktīrasāyana (play) noted in Kaviṇḍācārya's List (GOS), Baroda, No. 1987

6 Gough, 106

7 DC, XXI 852L.

8 CC, II 152. See on the author's other works CC, I, 591, where he is called also Viṣṇupuri. His verses are quoted in Paḍyāvalī

9. CC, I 29

10 Printed, Calcutta IO, VII. 4200.

11. CC, I 650.

12. Printed, Faizhat.

13. CC, I. 752.

14 Rice, 266

15 CC, I 658.

16 Raghavendra was a great poet and his Śataśloki is marvellous. Ciraṅjīva quotes verses of other poets in praise of Raghavendra, e.g.

अयं हृदिहरसिद्धेरधिकम्भसरस्वती ।

साक्षाच्छतावधानस्त्वमवतीर्णोऽसदस्वती ॥

पुरुषपादरणी साक्षादवतीर्णो सरस्वती ।

जितस्वतावधानतो विष्णुनापि न जिघ्रता ॥

This feat is described by Ciraṅjīva thus in Vīḍvanmoḍaṭaṅgi (I 10-12) thus

एकैकमेकैकविप्रयुक्तं श्लोकस्थितं वर्णमप्यवस्थम् ।

आकर्ण्य तत्सङ्ख्यमप्यप्रयुक्तं स्वयङ्कृतं श्लोकचतं च वर्णम् ॥

of Bengal Rādhāpur was his place. He was patronised by Yasavant-simha who was the Naib Diwan of Decca about 1731 A.D. He wrote *Vṛttaratnāvalī* a work on prosody with illustrations in his praise,¹ and the poems *Śṛṅgāraṭatini*,² *Kalpalatā* and *Sivastotra* and *Madhava-campū*³ and *Kāvya-vilāsa* on poetics.⁴

His *Vidvanmodataranginī* is a unique composition.⁵ It is a humorous quasi-dramatic work, where he brings together the followers of various religions and irreligious creeds and in the course of their dialogues, pools together the essence of various philosophical doctrines.

769 [SATAVADHANI VEMURI SRI RAMASASTRIN was born in 1870 in Juvvīguntā Agraharam in Kandukur Taluk of Nellore District. He is a 'Velanati' vaidiki of Harita-gotra. In his early days he studied Veda, Śrauta, and Jyotiṣa at the feet of his father, and afterwards studied Sāhitya and Vyākaraṇa. *Saṭāvadhānam* was his favourite hobby and from the age of 24 he travelled from Cape Camorin to the Himālayas exhibiting his scholarship at different chief centres. In Poona, he was highly appreciated by Dr Bhandarkar under whose auspices he performed wonderful feats of memory, and in Baroda he was highly rewarded by the Gaekwar for a similar performance. In 1903 he went to Kashmir and dedicated to him a Sanskrit work called "Graveyaka Bandha" and in 1911 was presented at the Delhi Durbar for his work called "Dhelli Prabha" or "Durbar Khaneda." Through his chief pursuit is Sanskrit, he is now able to speak in 14 languages fluently, and can write poetry in Telugu, Sanskrit and Hindu. His Sanskrit works are "Avadhāna Vidhānam," a work describing the process of Avadhāna, *Gurukalpam* and *Nūṭanodyānam*. He is still living at Bezwada.

रीलानया स्लेकण्ट कवीनां द्युतस्य निर्वक्यवधारयित्वा ।

समस्या पूर्तिमतीकृत्यैवं स्वर्गं कृतस्लोककवी तथैव ॥

Rāghavendra's teacher was Jagadisa. Tārākaṇṭha whose gloss on *Kāvya-prakāśa* was copied by one of his pupils in 1677 A.D. See Gopināth Kavirāṇi's *History of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Literature* (Sar. Bhawan Series, V 148).

1. CC, I 597, PR, V 455

2. *Caṣṭh* (1897), 23

3. Printed, Calcutta.

4. Edited by Bātuknath Sarma with introduction, *Sarasvatī Bhawan Series*,

5. Printed, Calcutta and Madras.

VINJAMURI VIRARAGHAVACARYA, (1855-1920) was a Vaisnavite of Kausikagoṭṭra, and was his coworker. He belonged to Donta-varam in Tanuku Taluk of West Godavary District. He lived at Bezvada and was for many years the Samskrit Pandit in High School there. He was a versatile Samskrit scholar and poet and wrote the following works in Samskrit: Rāmānujaslokatrāyī, Mansasandesa, Hanumat-sandesa, Pānaka-Narasimhastotra, Raghuvīragadyavyākhyā, Caṭusloki-vyākhyā.

Abhinava Panditarāya Mādabhūṣi Venkatācārya (? -1897) of blessed memory was the forerunner of the performance of Avadhānas of the modern day. Though he was a genius in Samskrit, no Samskrit work is now available.

Divākara Tirupati Sāstrin and Chellapilla Venkata Sāstrin are famous as Tirupati Venkata kavis throughout the Āndhradesa, as performers of Sātāvadhānam. Their Samskrit work is Kalisahasram.

Devulapalli Subbarāya Sastrin (1853- ?) and Thammanna Sastry (1862- ?) were famous sātāvadhānis and were known as Devulapalli brother poets. They were poets of the court of the Maharajah of Pithapuram and both were versatile scholars in Samskrit. Among them, Subbarāya Śāstrin wrote a work called Rāvuvamsāmukṣāvalī.¹

SECTION 6

Chayanataka

770 Chayanataka, literally shadow-play was considered by Wilson to denote the shade or outline of a drama. "intended to introduce a spectacle of the drama and processions." As a dramatic genre it is not recognised by Sanskrit writers on dramaturgy. But Nīlakantha, in commenting on rūpajīvan in Mahābhārata (XII, cxcv, 5) wrote

रूपोपजीवनं जालमण्डपिकेति दाक्षिणात्येषु प्रसिद्धम्, यत्र दृश्यवस्तु व्यवधाय चर्ममयै-
राकारैः राजाभात्यादीनां चर्या प्रदर्श्यते ।

"Rupopajivanam is called Jalamandapika among the southerners where, having set up a thin cloth, the action of kings, ministers etc., is shown by leathern figures."² This is the picture-show known in South India from time immemorial. The pictures made of leather or

1. See "Hymavatiparinayam" or *Lives of Modern Telugu poets* published by Raja Bhujanga Rao of Ellore.

2. Wilson, *Theatre*, II, 41, 30; Levi, *VI*, 241.

ard-board are manipulated by persons behind the screen, so as to move and shake the images falling on the screen as in magic lantern shows, and the dialogue is repeated by the persons from behind the screen quite dramatically. It approaches a Talkie of modern days.

Vāṭṣyāyana mentions Ākhyānaka-pata "which is evidently a roll of canvas containing the representation of a short story in several scenes like the *Famapata* which was spread by a spy of Cāṇakya before the people in Candanadāsa's house and was exhibited by them with songs.

तर्हि जनपद पसारिअ पटतस्मि गीदारिं गाइदुम् । — *Mudrārāṣasa*, Act I

771 Subhata is highly praised by Somadeva and Namisādhu. His *Dūtāṅgada*¹ was enacted in the reign of King Tribhuvanapāladeva of Anhilvid about 1242 A.D. during a festival held in commemoration of the restoration of a Śiva's temple at Somanāth by King Kumārāpāla deva (1147-1172 A.D.). It describes the embassy of Angada to the Court of Rāvaṇa and on failure of the negotiations, the beginning of the war.

There are at least two recensions of *Dūtāṅgada*,² the shorter that has been printed in Bombay and the larger that is preserved in the India Office Library.³

772 Vyasa Ramadeva wrote three such plays *Rāmābhyaṇa*, *Pāṇḍavābhyaṇa* and *Subhadrāparinaya* about 1402-1415 A.D.⁴

1. Ed. *Kāvyamāla*, Bombay. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre* (II 390). Translated into English by L. Gray, *JAOS*, XXXII 58 (where there is full discussion of *Chāyā nātaka*). See also Bendall, *JRAS*, (1898), 229, M. Duff, *Chronology*, 189, Schuyler, *Bibl* 85. There is a similar drama by Bhubbhatta, (*CC*, I 4). Here is a fine verse

भो भो रावण रावणा कति बहूनेतान् वयं शुभ्रुः

प्रागेकं किल कार्त्तवीर्यनृपतेर्दोदण्डपिण्डीकृतम् ।

एकं नर्तनदापितामकबलं दैत्येन्द्रदासीजनैः

एकं वक्तुमपित्रपामह इति त्वज्जेषु कोन्योऽस्यवा ॥

2. Pischell says there are as many *Dūtāṅgaḍas* as there are manuscripts. For a summary of them, See *CC*, I 257, II, 55, III 55.

3. *IO*, VII No 4189. On the Eggeeling says not only is the dialogue itself considerably extended in this version by the insertion of many additional stanzas, but 'narrative verses are thrown in, calculated to make the work a curious hybrid between a dramatic piece (with stage directions) and a narrative poem.'

4. *DO*, XXI 8485, *CC*, I, 728, II 122, III 161, Levi, *App* 77, *IO*, VII 4187 where manuscript was copied in 1471 (?) Bendall, *JRAS*, (1898) 281; *Cat*, 106-8. Analysed by Levi, *TI*, 342 and Eggeeling (*Cat*, No, 4187).

under the patronage of Kalacuri kings of Raypur Vitthala's Chāyānātaka is based on the history of the Adilshāhi dynasty of Bijapur (1489-1660 A.D.)¹ Sāvitrīcanṭa of Śankarāīāla is called a Chāyānālaka.² Haridūta deals with the story of Kṛṣṇa's mission to Duryodhana before the war.³

773 Traivikramam is a short dialogue between Sūtradhāra and Natī describing the Vāmana incarnation, as depicted in a painting which they were apparently looking at. In the technique of dramatic construction it is unique and but for the mention of the words Sūtradhāra, nāṇḍi and 'enter' it can only be called a dialogue. The *third* picture is described, this indicates that the actors were seeing a series of pictures probably of the several incarnations and Sūtradhāra was describing the purāṇic story connected with each, one after another. This is the third in the series and the last words show that the speakers pass on to the next picture. The plot is shortly this

"Vāmana appears before Bali, son of Hiranyakasipu at the close of the Asvamedha sacrifice performed gloriously by Bali. Bali as customary towards the end of any sacrifice was ready to grant any gifts and Vamana along with Brihaspati, the minister of the Devas, in a mortal coil, appeared before Bali and asked for a piece of land that can be measured by three strides. Bali was ready to grant the request. Samhlāda, his chief minister, pointed out that Vāmana was only Viṣṇu in disguise who killed his father Hiranyakasipu, the conqueror of the three worlds. Bali could not recede from his promise, such a distinguished guest ought to be satisfied, Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, moves away from the donee to the donor, and he grants Vāmana's request by pouring water into his hands. Suddenly Vāmana grows into a Visvarūpa expanding to the corners of the universe. Rākshasas blinded by the Vishnumāyā fought among themselves talking their brethren for Viṣṇu. Thus most of them perished and Bali was set as the emperor of Pātāla."

Traivikrama is neither a poem where the poet narrates the story, nor a play where the narrator is absent and a mere conversation of characters is presented to the audience with action as in a play

1. See B&C 251. CC, I 198. Printed, Bombay

2. Luders, SPAW, (1916), 698,

3. CC, I, 457.

M R Kavi says "If it is not the drama of Bhāsa it may be ascribed to any of the Pallava kings preferably to Mahendravikrama or Narasimhavishnu" and adds Traivikrama is mentioned for its unique characteristics by the commentator on Śākuntalā. "The commentary is called Charchana, a large fragment of which was brought from Malabar and preserved in G O Mss Library, Madras Besides Traivikrama the commentator refers to dramatic irregularities of all the thirteen dramas of Bhāsa and Vināvāsavadattā and Chandālarāmāyana The last mentioned work alone is not yet available to us The commentator of Charchana may be older than 300 years as the style shows and probably a native of Malabar

774 In Telugu Literature, in a poem known as Krīdābhīrāma, translated from a Vīdhī in Sanskrit, reference is made to this kind of composition The two characters, Tiṭṭibha and Govinda pass through the streets of Warangal in its palmy days under Pratāparudra II and describe the various street scenes in a graphic and interesting manner. The painted canvas represents Palnadu heroes (63 in number) who with a naughty boy of the profession acting under the influence of songs sung by a professional lady strongly exhibits the ecstasy and blind zeal displayed by the feudal lords in their internecine quarrel brought about by the passions of the heroine, Āruvellināyanāru "

775 Early writers have distinguished story-telling as by caṅṅika, grāṇṭhika, saubhika which may respectively mean narration of a story with the help of a painted scene or by song and action or by dress and deportment The following passage of Abhinavagupta (Nāṭyaśāstra, Gaekwad Edition page 174) supports it

तत्रापि नाट्यञ्जयात्मकतैव नाट्यस्यैव द्वयी भागानिप्यन्दाश्चित्रपुलिकापुस्तप्रभृतयो ग्रन्थि-
कादिपरिकल्पितसाक्षात्कारकल्पप्रलयसम्पदा ।

Bhojaḍeva in his Śṅgāraprakāśa distinguishes this kind of composition as Akhyānaka and defines it thus

आख्यामकसङ्गान्तर्लभते यदभिनयन् पठन् गायन् ।
ग्रन्थिक एक कथयति गोविन्दवदवहिते सदसि ॥

Traivikrama may be called Ākhyānaka

To appreciate its peculiar characteristics, the piece is printed here :

श्री

लै वि क्र म म्

(नान्यन्ते तत प्रविशति सूत्रधार सह प्रियया)

सूत्र—आर्ये, तृतीये खलु चित्तपटे—

दैत्येन्द्रमौलिमणिघृष्टिकिर्णकृतस्य
पादस्य यस्य गगनोद्गमगर्वितस्य ।
त्रैविक्रम त्रिभुवनाततमदभुत य-
द्भूतैर्विमुक्तमखिल वटवामनस्य ॥

नटी—णमो भगवदो वटवामनस्त अय्य, तदो तदो (नमो भगवते वटवामनाय ।
आर्ये, ततस्तत) ।

सूत्र—आर्ये, धृयतां दैत्येन्द्र बलिं वैरोचन कृताश्वमेधमवश्वधस्नात सुक्ताजालालङ्कृतो-
त्तमाङ्ग कृष्णाजिनावलम्बितोत्तरीय पत्नीसहित वरप्रदानामिमुख त्रिदशगणभूतहितार्थमुपाध्यायरूप
बृहस्पतिं पुरस्कृत्य स्वयं वटवामनो भूत्वा वामदेव्य सामोद्गाय यज्ञसमृद्धिं प्रशसन्नुपसृतो
भगवान्महाविष्णु ।

नटी—तदो तदो, (ततस्तत)

सूत्र—ततस्तं दृष्ट्वैव प्रह्लादितमनसा बलिनाप्यमिहित वृणीष्व वरमिति ।

नटी—तदो तदो (ततस्तत)

सूत्र—तत आह्वापयन्निव मम गुरोर्यज्ञकरणार्थं त्रीन् विक्रमानिष्कामीत्युक्तं भगवता ।

नटी—तदो तदो (ततस्तत) ।

सूत्र—तत ऐश्वर्यमदगर्वितेन तेनाप्यविचार्यमाणेन बाढं ददामीत्युक्तं बलिना ।

नटी—तदो तदो (ततस्तत)

सूत्र—ततो लक्षणैर्विमलविशालबुद्धिहृदयेन संह्लादनाम्नामात्येन वारितं न दातव्यमिति ।

अयं स विष्णुर्मनसाप्यजेय सुरासुराणां सुखचोक्रकर्ता ।

वटश्च नायं सकलं विजेतुं प्राप्नोति यदि स्थाव्र जलं प्रदेयम् ॥

अपि च—

मित्याशु तव जघान वृषिहृत्स्पी वक्षःस्थलं नखस्रुष्वैर्निधितैः पुरा यः ।

साक्षाद्विरण्यकशिपुं सुरदैत्यनार्थं प्राप्तास्त्रिलोजितवरप्रवर विरिञ्चात् ॥

इत्युक्तः संह्लादेन ।

नटी—तदो तदो (ततस्तत)

सूत्र—तत —

सोऽय यदि स्यादहिभोगशायी शार्ङ्गासिचक्रोद्गदशङ्खपाणि ।
युद्धेष्वसन्नो यदि याचते मा दास्याभि सत्प्रव्रतमास्थितोऽहम् ॥

अपि चैतदप्युक्त बलिना—

देहीति यो वदति त प्रविशत्यलक्ष्मीर्नास्तीति यो वदति त पुनरभ्युपैति ।
तस्माद्दामि पृतिर्वी मयुसूदनाय श्रीरेव मां भजतु त प्रविशत्यलक्ष्मी ॥

इत्येवमुक्त्वा विसर्जित सङ्गादो बलिना ।

नटी—तदो तदो (ततस्ततः)

सूत्र—तत खरमुरनरकनमुचिप्रभृतिभिर्वार्यमाण प्रतार्यमाणस्तास्ताभिर्मर्त्यात्मनः
सत्प्रवचनमेवास्याथसुरगणहितकराभ्यां सुरगणाहितकराभ्यां कराभ्यां जाम्बूनदमय भृङ्गारभादाय
इत इतो भगवान्यथेष्ट तोय गृह्णाणेत्युक्त बलिना ।

नटी—तदो तदो (ततस्ततः)

सूत्र—तत सुरगणहितकरे असुरगणनिधनकरे अमलकमलदलसदृशे तस्मिन् करतले
प्रसृतमात्रे तोये द्विगुणचतुर्मिर्दोर्भिरलङ्कृत्य त्रैलोक्यप्रमाण प्राविजृम्भितो भगवान् दिव्यमूर्तिः ।

नटी—तदो तदो (ततस्ततः)

सूत्र—ततो विवृतवदनदण्डोष्ठभुकुटीपुटविषमीकृतरक्तनयनाः ससरम्भमहमहभिकया
समुत्थिता दैलेन्द्रसङ्घा ।

नटी—तदो तदो (ततस्ततः)

सूत्र—ततस्तत्तेजसैव त्व विष्णुरय विष्णुरित्यन्योन्य प्रहृत्य नष्टा दैत्याः, हृष्टा देवाः,
आहता देवदुन्दुमयः, अत्युद्धता वायवः, अतितपतिस्मादित्यः, पतिता वृक्षाः, भ्रान्ता मेघाः,
शान्तमिव नमः, स्थलिताः पर्वताः, क्षुमिता सागराः, प्रलीना वायुकिप्रभृतयो भुजङ्गेश्वराः ।
किं नु खल्विद—

प्रलयमिदमुपेतं किं नु माया न विश्वः

प्रभुरवतु हरिर्नी हन्त हा हा हता स्मः ।

इति विविधनिमित्तैर्मोहमन्यागतास्ते

भुवनपतिमुपेन्द्र सर्वलोका प्रणेष्टुः ॥

नटी—तदो तदो (ततस्ततः)

सूत्र—ततः—

नारायणाय हरये सुरासनाय त्रैलोक्यजन्मलयपालनकारणाय ।

देवाय दैत्यमथनाय जगद्धिताय विश्वम्भराहितकराय नमोऽभ्युताय ॥

इत्युक्त्वा प्रणिपतितानि सर्वभूतानि ।

नटी—तदो तदो (ततस्ततः)

सूत्र—विष्णोर्विजय विजयमित्युक्त्वा त्रीन् लोकास्त्रिस्तपकृत्वः मेरीं प्रहरन् पर्यङ्
ज्जाम्बवान् ।

दर्पान्धः पादलघो नमुचिरपसृतो गालेव गगन
सङ्घादः पादयोगादुपल इव गिरेर्भूमौ निपतितः ।

निष्ठैषा यस्य भूमिः सगिरिवनपुरा धत्तैव चलिता
धर्मज्ञः सत्यसन्धः सुकृत इव बलिधैर्यान् चलति ॥

अपि च—

स्वर्गं सुरेन्द्र इव दत्तमनेकमोगं
पातालमेत्य सुतल हरिणा स दैत्यः ।
मक्त्यार्चयन् परमया रमते विभक्त
किं वा करोति महता न समाश्रयोऽयम् ॥

नटी—रमणिञ्चो खु कहाजोओ, अणं चित्तपडं वण्णेदु अच्यो । (रमणीयः खलु
कथायोगः, अन्य चित्रपटं वर्णयत्वार्यः)

अर्ये बाढं हरिपदकथा सेयमन्तं प्रयाता
भक्तिर्भूयात्तव च मम च श्रीधरस्याङ्घ्रिप्रपन्ने ।
नश्यत्वेवं दुरितमसकृत्पश्यतां नृसतां नः
स्वस्थो राजाप्यवतु वसुधां सास्ति गोब्राह्मणेभ्यः ॥

(त्रैविक्रमं समाप्तम्)

776 "In Java the Rama cycle may be treated in the dramatic categories of the *wayang purwa*, a shadow play produced by puppets of buffalo leather, the *wayang topeng*, and the *wayang zwong*, produced by masked and unmasked men respectively, and the *wayang beber*, in which pictures are unrolled and explained by the *dalang* (Juynboll, *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, xiii, 4-5) In many respects the latter, as the manager of the puppets and the speaker of the dialogue, in which he modulates his voice according to the various characters of the drama 'Serruner, 95-96, 106-112, Hazeu, 7-9,) corresponds very probably to the Sanskrit sutradhara, although his name seems to signify merely, stroller, strolling player,' and it has been suggested that he was primarily a priest who rendered worship to the ghosts represented by the shadows cast by the puppets on the curtain in the *wayang* (Hazeu, 23-24, 39-57) At all events, we are justified in seeing in the Javanese *wayang purwa* or shadow play, the analogue of the Sanskrit *chayanataka* and both are without doubt the congeners of the Chinese shadow play, the Turkish *garagos* and the marionettes which, originating in India, have spread throughout Asia and Europe to be enacted at the present day (see, for example, Pischel, *Heimat des Puppenspiels*, Rehm, *Buch der Marionetten*, Jacob, *Erwähnungen des Schatten-theatres in der Welt-Literatur* and *Geschichte des Schatten-theaters*, together with the literature cited in these works"

SECTION 7

Miscellaneous Plays

777 On Weddings Draupadīparinaya of (i) Peri Kāśinātha of Viṣṇanagaram¹ and (ii) Kṛṣṇa, son of Nṛsiṃha,² Pāncālīparinaya of Addankī Bālasūri³, Rukmīnīparinaya,⁴ (i) of Ātreya Varada⁵ and (ii) of Kaviṭārkikasimha,⁶ Goḍāparinaya (i) of Śrīsaṁa Śrinivāsa⁷ and (ii) of

1 He died in about 1929. His son Tātaryudu is vice principal, Sanskrit College, Viṣṇanagaram.

2 DO, XXI 846

3 TC, III 8128

4 There is Prṥhvīrāja's poem Rukmīnikṛṣṇavallī, PR, V 185

5 Tanj VIII 3502 Printed Bombay. He lived at Venkatagiri in 19th century.

6 DO, XXI 8410, 8489, CC, II 163 He lived at Guṇṭakūṭi (Kuttakandi) in S Arcot Dist. and was of Śrīvaṣaṅgaṭṭa He was the nephew of Kṛṣṇa abovementioned.

7. DO, XXI 8399,

Kesāvanāṭha,¹ Subhadrāpariṇaya (i) of Nallākavi,² (ii) of Raghunāthācārya,³ Vallīpariṇaya (i) of Bhāskara, son of Śivasūrya of Śrīvatsagoṭṭra,⁴ and (ii) of Virarāghava,⁵ Nīlāpariṇaya of Venkatesvara, son of Dharmarāja,⁶ Marakatavallīpariṇaya of Śrīnivāsa, son of Devarāja,⁷ Rukmīṇīharāṇa of Se-acintāmaṇi,⁸ Lakṣmīkālyāṇa (i) of Sadāsiva Dīkṣita⁹ and (ii) of Mānavikrama¹⁰

Madālasāpariṇaya,¹¹ Pārvatīsvayamvara,¹² Sītāvivāha by Sesādri of Bhāradvājagoṭṭra,¹³ Bhāmīpariṇaya¹⁴ (i) by Saṭthagopācārya¹⁵ and (ii) by Venkatācārya,¹⁶ Bhānumatīpariṇaya,¹⁷ Candrakalāpariṇaya by Nṛsimha,¹⁸ Saugandhikāpariṇaya,¹⁹ Indirāpariṇaya by Virarāghava, son of Śrīsaila,²⁰ Indumatīpariṇaya,²¹ Jānakīpariṇaya (i) by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa²² and (ii) by Sītārāma,²³ Kalyāṇīpariṇaya,²⁴ Kāmakṣīpariṇaya,²⁵ Kanakavallīpariṇaya,²⁶ Uṣāpariṇaya by Śrīnivāsa,²⁷ Lakṣmīsvayamvara by Śrīnivāsa, son of

1 CC, I 159

2 TC, I 1040 He was son of Bālacandra of Kausikagoṭṭra He wrote Śṛṅgārasarvasabhāṇa. He says he lived at Kandaramanīya where Uḍḍanda also lived in 15th century.

3 CC, I. 728

4 DC, XXI 8589 See para 187 *supra*.

5 CC, III 118 HR. III. ix, II. ix Written in the time of king Sivaji of Tanjore See para 163 *supra*

6 Tanj VIII, 8415. In CC, I. 302, there is one by Dṛghbhavaṭ.

7 *Ibid* 8450

8 CC, I, 527.

9 Trav 78

10 Trav. 191

11 CC, I 426

12 CC, I. 886

13 Tanj VIII. 3524 He lived at Onjeesvaram and wrote also Rāmanillāśakāvyā.

14. See CC, I 416

15 CC, II 95

16 CC, I. 416

17 Levi, App, 78

18 CC, III 88 He is author of Nanjarājayaśobhagaṇa. In the prologue Kaṣīpaṭi probably the author of Mukundānanḍabhāṇa, is praised

19 CC, I 787

20 HR, III. 1749, ix

21 CC, I. 59

22 CC, I 206

23 CC, I. 206.

24 CC, I. 86.

25 CC, I 94.

26 CC, I. 78

27 CC, I. 71 There is Uṣāharāṇa of Harṣanāṭha, Schnyler, Bibl 41

Rāmānuja,¹ Vakulamālīnīpariṇaya by Vīravallī Śrīnivāsa,² Vijayendurā-pariṇaya by Subrahmaṇya,³ Pāncālīpannaya by Balasūri of Srīrangam,⁴ Mīnākīpariṇaya by Annāsāstrin⁵ and Lavalīparinaya by Lakṣmīpaṭi⁶

778 On Kṛṣṇa Kṛtārthamādhava by Rāmamānīka Kavirāja,⁷ Kṛṣṇalīlā by Vaidyanāṭha Tattaṭ,⁸ Kṛṇakutūhala,⁹ Bālikāvanciṭṭaka,¹⁰ Rāmā-Rādhā,¹¹ Kamsānṭaka by Hariyajvan,¹² Kṛṣṇabhakṣīcandrikā by Anantaḍeva,¹³ Vaidarbhīvasudeva by Sundararāja¹⁴

Rāmacandra and Abhinavagupta quote from Hejjala's Rādhā-vīpralambha, e.g.

मेवाद्यङ्गिषिषिण्डिताण्डवविधावाचार्यक कल्पयन्
निर्वादी मुरजस्य मूर्छिततरां वेषुस्वनापूरितः ।
वीणाया कलयन् लयेन गमकानुग्राहिणीं मूर्छनां
कर्षलेष च कालकुट्टितलयां रम्यश्रुति षाडवे ॥

CAYANI CANDRASEKHARA was the son of Vājapeyi Gopīnāṭha-rājaguru, religious teacher of the King Virakesari Rāmacandra of Bundekand of the 17th century A.D.¹⁵ His Maṭhurāniruddha is a drama in eight acts with no prakṛt in it, on the secret lives of Uṣā towards Aniruddha who was kidnapped by her maiden Citralēkhā on her behalf

779 On Rama Raghuvīracarita by Cakravarṇa Vedāntasūri,¹⁶ Śiṭārāghava of Rāmapāpīvāda,¹⁷ Kusala-vijaya by Venkatakrṣṇa,¹⁸

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- 1 CC, I 540, III 114.
 - 2 TC, I 1047 See para 242 for the author
 - 3 CC, II 185
 - 4 TC, III 3123 He says he wrote at the instance of king Rājasekhara
 - 5 Mys 279.
 - 6 Mys 282
 - 7 CC, III 25
 - 8 CC, I 128, Uḥar, 998
 - 9 CC, I 119
 - 10 Mentioned in ND.
 - 11 Mentioned in BP
 - 12 Mys 686
 - 13 Trav 180
 - 14 Trav 181
 - 15 CC, I 426 Analysed by Wilson, Theatre, II. 396.
 - 16 TC, II, 299, He lived in Villambakam, near Chingleput He was of Srīvaṣe-gotra His descendant Goṛāla, son of Venugopāla, wrote Pratiṣṭhāparāghava (TC, III, 8066.)
 - 17 DC, XXI 8558 See para 177 supra
 - 18 Trav. 76,

Rāmāyananātaka by Somesvaradeva,¹ Muḍitarāghava by Salakṛṣṇa,² Śītānanda by Tātācārya,³ Rāmarājyābhīṣeka of Virarāghava,⁴ Kṛṣṇārāvaṇa, Jānakīrāghava, Rāmābhinanda, Vālivadha, Chalitārāma, Nirdoṣadasaraṭha, Māricavancitaka, Māyāpuṣpaka,⁵ Abhirāmarāghava by Anapoṭanāyaka, Amogharāghava,⁶ Abhinavarāghava of Kīra-swāmin⁷ Prapanna-Vibhīṣana of Lakṣmana Sūri,⁸ Abhirāmamāni of Sundaramiśra,⁹ Harāvasāna by Kanhyalal Pancatīrtha,¹⁰ Raghuvīracarita of Sukumāra,¹¹ Anjayanavijaya of Bhāṣyakara,¹² Janakajānan-dana of Nṛsimha,¹³ Praudhābhirāma of Venkatanātha¹⁴

MAHADEVA was son of Kṛṣṇasūri of Kaundinyagotra and lived at Palmaner in the Madras presidency Nīlakantha was his contemporary and so he belongs to the first half of the 17th century His Adbhuta-darpaṇa narrates the progress of Rāma's war onwards from Hanūman's return from Ceylon¹⁵ RAMAKRSNA was the son of Tīrumala of Vaṭsa-gotra and pupil of Ramendrasarasvatī Probably owing to the surname Bhavabhūti he had, he thought of writing a play Uṭṭaracarita to imitate Uṭṭararāmacarita It is said that he lived in the 18th century He describes his family in the Colophon thus¹⁶

श्रीमन्महाकुलप्रसूतस्य श्रीवत्सगोत्रस्य सकलविद्वज्जनमुकुटालकारहीरस्य जगन्नाथमहाराज-
पौत्रस्य काव्यनाटकालंकारसर्वज्ञस्य पदवाक्यप्रमाणज्ञस्य वैकटाद्रिमहाराजपुत्रस्य श्रीरामैवसरसती-
चरणारविन्दसेवातत्परस्य श्रीमदनगोपालमन्त्राचिन्तनापरस्य शब्दशास्त्रविशारदस्य सकलकला-

1. PR, III ap 896.

2. OC, II, 108.

3. OC, II 2275

4. Tanj. VIII 2718.

5. Mentioned in SD, SK, ND, BP, DR, or AB

6. Mentioned in RS.

7. Mentioned in ND. See Chapter on Alankāra post and Index

8. Printed Sah Vols XX, XXII and XXIII He also wrote a drama Ghoṣāyātrā For the author, see para 246 supra

9. OC, I 26. Analysed by Wilson, Theatre, II, 395 It was composed in 1599 A. D.

10. Printed, Jl. of Sam, Sah. Par. Calcutta.

11. Trav. 78.

12. Mys. 273

13. Mys. 276

14. Mys. 278

15. Ed. Kavyamāla, Bombay

Mahadeva Sastri, author of Unmaṭṭarāghava (play) (OC, I 66) and Mahāḍeva Kaviśācārya Sarasvatī author of Dānakellikūma di Bhāṇikā (OC, I, 244) are different

16. HR, I. and Mtr 69

प्रवीणस्य आश्रितजनरक्षणदक्षस्य तिरुमलमट्टारकस्य पुत्रेण मधुभूतिना विरचितोत्तरचरित नाम नाटक समाप्तिमगम् ।

AIRATRA-YAJVAN was a younger brother of Nilakantha and lived in the middle of the 17th century. He was himself well-versed in the *tantras* and *kratus*, besides being born a poet and commentator, he was a specialist in the Śaiva-Siddhānta. His *Kuṣa-kumuḍvatīyam*, a drama in five acts, describes the loves of Kuṣa, the eldest son of Rāma, and Kumudvatī, the princess of the Nāga race. He is also known to have written a poem called the *Pratī-Raghuvamśa*, obviously on the history of the Solar race, and *Tripuravijayacampū*.¹

780 On Bharata *Asvamedhanātaka* by Sumaṭṭatāmīṭṭamalladeva, king of Bhalgoan,² *Pāṇḍavavijaya* by Jayarāmamahāḍeva,³ [*Draupadīswayamvara*, *Pāṇḍāvānanda* and *Vilakṣa-Duryōdhana*],⁴ *Bhīmaparākrama* by son of Saṭṭānanda Abhinanda,⁵ *Abhimanyunātaka* by Sāligrāma,⁶ *Ghoṣayātra* of Śiṭṭalacandra.⁷

781 Puranic. *Yayāticarita* of Mayyan Rāmārya of Trivandram,⁸ *Bhaktivijaya* of Śrī Dhūrjatiprasada Kāvyaṭīrṭha,⁹ *Subhadrārjuna* by Kesavaśāstrin,¹⁰ *Subhadrādhānanjaya* of Gururāma,¹¹ *Subhadrāharana* of Mādhavabhatta,¹² *Subhadrāvijaya*,¹³ *Candrikā-Janamejaya* by Paḍmanābha,¹⁴ *Manmathābhyaḍaya* by Venkatesa,¹⁵ *Prabhāvatīpradyumna*

1 *Tanj* VIII 3378 See para 154 *supra*

2 *CG*, III 8.

3 Called also *Sabhāparvanātaka* *HPR*, (1904) *Pāṇḍāvānanda* quoted by Dhanika is different

4 Mentioned in *ND* and *AB*

5 *TC*, IV. 4440. See para 59 *supra* On the battle between Bhīma and Jarā-sandha Abhinavagupta mentions the play

6. Printed, Calcutta. Here is a fine 'Nandī'

गौरीबाहुलताचक्रवर्त्योऽभिरञ्जसा ।

कण्ठोऽवर्जुनतां नीतः कण्ठो भीमसपातु व. ॥

7, Printed, Calcutta

8 *Mys* 1281

9 Printed, Calcutta.

10 *Trav* 182

11, *JSSP*, Calcutta, XI, on Prahlāda's story.

12 *CG*, I. 728

13 *CG*, I 728

14 *TC*, IV. 6570

15 *TC*, XII. 3263 He was contemporary of a pupil of Nilakantha (see para 144 *supra*).

by Rāmakṛṣṇa,¹ Hariscandracarita,² Uṣāniruddha by a king of Kāsi,³ Revatībālānka by Puruṣottama,⁴ Madanābhyūdaya by Venkateśa,⁵ Natesavilāsa by king Sivāji of Tanjore,⁶ Gangāvaṭaraṇa,⁷ Mangala-nātaka by Jivānanda Jyotirvid,⁸ Anarghanalacaritrā by Sudarsana,⁹ Hariscandranātaka by Prabhākara Śrīnīvaśa,¹⁰ Manmaṭhaviyaya by Venkatarāghava,¹¹ Anandacandrodaya by Raṅgīlāla¹²

782 Miscellaneous Natakas Kalyāṇapurāṇa by Tirumalā-carya,¹³ Jagadānanda by Haradeva, Samayasāra by Banarsīdas Sekhara-nābha,¹⁴ Candravilāsa (1) by Gangādhara,¹⁵ (2) by Rūdrasarma Tripāthi,¹⁶ Lingādurgabhedana by Paramānanda or Dādāmbhatta,¹⁷ Kusumāvacaya by Madhusūdanasarasvatī, Kamalā Kānthirava by Nārāyaṇādhvani, son of Lakṣmidhara,¹⁸ Candrarekhāvidyādhara,¹⁹ Nīlādrīcandrodaya by Vīra-rāghavācārya of Puri,²⁰ Prabhāvata by Raghunātha,²¹ Lakṣmīdeva-nārāyaṇīya by Śrīdhara,²² Gopīcaṇḍana,²³ Kalpanākālpaka by Śeṣagiri,²⁴ Sukābhūpatana by Śrīnīvaśa,²⁵ Śrīnīvaśadayavilāsa,²⁶ Sāhityasamūlāsa by Muddu Venkārya,²⁷ Siddhāntabherī by Sudarśanārya,²⁸ Muktācarita by Kṛṣṇakavi²⁹

1 OC, II, 79

2 Quoted in SP

3 BR, II

4 Tanj VIII 3504,

5 TC, III, 8303

6 It describes the story of the deity at Oldambaram

7 OC, III 80.

8 Printed, Benares It is in 9 Acts on the greatness of Devī,

9. Printed, Bombay.

10 Mys. 287.

11 Printed, Bombay. Trav 186.

12 Ulwar, 998 Composed at Baroda in 1849

13 Mys 275 He was of Śāthamarṣanagoṭra of Polepalli family and in the court of Polabhapāla of Gadval in Nizām's dominions in 17th century.

14. Gough, 308.

15. OC, II, 86

16. PR, III, 209, 884

17 Levi, App 80, OC, I, 544

18. Tanj VIII 8357. He lived in Brahmadēśam near Onjasetaram.

19. Tanj. VIII. 8394

20 Printed Onjesevaram It mentions King Mukundadeva of Orissa in the Prologue

21. Mys, 278

22 Trav 78

23 OC, I 163

24. Mys. 275.

25. Mys 282

26. Mys. 285

27. Mys. 286

28 Mys 286.

29 Tlana 1017

783 Prakaraṇa Sākṣivāsakumāra's Anangasenā-Harinandīni; Amātya Sankuka's Cītroṣṇatāvalambitaka, Tarangadattī, Puṣpadūṣitaka, Prayogābhyudaya, and Padmavatīparinaya,¹ Candrakānta's Kaumuḍi-sudhākara,² Gaṇapatiśāstrin's Mādhavivasantīya.³

Devīparinaya and Nalavikrama,⁴ Udayanacarita and Viḍhivilasiṭa,⁵ [Vikrānta Śūdraka, Mayūramārjālikā, Vedikā, Maṭṣyabasiṭa, Bhīma-kulyā, Rativilāsa, Lakṣmīsvayamvara, Subhadrāharaya, Rāsakāṅka, Mudrāsūveda, Śalinīsamvāda, and Saṭakarnīharaya],⁶ [Kāmaḍaṭṭa, Rāmānanda, Mahesvarānanda, Kandarapasambhava and Vīrānanda],⁷ Vakraṇḍagaṇāyaka.⁸

In Padmaprābhṛtaka, Śūdraka quotes from a drama Kumudvatī

कुमुदती प्रकरणे शूर्पकस्तौ राजदारिकां धात्री रहस्यमुपालमत—

उन्मत्ते नैव तावत् स्तनविषमसुरो नेदृता रोमराजि
नव्युत्पन्नासि च त्वं व्यपनय युवतीदोहल दुर्विदग्धे ।
व्युत्पन्नामिस्सखीमिस्सततमविनयव्रन्थमभ्याप्यसे त्व
केनेद बालपक्वे मनसिजकदन कर्तुमभ्युत्थितासि ॥

KRSNADASA'S Kalāvāṭī-Kamarūpaṃ describes the marriage of Kalāvāṭī and Kāmarūpa, son of King Kāmaketu of Kāśī, after rescuing her from the hands of a Rākṣasa who carried her away.⁹ KAVI-VALLABHA'S Abhirāmācīṭralekham is a long drama in 10 acts describing the marriage of Abhirāma and Cīṭralekhā, daughter of Bhujangarāja. It is said to have been enacted at Srīrangam at Cīṭra festival.¹⁰

784 Natika Anangavaṭī, Indūlekhā, Bhattaśrī Bhavanuṭacūda's Kauśalīkā,¹¹ Indumaṭī and Cīṭralekhā,¹² Padmāvatī,¹³ Vāsanṭikā of

1 Mentioned in ND or AS

2. Printed, Calcutta.

3 Trav 180 See para 247 *supra*.

4. Mentioned in ND

5 Mentioned in BP

6. Mentioned in SP.

7 Mentioned in RS

8 OC, I 54

9 DC, XXI 8991 Manuscript breaks off in fifth Act. The author lived in Malabar in the end of 18th century A D

10. TC, III. 8984 A Kavivallabha is mentioned as having composed Adītya-bhāṭīya (a Dharma Sastra). See TC, III 8688.

11 Mentioned in ND

12. Mentioned in SP

13. Mentioned in RS.

Rāmacandra,¹ Candraprabhā,² Kuvalayāvaṭi of Kṛṣṇakaviśekhara,³ Rāmānka of Dharmagupṭa,⁴ Candrakala (i) of Nārāyaṇa⁵ and (ii) of Viṣvanāṭhakavirāja,⁶ Śṛṅgāravāpikā of Viṣvanāṭhabhalla⁷

785 Vyayoga Nṛsimhaviyaya,⁸ Vijayavikrama by Āryasūrya o Kaundinyagotra,⁹ Bhīmaparākrama,¹⁰ or Jarāsandhavyāyoga, Vinatānanda or Pracandagaruda of Govinda, son of Śeṣayāgnesvara,¹¹ Pracandabhairava of Sadāśiva,¹² Jāmadagnyaviyaya,¹³ Vikrāntarāghaviya by Śrīkṛṣṇa and Viraraghaviya by Pradhāni Venkatabhūpati¹⁴

786 Prahasana,¹⁵ Candānuranjana of Ghanasyāma,¹⁶ Kuhanābhairava of Ayyalunātha of Bommaganṭu family of the Circars,¹⁷ Mundita,¹⁸ Ānandakosa,¹⁹ Bṛhat-ubhadra,²⁰ Dhūrtacarita,²¹ Dhūrtavidambana by Mahesvara,²² Dhūrtanartana by Sāmarāja,²³ Hāsyaratnakara²⁴

1 IO, 2848 composed in 16-17th century A D There is a poem Vāsantīkā-parṇaya of Naraśimha (CC, I. 566)

2 CC, I 181

3 CC, III 25

4 CC, I. 268 Written in 1310 A D

5 CC, I 179

6 Quoted in his SD

7 IO, VII 4196

8 DC, XXI 8410 TC, I R No 831

9 TC, II 1751

10 TC, IV 4440 There is Bhīmaparākrama of Mokṣādīpta, Cat of Br. Museum, 278

11 Tanj. VIII 3641 CC, I, 576, II 77 He lived at Benares and was a native of Nandipura a village on the Godavari He also wrote Gopālalīlāṇavabhāṣa (Tanj. VIII 3577) Govinda Kavibhuṣaṇa author of Samṛddhamādhava (CO, III. 86) is different.

12. Tanj VIII 3639

13 Printed, Bombay, Calcutta and Mysore Analysed by Wilson, Theatre, II. 374 There is commentary by Rāmakṛṣṇa, OSC, 226

14. Mys. 288

15 O Cepeller, Zwei Prahasanas, Gurupujamanmudi, Leipzig

16 Tanj VIII 3620 On the author, see para 168 supra

17 TC, III 3251.

18 CC, I. 8

19. Mentioned in RS.

20. Mentioned in RS

21. Mentioned in SD, 586

22 CC, I. 272

23. CC, I. 272. See para 757 supra Analysed by Wilson, Theatre, II 407.

24. Mentioned in DR, Int. p 30.

Nālavāla of Yadunandana, son of Vāsudeva Cayanī,¹ Sāndrakūṭṭhala of Kṛṣṇaḍatta,² Palāndumandana,³ Pāṇḍavidambana,⁴ Pavodhimāṭhana,⁵ Vinodaranga,⁶ Mithyācāra of Vaidyanāṭha, Kāleyakauṭṭhala by Bhāradvaḥ,⁷ Venkatesaprabasana by Venkatesvara,⁸ Kālikantakūṭuka by Rāmaḥṣṇa,⁹ Subhagānanda by Vāsudevanarendra akas Śrīvatsānka,¹⁰ Kautakasarvasva by Gopīnāṭha,¹¹ Ilāṣyārṇava by Jagadīśa,¹² Kālikeli,¹³ Kandarapakeli,¹⁴ Hṛdayavinoda of Kavi Pandita,¹⁵ Bhānuprabandha of Venkatesa,¹⁶ Devaḍurgaṭi of Rammoḃy,¹⁷

Sandilyaparivṛāja,¹⁸ Somavalliyogānanda by Arunagiriṇāṭha,¹⁹ Maṭṭavilāsa by Mahendravikrama Varman,²⁰ Kuṣṁbbharibhaikṣava by Praḍhānī Venkata Bhūpaṭi, Kuṣṁbbhari by Venkatacārya and Kuhanābhaikṣava by Tīrumanāṇāṭha,²¹ Lokarānjana by Śrīnivāsācārya.²²

SANKHADHARA flourished in the Court of king Govindacandra of Kanouj²³ in the 12th century A D His Latakamelaka, describes the marriages of ḍantura and Madanamānjari and is called also ḍanturāpariṇaya.²⁴

1 Printed, Bombay

2 *CC*, I 707

3. *CC*, I 380

4 *CC*, I. 386.

5. Mentioned in *RS*

6 *CC*, I. 577

7 Ed. Poona, *CC*, I 396

8 *CC*, I 602. He is called Kālikāśa.

9. *BR*, (1897) 1

10. *CC*, I 727, *Tanj* VIII 8684. He was another name Govindāśrīvatsāna and appears to have been a chief in Kashmir.

11 *CC*, I, 181, III 28 Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II 410 and by Cappeller in *Gurupajakaurandi*, Leipzig, 59-62

12 Ed by Cappeller, Jena, Ed Oxford, Ed Calcutta with Bengali translation. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II 408-9, *IC*, VII. 4191 8 with an English translation.

13. Mentioned in *RS*

14 Mentioned in *SD* 584 5

15 *CC*, II, 287

16. *CC*, I 405.

17 Printed, Calcutta.

18. *Mys*, *Sup* 18.

19. *Tanj* VIII 4637, *Mys*, 28 See para 185 *supra*

20 See para 48 *supra*. Keith, *SD*, 182, *Mys* *Sup* 12 T. N. Ramachandran *The Royal Artist, Mahendravarmān*, *JOR*, VII 219, 303

21 *Mys* 275

22 *Mys*, 268, 182

23. *See* *L4*, *XLX* 249 for grants dated Sam 1161 and 1168.

24. Printed, Bombay.

HARIJIVANAMISRA was the son of Lātamisra, and was patronised by a King named Rāmasimha. He lived in the 17th century A D.¹ A manuscript of his Vijayaparāṇatanāka is dated Sam 1730. He wrote also prahasanas, Prasangikā, Sahrīdayanandana, Vibudhamohana and Adbhutaranga.

KAVITARKIKA was the son of Vāṇināṭha. He was Court Chaplain of King Mānikyadeva of Bhuluya, one of the 12 independent chiefs who ruled in Bengal at the time of Moghul invasion in 16th century A D. His Kautukaratnākara is a pleasant prahasana ridiculing an imbecile king who relies on some knaves to recover his abducted queen.²

787 Bhana ³ Sṛṅgāraratnākara by Sundaratātācārya,⁴ Anangalaṭikā,⁵ Anangasarvasva of Lakṣmīnarasimha,⁶ Pancabānavijaya of Rangācārya,⁷ Pancabānavilāsa,⁸ Pañcāyudhaprapanca of Ṭṛivikrama,⁹ Madanagopālaviṭāsa of Rāma,¹⁰ Rasikāmṛta of Sankaranārāyaṇa,¹¹ Rasollāsa of Śrīnivāsavedāntācārya,¹² Sṛṅgarasṛṅgātaka of Ranganāṭha.¹³

Rasikaranjana of Śrīnivāsa, son of Nṛsimha of Praṭivāḍibhayankara family,¹⁴ Mukundānanda¹⁵ of Kāsīpaṭi, son of Ramāpaṭi of Kaundinyagotra, a nameless bhāna,¹⁶ Sarasakavikulānanda of Rāmacandra of

1. CC I 570

2. IO, VII 1618, 4197, CC, I 181, II 25 Analysed by ~~Appeller~~ ^{Appeller} in *Gurūṇuṭi-kāumudī*, Leipzig, 62-3

3. See *Analyse d'un monologue dramatique indien*, Paris.

4. Gough, 188

5. *Levi*, App. 73

6. *Tanj* VII 3574.

7. CC, I. 815 Printed Madras.

8. CC, I 815.

9. CC, I, 817, II. 261 It was composed in Śaka 1727

10. CC, I 425, II. 97.

11. *HB*, II. viii. He began to write poetry in his 11th year.

12. *Tanj*. VIII 3589, *TC*, I 1018 He lived at Bhuṭapuri (Śrīperumbadur) near Conjeevaram.

13. CC, II. 158.

14. He was Principal of Free Sanskrit College, Coimbatore. He died about 1900

15. Printed, Bombay and Madras. Enacted at the festival at Bhaṭṭagiri, Bhaṭṭa-calam near Nūṭanapuram, probably in the Circars.

16. *TC*, III. 3485 probably written at Trichur, Cochin State.

Veilāla family,² Manmathamodana by Kadayokudi Subrahmaṇya-sāstri,³ Vasantabhūṣaṇa by Varadārya of Bhāradvājagoṭra⁴

Sārādātīlaka⁴ (i) of Sankara⁵ and (ii) of Sesagiri,⁶ Śṛṅgāramanjari (i) anonymous⁷ and (ii) of Avadhūna Sarasvatī of Kāncī,⁸ Madanabhūṣaṇa of Appākavi,⁹ Śṛṅgāraṣṭabaka of Nṛsimha of Haritagoṭra,¹⁰ Rasaraṭnākara of Jayanta,¹¹ Śṛṅgārājīvana of Varada of Kousikagoṭra,¹² Śṛṅgārataranginī of Rāmaṇhadra,¹³ Śṛṅgāracandrikā of Srinivāsa of Śrīvāṭṣagoṭra,¹⁴ Śṛṅgārasundara of Īsvaraśarma of Bimbali,¹⁵ Śṛṅgārataranginī of Venkatācārya of Surapuram,¹⁶ Śṛṅgaravāpika of Viśvanātha,¹⁷ Anangamangala by Sundara,¹⁸ Śṛṅgaradīpaka by Venkatādhvarin¹⁹ Harivīlāsa by Haridāsa²⁰

Anangajīvana,²¹ Anangavijaya (a) of Sivarāmakṛṣṇa of Gauṭamaṅgoṭra,²² (b) of Jagannātha²³ Kandaravijaya of Ghanaguru, of Kausikagoṭra,²⁴ Candrarekhavīlāsa,²⁵ Mahiṣamangala by a Nambudri brahmin of Puruvana in Malabar²⁶

1 TC, II 1480. Enacted at Bhadrachalam in Godavari District

2. *Sah* VII

3 TC, I 1019 See Levi, *App.* 80 He was disciple of Varāḍadeśika who was himself disciple of Śrūṭapraśāśikācārya

4 CC, I 643. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II 384

5 CC, I 642, *Mys* 284 Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II 384

6 *Mys* 284 Helwas teacher of Maharaja Kṛṣṇaraja Odayar of Mysore It is full of *śabḍāṅkara*

7 TC, V 6306 The author wrote a poem Rāmacandrodaya

8 *Tanj.* VIII 3599

9 *Tanj* VIII 3582 See para 162 supra *JOR*, III, 71

10 *Tanj*, VIII 3607

11 TC, V, 6309 He lived at Śriperumbadur near Chinglepat

12. CC, I 661

13 CC, I 660

14 CC, II 187, TC, III 2989

15 *Trav* 79

16 CC, I 660

17 Analysed in *IO*, VII, 4196, CC, I, 661, II, 158. He was son of Mahādeva

18. CC, I 12

19 CC, I 661

20 CC, II 183

21. DC, XXI 8842, *Tanj* VIII 3566. He was the paternal uncle of Venkatādhvari, the author of *Viśvaguṇāḍarśa*

22 DC, XXI 8847 Enacted at Vamalur and composed at the instance of King Narasamahipāla, son of Cikkaḍavaraya and his son Kṛṣṇayuvārāja of that place.

23 *Tanj* VIII 3575 probably of Vizianagar See para 124 supra.

24 DC, XXI 8881 Enacted at Srirangam. See para 168 supra.

25 DC, XXI 8401 Enacted at Kolahalarājaśāhāni.

26 DC, XXI 8455 Composed at the instance of King Rājārājavarma of Cochin

[Kāmakalāvilāsa by Pradhānu Venkatabhūpati, Taruṇabhūṣana by Śāthakopa, Madanagopāla by Svayambhūnāṭha, Madanasāmrājya by Bhujanga, Rasodara by Surapuram Anṇayārya, Śrīranganāthalbhāna by Śrīnīvāsa, Śṅgāravilāsa by Sāmbasiva, Sārasvatollāsa by Venkatarāma, Kaṭṭavakalācāndra and Śṅgāravilasita by Nārāyaṇa]¹

Anangamangala by Sundara Kavi,² Anangasarvasva by Lakṣmī-
nṛsimha,³ Gopālalīlārāva by Govinda,⁴ Kāmavilāsa by Venkappa,⁵
Kusumabānavilāsa,⁶ Rasavilāsa by Cokkanāṭha,⁷ Rasikajanarasollāsa by
Venkata,⁸ Rasikajanamānasollāsa,⁹ Śṅgaramanjari and Śṅgārārāja by
Gopālaroya¹⁰

Śāradānandana of Śrīnīvāsācārya, son of Varadācārya of Kausika-
gotra,¹¹ Śṅgarādīpaka by Vinjumūri Raghavācārya,¹² Śṅgārāpāvana of
Vaidyanāṭha son of Kṛṣṇakavi of Srīvatsāgotra,¹³ Śṅgārārasodaya of
Rāmakavi, son of Rāmakṛṣṇa of Kāsyapagotra,¹⁴ Śṅgārāṭilaka of Avi-
nāsiswāmī, son of Rāma of Aṭṭreyagotra,¹⁵ Śṅgārāsarvasya (a) of Swāmī
Śastri, son of Anantanārāyaṇa of Hārīttagotra,¹⁶ (b) of Kausika Nalla-
budha,¹⁷ (c) of Vedāntācārya of Bhāradvājagotra,¹⁸ Haravilāsa by
Haridāsa¹⁹

1 Mys 225-227, 687-7, Sup 12

2 CC, I, 14

3, CC, I 12

4. CC, I 163 Ho also wrote Vinaṭānandavyāyoga (CC, I 576)

5 CC, I 98

6. CC, I 113

7. CC, II, 116

8 CC, III 106

9. Mys 281.

10 CC, II 158, 160

11 DC, XXI 8588. He lived at Srīperambadur, Chingleput Dt

12. DC, XXI 8584. He lived at Conjeevaram

13 DC, XXI 8585 He lived at Tiruvalur, Tanjore Dt He mentioned various
works of his in the prologue mostly śloṭras in praise of Śiva and Pārvaṭī.

14. Ed Bombay. DC, XXI. 8589 He lived at Līngamagunta in Guntur Dt

15. DC, XXI, 8540 Enacted at Varadattāpura near Srīrangapatam during 'the'
days of Śāmarāja, King of Mysore in the later part of the 19th century He was of
Vandavāsi family.

16 DC, XXI, 8542 He lived at Trichinopoly. He was the author of a commen-
tary on the Muḍrārākṣasa, DC, XXI. 8468

17 Tanj. VIII, 8609. He was son of Balacūḍṭa and Kinsman of Rāmabhadra
Dīkṣiṭa. See 14, XXXIII.

18. Tanj. VIII 8611 He lived under Rāmabhadra Naik of Madura of the 16th
century A D. Enacted at Tirupattī.

19. DC, XXI, 8568. He lived at Praudha-Devarayapuram.

Śringārarakasabhaṅgāra by Indraganti Kondasūri, son of Nārāyaṇa,¹ Maṇḍanāḷīlādarpaṇa by Paṇḍmanābha, son of Lakṣmaṇa and Venkaṁāmba.²

Kālikēhyatrā on the festival of Bhadrakālī at Kōṭṭinga or Cranganoor and Maḍanamahotsava,³ a satire on contemporary society⁴ of Śrīkantha alias Nanjunda, of Āṭṭreyagotra

Vallavīpallavollāsa by Maṇḍulācārya alias Kṛṣṇamūrti Kumāra, of Vasiṣṭhagotra of the Circars,⁵ Vasaṇṭabhūṣana by Nṛsimhasūri, of Vangipuram,⁶ Śṛṅgāracandrika by Śrīnivāsā, son of Varada of Śrīvaṭṣagotra,⁷ Anangatilaka by his son Ranganātha,⁸ Śṛṅgāraśanjīvana by Sathajī Kavi of Bhāradvāgotra,⁹ Maṇḍanāḷīlādarpaṇa of Paḍmanābha,¹⁰ Śṛṅgāralīlātīlaka of Bhāskara.¹¹

Pancabāṇaviyaya by Rangaraya,¹² son of Bhāvanācārya of Vādhūlagotra, Maḍanaviyaya by Seṭācārya, son of Vikkīrāla family of Kālahastī,¹³ Maṇḍanābhyaḍaya of Kṛṣṇamūrti,¹⁴ Maṇmaṭhābhyaḍaya of Venkaṭesa.¹⁵

1. *TC*, III. 8175 Enacted at Srisaillam in the Circars at the festival of Mallikārjuna. He says he also wrote Maheśamanasamaḥṭṣava, probably a poem.

2. *TC*, III. 8177 Enacted at Benares at Caitra festival. He was a Telugu Brahmin of Kotipalli, Godavari district. He also wrote the *Ṭripuraviyaya* (*Ibid* III. 8870) where see for fuller information.

3. *DC*, XXI. 8898

4. *DC*, XXI. 8442 He mentioned Oḍḍambara Kavi as one of his Gurus. He lived at Bālavāgghrapura (Sīrūpūliyur).

5. *TC*, III. 8696 There is another anonymous bhāṇa of this name (*Ibid* III. 2878).

6. *TC*, III. 8748 He was a native of Parāṅkusapuram (Ponvalaṇḍa Kalattur, Chingleput Dt.) Enacted at festival at Conjeevaram.

7. *TC*, III. 2989 He was the daughter's son of Vīrarāghava, probably of Conjeevaram.

8. *TC*, III. 8178 Enacted at Srīrangam.

9. *Ibid*, III. 804 The author's father migrated to Gutāla on the Godāvari from Conjeevaram. Enacted at the festival of Saṇṭānagopāla at Ellore and was patronised by King Venkaṭanarasimha, probably of Nuzvid.

10. *TC*, III. 8177 He also wrote *Ṭripuraviyaya*.

11. Printed *JSSP*, XVII June. He was a poet of Kerala patronised by a Śrī Vikramaḍeṇa.

12. *TC*, II. 2068 Printed, Madras and Calcutta. He wrote also *Rāmānujācampu* and *Ranganāyakaśaṇḍaryasūṭi*. Enacted at Srīrangam.

13. Printed Madras. He was Sanskrit Pandit, G. S. Mission College, Vellore.

14. *TC*, II. 2078, III. 2878. He is the author of *Yakṣollāsa*. See para 819 *supra*. He was also called Abhinava-Kālikāḍāsa but he was of Vāsiṣṭhagotra.

15. *TC*, III. 8208.

Vilāsabhūṣaṇa by Venkata Kṛṣṇa of Bhāradvājagoṭra,¹ Caturī candrikā by Venkatārya, son of Saranyapāda,² Śṛṅgārakośa³ by Gīrvāṇendra⁴ and Kāndarpadārpaṇa (i) by his son Śrīkantha,⁵ and (ii) by Śrīkṛṣṇa,⁶ Śṛṅgāramanjari by Viśvanātha,⁷ Madanavilāsa by Nāganātha,⁸ Kāminīkāṁukollāsa⁹

788 Sarada is mentioned by Saluva Narasimha as the authoress of eighteen plays and several poems in Sanskrit and Prakrit

गद्यपद्यमयै काव्यैस्साष्टादशनाटकै ।

साक प्राकृतकाव्यैश्च साहित्य शारदाभ्यधात् ॥

Rāmābhyaṇḍaya I.

789 In Virabhadraṇḍaya, EKAMBARA DIKSITA gives a pedigree of Kempe Gauda Chiefs of Yelamanka, Mysore (1418-1728 A D) and he flourished in the Court of the last of the line, Mummaḍi Kempe Gauda (1705-1728 A D)

790 Like Vatsaraja, PRADHANI VENKATABHUPATI of Mysore wrote plays of different species, Rukmīṣvayamvara (anka) Kuṣṁbhārībhāṣaṇa (prahasana), Kāmakalāvilāsa (bhāṣa) Urvasī-sārvabhouma (īhāmṛaga), Vibudhadānava (samavākāra), Viratāghavavijāya (vyāyoga), Sītākalyāṇa (vithi), and on poetics Alankāramanīdarpaṇa¹¹

वीचीस्थाने सहस्र मरतकपरिचरुर्ध्वि विभ्रदुजाना-

मुत्फेनो हारजालैरुणरुचिरनन्ताहिरत्नप्रसासि ।

विभ्राण. शङ्खमन्तश्चरमचरमनिर्वाणीय च तेज.

पायाद्व. शाङ्खधन्वा शयित इव समुद्रैकदेशे समुद्र. ॥

1 *TC*, II. 2223 Probably of the Oircars Enacted at the festival of Bhadrachallam.

2 *TC*, II. 2342 Probably a resident of Tirupati, Chittoor District staged at the festival at Tirupati

3 *Tanj* VIII 4649, *TC*, I. 989 He resided at Conjeevaram.

4 *Tanj* VIII 3596

5 *Tanj*. VIII 3576

6 *Mys. Sup* 13.

7 *TC*, II. 2618 He was a poet in the Court of Vemayamanṭri

8 *TC*, II. 2669.

9 *TC*, II. 2619.

10. See Puttaliya, *The Kempe Gauda Chiefs* (*JMys*, XIII. 724), *Mys Gazetteer* (1897), II 20, *Memoirs of Mysore*, Vol. II.

11. *Mys* 274-287, 296 There is Uḍḍhṛtavarṇakoṣara (prakṣaṇaka) by Bhāgavata Kṛṣṇa also of Mysore, (*Mys*. 274).

सोमालङ्कृतमस्तु वस्तु कुशलस्तोमाय वामाङ्गक-
च्छायाबालतृणालि च वैष्णवकलाचञ्चन्मृगाञ्चत्करम् ।
सन्वार्धस्फुरदशुजालकलमश्रेणीशिखाखण्डना-
कुण्ठोत्कण्ठशुकार्मकप्रविलसद्रामप्रकोष्ठाञ्चलम् ॥

लक्ष्मीर्धर्मजलच्छलेन सुधया दन्तच्छदच्छन्नना
सोदयेण च कौस्तुभेन शकलेनेन्दोर्ललाटात्मना ।
पाणिस्पर्शविधावमीभिरुचितैर्नीतेव दातु विभो-
रालम्ब्याङ्गमधोक्षजस्य भवतां कामप्रसू कल्पताम् ॥

शम्भोस्तत्प्रथम विहारभवन सम्माविताया रह-
स्तम्भोपान्तनिगूढसस्मितसखीनेत्राम्बुजैरर्चिता ।
चूडाचन्द्रसुलक्षिता मणिमये दीपेऽपि हस्तावृते
देव्या. प्रेमभय(र)त्रपाशबलिता मुग्धा स्थितिः पातु वः ॥

एक 'तत् पितरौ समस्तजगतामेणाङ्कुरेखाङ्कित
कारुण्यायतन वपुर्दिशतु व. काङ्क्षाधिकां सपदम् ।
यस्यार्धेन पितामहोऽपि पितृमानर्धेन च श्रीमता
मेनाजानिरवधव्यागिविजयते मेरोः सहायो गिरि. ॥

विघ्नेशो व. स पायाञ्जलनिधिमखिल पुष्कराग्नेण पीत्वा
यस्मिन्नुद्धृत्य हस्तं विसृजति सफल दृश्यते व्योम्नि देवैः ।
क्वाप्यस्म. क्वापि विष्णुः क च(न) कमलमूः क्वाप्यनन्तः क शैलाः
क्वाप्यौर्वः क्वापि मत्स्या. क चन मणिगणा क्वापि नक्कादिचक्रम् ॥

श्रीमद्दाम समामनन्ति कमलं तद्वान्धव वा ययो-
रक्षीन्दीवररूपमाहुरथवा तद्वन्धुरूप शुभा. ।
सावर्ण्यं तटिता वपुः शुभतरं धत्तेऽथवा तद्वता
भूयास्तां भुजगेन्द्रशैलवसती तौ दपती सपदे ॥

CHAPTER XXIII

Sahitya Sastra

791 Sahityasastra in its broadest meaning embraces the science of all poetic art, be it poetry for the eye (dr̥śya) or poetry for the ear (śravya), that is, all that a critic (sah̥ṛdaya) would expect in ideal poetic compositions¹. The words Alankāra and Rasa used by Bharata had come to be collated and annotated by his followers and early writers like Bhāmaha and Dandin, and the result was the advent of an elaborate literature of rhetorical lore, which by the correlation of matter came to embrace many subsidiary thoughts relating to poetry, faultless and meritorious

Strictly speaking, the word Alankārasāstra, though even now understandable in this expanded sphere, was replaced by the word Sāhityasāstra as early as the 8th to 9th century A. D. Rājasekhara in his Kāvya-mīmāṃsa has

आन्वीक्षिकी त्रयाविधा दण्डनीतयश्चतस्रो विधा इति कौटिल्य । पञ्चमी साहित्यविधा इति यायावरीय । सा हि चतसृणामपि विद्यानां निष्पन्द । शब्दार्थयोर्यथावत् सहभावेन साहित्यविधा ॥

There have been more than 30 treatises, named with the word Sāhitya, and it may be roughly said that latterly the word Alankāra has been used in names of treatises more for a limited sphere of treatment of alankāra (figures of speech) and rasa (sentiment). The word sāhitya is "derived from सहित=सम्+धा+क्त by the rule समो वा हितततयो meaning coherence, or (?) from सहित=सह हितेन meaning the quality of that which is attended with good"

Viśvanātha's Sāhityadarpaṇa may be taken as the type of treatises comprehending all spheres of the poetic science, viz

(1) KAVYALAKSANA—theory and definition of poetry with reference to its soul (ātman) or essence, rasa, alankāra, rīti, dhvani, vakrokti, &c.

1. On the history of Alankara literature, see S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, *Orientalia*, II 207. (The outlines of Rasa theory, from Bharata to Jagannātha), Vamanacharya, *Int. to Kavyaprakasa*, Durgaprasād, *Int. to Sahityadarpana*, P. V. Kane, *IA*, XLI, 124, Jacobi, *ZDMG*, LVI, 392, Winternitz, *IL* III 4, Medapalli Venkataramanacarya, *Alankaracarsitra* (in Telugu), and *Ints* to Nāṭyadarpaṇa and Bhava prakāśana in *GOS*, Baroja, V. V. Sovani, *Pre Dhvani Schools of Alankara*.

(ii) SABDAVYAPARA—denotation of words abhidhā, lakṣaṇā and vyanjanā, a philosophy of language or Hermeneutics,

(iii) NAYAKA AND NAYAKI,—hero and heroine and their relations and moods and classes

(iv) RASA—sentiments including their antecedent and resultant emotions

(These two heads cover Kāmasāstra or erotics)

(v) GUNA AND DOSA —merits and faults of poetry, classes of poetry, dṛśya and śrava, pādyā and gadyā and their varieties

(vi) NATYASĀSTRA—dramaturgy, all about the drama in its several varieties except the music and the dancing

(vii) ALANKARA proper—figures of speech

These are treatises dealing with all those topics or some or one of them only and all these go under the title Alankarāsāstra or Sāhitya-sāstra

To state briefly, therefore, Sāhitya or Alankarāsāstra means the Science of poetry. It embraces in its sphere, theory of poetry, the origin, form and variety of poet's work, its faults and merits, and a description of several embellishments which distinguish poetic from unpoetic compositions. In its widest sense it covers the field of music, dancing and erotics.

792. The earliest literature of the Hindus is poetic and is the natural effusion of man's instinct. But poetics as a science must be of later origin, for without a volume of poetry, (*lakṣya*) there cannot be a science (*lakṣana*) dealing with the regulation of its composition. Tradition says that Goddess of Learning, Sarasvatī, created Kavya-puruṣha as the Personification of Poetry, and the Creator sent him down to the human world for the propagation of poetics. In 18 chapters, he taught the subject to his seventeen pupils. The several topics were embodied by these disciples in separate treatises, Kavirahasya by Sahasrākṣha, Auktika by Uktigarbha, Rītinirnaya by Suvarṇapāṇbha, Anuprāsa by Prācētāyana, Yamaka and Citṛa by Citṛāṅgada, Śabdāśleṣa by Śeṣa, Vāstava by Puṣṭya, Upamā by Aupakāyana, Aṭisaya by Parāśara, Arthasleṣa by Utathya, Ubhayālankārika by Kubera, Vainodika by Kāmadeva, Rūpaka by Bharata, Rasadhikāra by Nandi.

1. Batakrnath Bhattacharya's *A brief survey of hityasastra* JDL, Calcutta University, 1928, p. 97 et seq).

kesvara, Doṣa by Dharma, Guna by Upamanyu and Aupaniṣadika by Kucimāra. These references are given by Rājasekhara in Kāvya-mīmāṃsa (I 1)

It has been thought fashionable to treat these accounts as fictitious, but when we see that much of the earliest literature has been lost and replaced by later compendia, which, on account of the ease of study, have tended to throw the older treatises into oblivion, it is possible that these traditional accounts are not after all a fraud. Opinions of many of these early writers are noticed in later works and Vāṛṣayana in his Kāmasūtras cites some of them for their views ¹

793 The Samhitās of the Vedas contain much that is poetic and use² figures of speech like simile, nature, hyperbole. The essence of all poetic art is thus summed up

“एकश्चन्द. सम्यग्ज्ञात. सुप्रयुक्त खर्गे लोके कामधुक् भवति ।”

The supreme Spirit is described as Pleasure, ANANDA, and (the embodiment of) RASA, essence of sweetness³. But a regular theory of poetics is not traceable in the Vedic literature

¹ See chapter on KAMASASTRA *post.*

- ² (i) अभ्रातेव पुंस एति प्रतीची गताङ्गिव सनये धनानाम् ।
जायेवपस्य उशती सुवासा उषाहसेव निरिणीती अप्सः ॥ (Bk, I 124-7)
- (ii) सूर्यस्येव वसुधौ ज्योतिरेषा समुद्रस्येव महीमा गभीरः ।
वातस्येव प्रजवो नान्येन स्तोमो वसिष्ठा अन्येनैव वः ॥
- ³ (iii) तमेकनेभिं त्रिवृत षोडशान्त शतार्धारं विंशतिप्रत्परामि ।
अष्टकैष्पद्भिर्विश्वरूपैकपाश त्रिमार्गमेद द्विनिमित्तैकमोहम् ॥
- (iv) द्वाष्टुपर्णा सयुजा सखाया समान वृक्ष परिषलजाते ।
तयोरन्य पिप्पल स्वाद्वत्ति अनश्वन्यो अभिचाकशीति ॥ (Bk, VII. 88-8)
- (v) चत्वारिंशृङ्गाश्च यो अस्य पादाः द्वे शीर्षे सप्तहस्तासो अस्य ।
त्रिधा बद्धो वृषभो रोरवीति महादेवो मर्त्यानाविवेश ॥ (Bk, IV 56-8)
- (i) रणव क्षेत्रमिव । (Bk, X 88-6)
- (ii) अफलासपुष्पा वाचम् । Bk X 71-5)
- (iii) दिवित्मता वाचः । (Bk, I 26-2)
- (iv) ब्रह्मैव रसः । रसो वै स । आनन्द परब्रह्मणो रूपम् ।

794 AMONG PURANAS Agnipurana has some chapters on poetics¹ It mentions gesticulations, figures of speech and faults and merits of poetry and describes the figures of speech Yamaka, Citra, Upamā, Rūpaka, Sahokti, Arthāntaranyāsa, Utprekṣa, Atisaya, Vibhāvāna, Virodha and Hetu The enumeration is sufficiently scanty that it is quite in keeping with the antiquity of the Purāṇas The name of Bharata is cited, but it is not conclusive to determine the relative priority of the extant Nāṭyasastra and these chapters of Agnipurāṇa, because the origin of the name of Bharata and his work is lost in remote antiquity.

795 YASKA speaks of Upamā thus

अथात उपमा । यदेतत् तत्सदृशमितिगार्थैस्तदानीं कर्म ज्यायसा वा शुणेन प्रख्याततमेन वा कनीयांसं वा प्रख्यात वा उपमीयते । अथापि कनीयसा ज्यायांसम् ॥

796. PANINI has

उपमित व्याघ्रादिभिस्सामान्याप्रयोगे ।—II 1 56

उपमानानि सामान्यवचनै ।—IV 1 55

अत एव चोपमा सूर्यकादिवत् ।—I 17 1

797 BHARATA'S NATYASASTRA is, as we have it, the earliest work on poetics Bharata lays down that RASA is the essence of poetry, though his conception of poetry is dramatic He enumerates 36 Lakṣaṇas or embellishments, 4 poetic types and 10 poetic merits and faults, But the Lakṣaṇas were either included by later writers, under the heads of Guṇas or Alankāras, or classed as Nāṭyālankāras. Guṇa and Alankāra are according to Bharata subsidiary to Rasa

Bharata thus describes the genesis of Rasa

अत्राह—यदाऽन्योन्यार्थसंभूतैर्विभावानुभावव्यजितैरेकोनपचाशता मावै सामान्यशुण्ययोगेनाभिनिष्पद्यते रसस्तत्कथं स्थायिन एव मावा रसत्वमाप्नुवन्ति । उच्यते.. .. बद्धाश्रयत्वात्

1. Chapter 886-847 S K De (SP. 108-4) says that these chapters are later interpolations copied from Dandin and Bhāmaha It is too much to say that after the days of Dandin and Bhāmaha, when the Purāṇas were widely known, any such interpolations could have been contemplated at all S K De himself admits that the tradition of opinion embodied in the Agnipurāṇa was developed by Bhoja and Bhoja was not an author who could not discover a fraud or would show regard to such a late interpolation

Maheśvara in the commentary on Kāvyaaprakāśa says

अभिनिष्पन्नादिभ्य उद्बृहत् काव्यरसास्वादकारण अलङ्कारशास्त्रं भरतमुनि कारिकाभिः सक्षिप्य प्रणिनाय ।

So says Balaḍeva in his Sahityakaumudī (PR, 1888, 12.)

स्वामिभूता स्थायिनो भावा । यथा नरेन्द्रो बहुजनपरिवारोऽपि स एव नाम लभते नान्य
सुमहानपि पुरुषस्तथा विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिपरिष्कृत स्थायिभावो रसतां लभते ॥

The original rasa-sūtra of Bharata विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसयोगाद्रस-
निष्पत्ति has been interpreted in four ways, by Lollata according to
Mīmāṃsa doctrines, by Sankuka according to Nyāya doctrines, by
Bhatta Nāyaka according to Sāṅkhya doctrines and by Abhinavagupta
according to Ālankārika doctrines. Mammata thus sums up the differ-
ent views (Ullasa IV)

1 विभावैल्लनोद्यनादिभिरालम्बनोद्दीपनकरणै रत्यादिको भाव जनित, अनुभावै
कटाक्षभुजाक्षेपप्रभृतिभिः कार्यै प्रतीतिरयोग्य. कृत, व्यभिचारिभिर्निर्वेदादिभिः सहकारिभि-
रुपचितो, मुख्यया वृत्त्या रामादावनुकार्यै, तद्रूपतानुसन्धानावर्तकेऽपि प्रतीयमानो रस ।—इति
भट्टलोल्लाटादयः ॥

11 राम एवायम्, अयमेव राम इति, 'न रामोऽयम्'—इत्यौत्तरकालिके बाधे रामो-
ऽयमिति, रामस्याद्वा न वायमिति, रामसदृशोऽयमिति च सम्यङ्मिथ्यासंशयसादृश्यप्रतीतिभ्यो
विलक्षणया चित्रतुरगादिन्यायेन रामोयमिति प्रतिपत्त्याप्राप्ते नटे * * * काव्यानुसन्धानबलात्,
शिष्याभ्यासनिर्वर्तिततत्सकार्यप्रकटनेन च नटेनैव प्रकाशितै कार्यकारणकार्यसहकारिभिः कृत्रिमैरपि
तथा अनभिमान्यमानै विभावादिशब्दव्यपदेश्यै 'सयोगात्' गम्यगमकमावरूपात् अनुमीय-
मानोऽपि वस्तुसौन्दर्यबलात् रसनीयत्वेन अन्यानुमीयमानविलक्षण स्थायित्वेन सम्भाव्यमानो
रत्यादिर्भावस्तत्रासन्नपि सामाजिकानां वासनया चर्व्यमाणो रस ।—इति श्री शङ्कुकः ॥

111. न ताटस्थ्येन नात्मगतत्वेन रस प्रतीयते नोत्पद्यते नाभिव्यज्यते, अपि तु काव्ये
नाट्ये चाभिधातो द्वितीयेन विभावोदिसाधारणीकरणात्मना भावकत्वव्यापारेण भाव्यमान.
स्थायी सत्त्वोद्रेकप्रकाशानन्दमयसाविद्विश्रान्तिसतत्त्वेन भोगेन भुज्यते ।—इति भट्टनायकः ॥

17 लोके प्रमदादिभिः स्थित्यनुमानेऽभ्यासपाटववता काव्ये नाट्ये च तैरेव कारण-
त्वादिपरिहारेण विभावनादिव्यापारवत्त्वात् अलौकिकविभावोदिसदृशव्यवहार्यै. ममैवेतै शत्रोरेवेतै
तटस्थस्यैवेतै, न ममैवेतै न शत्रोरेवेतै न तटस्थस्यैवेतै, इति सम्बन्धविशेषलौकारपरिहारनिय-
मानव्यवसायात् साधारण्येन प्रतीतै ॥

अभिव्यक्तसामाजिकानां वासनात्मतया स्थित स्थायी रत्यादिको नियतप्रमातृगतत्वेन
स्थितोऽपि साधारणोपायबलात् तत्कालविगलितपरिमितप्रमातृभाववशोऽभिषिक्तवेधान्तरसपक्षशून्या-
परिमितभावेन प्रमात्रा सकलसहृदयसवादमाजा साधारण्येन साकार इवामिहोऽपि गोचरी-
कृत चर्व्यमाणतैकप्राणो विभावोदिसाधारणीकतावधि पानकरसन्ध्यायेन चर्व्यमाण पुर इव परिस्फुरन्
हृदयसिव प्रविशन् सर्वाङ्गीणमिवालिङ्गन् अन्यस्सर्वमिवतिरोदधत् ब्रह्मस्वादमिवानुभावयन्
अलौकिकचमत्कारकारी मृगारादिको रसः । * * इति श्रीमदाचार्याभिनवगुप्तपादाः ॥

(Vamanacarya's Edn pp 161-1).

798 By the beginning of the Christian era, the study of poetics had well progressed and we hear of various writers of whom we have references in citations. For instance, there are Kāśyapa, Kapila, Kōhala, Ḍaṭṭila, Maṭaṅga, Rāhula, Sākāligarbha, Mātrguṭṭa, Priyāṭṭhi, Sumanas, Nandiswāmī and Brahmanandin. These writers must have so far speculated on poetics, as to recognise modifications in the views propounded in Nāṭyaśāstra¹. The result of this advance in poetic criticism was the immediate advent of distinct schools of thought of Bhāmaha and Ḍandin and the possibility of newer schools in the coming centuries.

799 Bhāmaha is called the founder of Alankāra school. According to him Vakrokti is all in poetry.

सैषा सर्वैव वक्रोक्तिरनयाऽर्थो विभाव्यते ।

यत्नोऽस्यां कविना कार्यं कोऽलङ्कारोऽनया विना ॥—II 85.

By Vakrokti Bhāmaha meant all poetic expression other than natural, that is, all adorned expression as opposed to naked Vakrokti, said Bhāmaha, was the means by which the meaning was rendered assimilable or delectable, in short Vakrokti flashes Rasa. Rasa is therefore subordinate to Alankāra and Alankāra is founded on Vakrokti. The idea of Vakrokti was carried to an extreme by Kuntā(la)ka and his Vakroktījīviṇam enunciates the theory that Vakrokti is the life of poetry² and that comprehends in it other characteristics of poetry, Alankāra and Dhvani³. But before him Udbhata had kept himself within reasonable limits and accepted Bhāmaha's general theory, except in some subordinate details of definitions and classifications, and on Bhāmaha's work he wrote a commentary. To this school also belongs Mukula and Praṭihārendurāja who commented on Udbhata's work.

800 Alongside of this theory of Alankāra, there was the growing thought that Rīti or style, as a consideration in composition, was not negligible. Bhāmaha mentioned Vaidarbhi and Gaudīya styles as made melodious and flowing words, but said they wanted imaginative charm. Ḍandin expanded the scope of Rīti and said that Vaidarbhi for instance is not made by a mere jumble of letters or words but must contain

1. See for more details Chapter on Nāṭyaśāstra *post*

2. वक्रोक्तिः काव्यजीवितम् ।

3. शब्दार्थौ संहितौ वक्रकविव्यापारशालिनि ।

कवे व्यवस्थितौ काव्यं तद्विदाह्लादकारिणि ॥

pleasurable ideas. He elaborated the characteristics of two styles, Vaidarbhi and Gaudiya, and while the former was tender and charming the latter was harsh and boisterous, each being suited to the expression of particular sentiments. What Bhāmaha called Alankāra, Dandin called GUNA. Dandin says that Guṇas pertain to the soul of poetry and that Alankāras are "those attributes which produce charm in poetry" and all Alankāras endow the sense with Rasa.¹ While Bhāmaha subordinated Rasa to Alankāra, Dandin subordinated these to Rīti. And they spoke of Rasa, Bhāva etc., as Rasavaṭ, Preyas, Ūjasvin,

801 But it was VAMANA who expressly declared that style is the soul of poetry and RITI is the composition of words of superior excellence. Vāmana however saw that mere style unaccompanied by other embellishments would not make good poetry. He included Alankāra and Rasa among the necessary qualities (Guna) of poetry and those qualities he classed as formal and essential,² he called Rasa as an essential feature of Kāṇṭi-guṇa.³ He differed from Dandin in saying that Guṇas are those attributes which produce charm in poetry, while Alankāras enhance the charm.

802 During the period of the progress of the Alankāra and rīti theories, Bharata's theory of Rasa had not lost its charm. UDBHATA still admired it and he wrote a commentary on Nāṭyasāstra. But he was influenced by the views of Bhāmaha, for he assigned the same place to rasa as Bhāmaha did though he appreciated that bhāvas were needed to realise rasa more critically. He mentioned a fourth Rasāṅkārā, Samāhṛta. He recognised Śāntarasa as suitable for the drama as for the poem. RUDRATA championed rasa, as of universal merit, that is, not merely in dramas but in poems too; a poem devoid of rasa is no more than an insipid sāsṭra. He mentioned nine rasas and one more preyas.⁴ RUDRABHATA expressed a similar view in his Śṅgārāṭilaka.⁵

1 *Kāvyaṅkārāsaṅgraha* I, 81—84

2 अर्थव्यक्तिरुदारत्वमोज कतिसमाधय । इति वैदर्भीमार्गस्य प्राणा दद्य गुणास्मृता ।

—*Kāvyaṅkārāṭī*, I, 4

काव्यशोभाकरान् धर्मानलङ्कारान् प्रचक्षते ।—*Ibid*, II 1

वाक्यस्याग्राम्यतायोनिर्माणुर्ये दर्शितो रस ।

इहत्वष्टरसायत्ता रसवत्ता स्मृता गिराम् ॥—*Ibid*, II 292

3 रीतिरात्मा काव्यस्य । विशिष्टपदरचना रीति । *sutra*, I, ii, 16

4 काव्यशोभाया कर्तारो धर्मगुणा । तदतिशयहेतवस्त्वलङ्कारा ॥ *Ibid*, III 11—12

5 *Kavyaṅkārā*, XII 2, 4

6 I. 56

803 From the earliest times, speculation was rife among rhetoricians on the grammatical rectitude and the exegetical interpretations of expressions in poetics. For instance, Upamā or comparison is of various kinds, comprehending in it various Alankāras, which have been given distinct names by later writers. Even in Upamā proper, there are several classes, according as the particle of similitude is expressed or implied. Grammar was described as father of poetry. Bhāmaha thought it necessary to devote a whole chapter on grammatical forms adaptable in poetry. Vāmana did the same. The theory of speech and meaning has always been a point of difference among the several schools of philosophy in India, that is, to state shortly, whether the real meaning of a word is what is expressed or what is comprehended by way of suggestion and inference, that is, in Sādhadabodha they differed. This difference has led rhetoricians to distinguish between the merits of abhidhā and lakṣaṇā, expression and implication on the lines of propounded by grammatical philosophers. The result of the expansion of these disquisitions was a close alliance in the study of poetics and grammar and in the next stage of progress, a third function of words, namely vyanjanā, was conceived on the analogy of the theory of Sphota.

804 The theory of Sphota, briefly stated, is that sphota or dhvani is the characteristic capacity of words to signify their import. It is attributed to the grammarian Sphoṭāyana, a predecessor of Pāṇini and it attained its perfection in Bhartṛhari's Vākya-padīya. Ānandavardhana adopted this theory and applied it to poetics. He rejected the earlier theories of rasa, alankāra and rīti, so far as each claimed to be the soul of poetry and propounded that vyanjanā or dhvani is the soul of poetry. Thus Rasa-dhvani theory of Ānandavardhana "differs from the original theory of Rasa as formulated in the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata in two points. According to the former the Rasas are enjoyed by the audience only, being suggested by the words, but according to the latter the factors vibhāva, etc. whether expressed or suggested by the words create the pleasure in the minds of the audience (विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगाद्रसनिष्पत्तिः). Moreover, the chief function of poetry according to Ānandavardhana is to suggest the sense of Rasas, Alankāras and plots for Vastu as applied to both the poems and dramas. Bharata holds that the best form of poetry is that where the representations of Vibhavas, etc. before the audience create the aesthetic pleasure in their minds."

; It cannot be said that vyanjanā was a discovery of Ānandavardhana. Bhāmaha and Dandin saw that a suggested sense was always there in

Samāsokṭi, Aprasṭuṭaprasamsā, Vyājasṭuti etc. Bharata and Udbhata included dhvani in Paryāyokṭi. So did Rudra. Vāmana included it in Vakroṭi, which he defined as 'suggestion founded on similarity'. But with these writers, the suggested sense (vyanjita) was ancillary to the expressed (vācya).

805 According to ĀNANDAVARDHANA Dhvani is supreme in characterising good poetry. Dhvani literally means suggestion. The poet expresses an idea in a sentence and to the readers' mind flashes an idea not actually expressed by the words, but implied or suggested by them. Dhvani is the result of the function vyanjanā, as opposed to abhidhā or lakṣanā. Dhvani is the soul, Gunas like mādhyura, ojas &c are the properties of the soul of poetry, as bravery is the property of the human mind, and Alankāras are ornaments which enhance the charm of poetry, as ornaments of gold set off a person's beauty. Poetry is classed under three heads, Dhvani, where the suggested sense is prominent, Guṇībhūṭavyangya, where it is not prominent and Citra where it is not manifest.

806 The Dhvani theory was not applauded by all. There were still the admirers of Rasa. PRAṬIHARENDURAJA wrote Laghuvṛṭṭi on Udbhata. He said that Dhvani was implied in Alankāras like ślesa, rasavat and paryāyokṭa, and reiterated that rasa was the soul of poetry. He differed from Bhāmaha in refusing to include Rasas among Alankāras.

(1) एवमेतद्वचस्कृत् पर्यायोक्तादिष्वन्तर्भाक्तम् ।

(11) रसाद्यधिष्ठित काव्य जीवद्रूपतया यत् ।

कथ्यते तद्रसादीनां काव्यात्मत्व व्यवस्थितम् ॥

यत्तु रसादीनां पूर्वमलकारत्वमुक्तं तदेवविधमेदाविवक्षया ।

807 BHATTANAYAKA was a devout follower of Bharata. Starting from Bharata's explanation of bhāva, vibhāva &c he said that besides abhidhā, which is the only operating function in Vedas and Śāstras, there are two other functions bhāvaktva and bhojakatva in all kāvya, dṛśya or śravya, from which emanates the aesthetic pleasure in the minds of audience.

BHOJA thought it was good poetry, if it was free from blemishes and if it had the merit of guṇa, alankāra and rasa.

808 DHANANJAYA and DHANIKĀ did not recognise dhvani at all. Dhanika answered criticisms of Bhattanāyaka's views and held that Tāṭparyasakti, desire for expression and understanding "not only

makes the hearer understand the meaning of the sentence but also actuates him to act according to the sense of the sentence, not only to make the reader or the spectator understand the vibhāva, etc., from the poetry, but also to act accordingly. This activity is nothing but the enjoyment of the æsthetic pleasure. Thus the poetry becomes Bhāvaka of the Rasāsvāda through the Jātiparyāsakti, and therefore, no dhvani or vyanjanāvyūṭṭi as the chief function of the poetry is necessary. The connection between the Kāvya and Rasa according to Dhanika is Bhāvabhāvakabhāva and not Vyāgyavyājakabhāva as formulated by the Dhvani school. This kind of connection according to him is different from the Janyajanakabhāva as held by the Naryāyikas (Aṣaṭkāryavādins) because rasas already exist in an appreciative mind in the form of permanent moods (Bhāvaṇatī). Dhananjaya did not adopt sānta as a rasa.

809 The theory of Dhvani however soon gained prominence and obtained recognition. ABHINAVAGUPTA's erudition gave fresh vigour to it and his Locana stands as it were an original treatise on Dhvani. But the theory was again assailed with vehemence. KUNIAKA in his Vakroktijīva said dhvani was included in *Vakrokti*. MAHIMABHAIITA did not brook the insolence against logicians and in a mood of revenge set up his theory Anumāna or *Kāvyaanumiti*. In his Vyaktiviveka, he attempted to demolish the various theories of poetics and said that anumāna or inference was all-pervasive and in it was embraced dhvani or whatever was attributed to it.

810 VIDYADHARA was a follower of Anandavardhana. He refuted the views of Bhāmaha and others who denied dhvani, Dhvanyabhāva-vādins. He refers to Bhāmaha and Rudrata and Mahimā as Āṇṭarbhāva-vādins viz. dhvani is comprehended in guṇa and alankāra and is not different from anumāna, and to Bhaṭṭa Lollata as Dīrghavyāpāra-vādin, viz., the expressive power of words reaches very far like that of arrows.

811 By the time of MAMMATA, Dhvani attained a firm stand, but the earlier theories of alankāra, rasa and rūṭi were still in the field for Bhoja and his erudite circle gave them prominence. Mammata therefore thought it prudent to define poetry in more comprehensive terms, keeping Dhvani as the foremost quality and appending to it the essentials of alankāra and rasa, with a better recognition. "Mammata was influenced by Vāmana (III 1-1-3) although Mammata considered guṇas as primary attributes of rasas and only secondarily of letters. To a

less extent he was influenced by the alankāra school, as he allows a Kāvya to be devoid of alankaras in a few cases. However, Bhamaha's Vakrokti does appear in Kavyaprakāsa under the name of Praudhokti." Being as it were a compromise of the existing theories, without giving up the accepted superiority of Dhvani all the same, Mammata's views have been considered the perfectest theory of poetry and during these long centuries they have not lost their appreciation. In the mode of exposition and in the classification of the subject, his work has been the standard and many rhetoricians of repute thought it a merit in them to compose commentaries on Mammata's Kāvyaaprakāsa, though they expressed their views in independent treatises on poetics. Except in the way of further illustrations, newer definitions and keener classifications the science of poetry as described by Mammata has remained unaffected.

812 The views of different rhetoricians have thus been summed up by RUYAKA in his Alankārasarvasva

इह हि तावत् भामहोद्धटप्रभृतय चिरन्तनालङ्कारकाः प्रतीयमानमर्थं वाच्योपस्कार-
कतयालङ्कारपक्षनिक्षिप्तं मन्यन्ते । तथा हि—पर्यायोक्ताप्रस्तुतप्रशसासमासोक्त्याक्षेपव्याजस्तु-
त्युपमेयोपमानन्वयादौ वस्तुमात्रं गम्यमानं वाच्योपस्कारकत्वेन 'खसिद्धये पराक्षेपं परार्थं
खसमर्पणम्' इति यथायोगं द्विविधया भङ्गबा प्रतिपादितं तै ।

रुद्रटेन तु भावालङ्कारो द्विधैवोक्तः । रूपकदीपकापह्नुतितुल्ययोगितादाबुपमाथलङ्कारो
वाच्योपस्कारकत्वेनोक्तः । उत्प्रेक्षा तु स्वयमेव प्रतीयमाना कथिता । रसवत्प्रेयं प्रभृतौ तु रसमा-
वादिर्वाच्यशोसाहेतुत्वेनोक्तः । तदित्थं त्रिविधमपि प्रतीयमानमलङ्कारतया ख्यापितमेव ।

वामनेन तु सादृश्यनिबन्धनाया लक्षणाया वक्रोक्त्यालङ्कारत्वं भुवता कश्चिदध्वनि-
भेदोऽलङ्कारतयैवोक्तः । केवलं गुणविशिष्टपदरचनात्मका रीतिः काव्यात्मकेनोक्ता ।

उद्धटादिभिस्तु गुणालङ्काराणां प्रायश्च साम्यमेव सूचितम् । विषयमात्रेण भेदप्रतिपादनात्
सघटनाधर्मत्वेन चेष्टेः । तदेवमलङ्कारा एव काव्ये प्रधानमिति प्राच्यानां मतम् ।

वक्रोक्तिजीवितकारं पुनर्षेदरम्यमङ्गीमणितिलसावार्त्तं बहुविधां वक्रोक्तिमेव प्राधान्यात्
काव्यजीवितमुक्तवान् । व्यापारस्य प्राधान्यं च काव्यस्य प्रतिपेदे । अभिधानप्रकारविशेषा ए
चालङ्काराः । सत्यपि त्रिभेदे प्रतीयमाने व्यापाररूपा भणितिरेव कविसरम्भगोचरः २ उपच
वक्रादिभिस्समस्तो ध्वनिप्रपञ्चः स्वीकृतः । केवलमुक्तिवैचित्र्यजीवितं काव्यं न व्यङ्ग्यार्थं
जीवितमिति तदीयं दर्शनं व्यवस्थितम् ।

भट्टनाथकेन तु व्यङ्ग्यव्यापारस्य प्रौढोक्त्याभ्युपगतस्य काव्याशत्वं भुवता न्यग्भावित-
शब्दार्थस्वरूपस्य व्यापारस्यैव प्राधान्यमुक्तम् । तत्राप्यभिधानभावकत्वलक्षणव्यापारद्वयोत्तीर्णो
रसचर्वणात्मा भोगापरपर्यायो व्यापारः प्राङ्गन्येन विश्रान्तिस्थानतयाङ्गीकृतः ।

ध्वनिकार पुनरभिधातात्पर्यलक्षणाख्यव्यापारत्रयोत्तीर्णस्य ध्वननद्योतनादिशब्दामिधेयस्य व्यञ्जनव्यापारस्यावश्याभ्युपगम्यत्वात् व्यापारस्य च वाक्यार्थत्वाभावात् वाक्यर्थस्यैव च व्यङ्ग्यरूपस्य गुणालङ्कारोपस्कर्तव्यत्वेन प्राधान्याद्विश्रान्तिधामत्वादात्मत्वं सिद्धान्तितवान् ।

यत्तु व्यक्तिविवेककारो वाच्यस्य प्रतीयमान प्रति लिङ्गितया व्यञ्जनस्यानुमानेऽन्तर्भावमाख्यत् तद्वाच्यस्तप्रतीयमानेन सह तादात्म्यतदुत्पत्त्यभावादविचारिताभिधानम् ॥

Alankārasarvasva, Bombay Edu, 3-13

813 SAMUDRABANDHA in his commentary on *Alankarasarvasva* has another classification of these poetical theories, (*TSS*, p 4) into five schools

इह विशिष्टौ शब्दार्थौ काव्यम् ।

तयोश्च वैशिष्ट्यं धर्ममुखेन व्यापारमुखेन व्यङ्ग्यमुखेन वेति त्रय पक्षा ।

आद्येऽप्यलङ्कारतो गुणता वेति द्वैविध्यम् ।

द्वितीयेऽपि भणितिवैचित्र्येण भोगकृत्वेन वेति द्वैधम् ।

इति पचसु पक्षेष्वप्य उद्धृतादिभिरङ्गीकृत , द्वितीयो वामनेन, तृतीयो वक्रोक्तिजीवित-कारेण, चतुर्थो मट्टनायकेन, पचम आनन्दवर्धनेन ॥

व्यक्तिविवेककाराभिमतस्तत्त्वतुमानपक्ष सिद्धान्तप्रदर्शनसमन्तर विचारसह वेन दूषितत्वात् मङ्गलस्य पूर्वपक्षत्वे नाभिमत इत्याहु ।

एषु प्रस्थानेषु खामिमत प्रस्थान तस्य सर्वैरङ्गीकरणीयता च दर्शयतुमेषामुपन्यास ॥

~ Vāmanācārya (*Int Kāvya prakāśa*, p 24) thus summarises the views briefly

गुणालङ्कारयुक्तौ शब्दार्थौ काव्यमिति वामनमतम् ।

अदोषावित्यधिकविशेषणयुक्तौ तौ काव्यमिति मम्मटमतम् ।

एवमेव प्रमाकरमतम् ।

निर्दोषं गुणालङ्कारसवत् वाक्य काव्यमिति भोजमतम् ।

गुणालङ्काररीतिरसोपेत. साधुशब्दार्थसदर्म. काव्यमिति वाग्भटमतम् ।

निर्दोष गुणालङ्कारलक्षणरीतिवृत्तिमत् वाक्य काव्यमिति पीयूषवर्षमतम् ।

रसादिमद्वाक्य काव्यमिति शौद्रोदनिमतम् ।

एवमेव विश्वनाथादिमतम् ।

इष्टार्थोपेता पदावली काव्यमिति दडिमतम् ।

रमणीयार्थप्रतिपादकशब्द काव्यमिति जगन्नाथमतम् ।

ध्वन्यात्मक वाक्य काव्यमिति महिममट्टमतम् ।

रसालङ्कारयुक्तं सुष्ठुविशेषसाधन वा काव्यमिति केशवमिश्रमतम् ।

The following extracts from P V Kane's 'Outlines of History of Alankara Literature' (IA, XLI 124, 204) will be of interest

"The most ancient basis of classification appears to have been very simple. Figures of speech were divided into two classes those that depend for their charm on words alone and those in which the beauty is seen in the sense alone. This division of the figures of speech is the only one that is found in ancient writings on Alankāra. Bharata does not speak of it in his Nāṭya-Sāstra. Dandin tacitly recognizes it, inasmuch as he treats of Arthalamkaras in the second Paṇchchada and of Sabdalankaras in the third. Both Bhamaha and Udbhata do not explicitly divide Alankaras into two varieties, but they seem to have had the twofold division in mind, for Bhamaha first speaks of Anuprasa and Yamaka and then of figures that are regarded by all as Alankaras of Artha. Udbhata similarly speaks of Punaruktavada-bhasa and Anuprasa first and then of Arthalamkaras. Vamana speaks of Sabdalankaras in the fourth Adhikarana (1st Adhyaya) of his work and of Arthalamkaras in the second and third Adhyayas of the same Adhikarana. Rudrata, Mammata, Ruyyaka and most subsequent writers recognise this twofold division of figures of speech.

Some writers, however, propose a division which is a little more elaborate. Alankaras, according to them, are either of Sabda, or of Artha, or of both. Bhoja in his *Sarasvatikanthabharana* enumerates twenty-four Alamkaras of each. It is worthy of note that he regards Upama, Rupaka, etc., as Alamkaras of both Sabda and Artha (and not of artha alone, as said by almost all other writers).

The number of Sabdalankaras has never been very large. Most writers, such as Dandin, Bhamaha, Udbhata, speak of two or three. The largest number is that mentioned by Bhoja, viz., 24. The ancient works of Alamkara paid a good deal of attention to Sabdalankaras, but as critical insight grew, the Alamkaras of words dwindled into insignificance.

Unlike Sabdalankaras, the number of Arthalamkaras has generally been large and has been subject to great fluctuations. We may safely affirm that as a general rule, the more ancient a writer is, the fewer is the number of figures treated of by him. Bharata speaks of only four Alamkaras. Dandin, Bhatti, Bhamaha, Udbhata and Vamana treat of from thirty to forty figures. Mammata speaks of more than sixty, while Ruyyaka adds a few more. The Chandraloka (13th century) speaks of a hundred figures of speech, to which the Kuvalayananda adds about a

score more. This is the highest number known to us. Jagannatha prefers a smaller number of figures, although he is later than the author of Kuvalayananda. If for some slight difference a different figure of speech were to be defined there would be no end of figures, as remarked by Dandin.

In the ancient writers there is no basis of division. Dandin, Bhamaha, Vamana and Udbhata give no classification of the figures of sense. They generally first speak of Upama and some other Alamkaras based upon it and the rest are treated of at random; e.g., Dandin puts Vibhavana between Vyatireka and Samasokti. It is Rudrata who first gives a fourfold division of Arthalamkaras. Mammata seems to have had in view no scientific basis of division. The Alamkara-Sarvasva gives first of all, the figures based upon Aupamya (resemblance); then those based upon Virodha (contradiction); then those based upon Srinkhala (chain), such as Karanamala, Maladipaka, Ekavali; then the figures based upon Tarka-Nyaya, Kavya-Nyaya and Loka-Nyaya; then the figures based upon the apprehension of a hidden sense; and lastly based upon the combination of figures such as Samkara and Sansrishti. The Ekavali, the Prapaparudriya and the Sahityadarpana generally follow the classification. Jagannatha also speaks of figures based upon Aupamya, Virodha and Srinkhala. From Kavyalinga downwards he does not mention any express basis of classification but appears to have followed in the main the Alamkara-Sarvasva."

Alankara

814 Alankara-Sutras Every science, *Sastra*, in India has its *sūtra*, *vṛtti* and *Bhāṣya*. So has Alankārasāstra Śauddhodani is mentioned by Kesava as an author of Alankārasūtras,¹ and it was on the Kārikas of Śauddhodani that Kesava commented in his Alankārasekhara.² Mammata's Kāvya-prakāśa have been considered, mostly in Bengal, as embracing the original Bharata's Alankārasūtras, on which Mammata wrote a vṛtti called Kāvya-prakāśa.³ Baladeva Vidyābhūṣana took these Kārikas as Bharatasūtras and wrote his commentary on them Sāhityakaumudī in the 18th century.⁴ Bharata, it is said to the contrary, wrote sūtras relating to *rasa* etc., in nāṭya and not sūtras for Alankāra, but these sūtras are but rarely preserved in the extant Nāṭyaśāstra.⁵ Pāṇini mentions Nāṭyasūtras of Śīlāhī.

पाराशर्यशिलालिम्बा मिश्रनटसूत्रयो (IV iii. 10)

कर्मन्दकृष्णश्चादिनि. (IV iii. 11.)

Alankārasūtras of unknown authorship have been commented upon by SOPHAKARA in his Alankāraratnākara.⁶ Sōbhākara was son of

1 अलङ्कारविद्यासूत्रकारो भगवान् शौद्धोदनि. काव्यस्य स्वरूपमाह। काव्यरसादिमहाकाव्यम्।

2 See S. K. De, *SP* I, 261.

3. So says Commentary Vivaraṇa. काव्यप्रकाशस्य द्वावंशौ, कारिका वृत्तिश्चेति । भरत-मुनिप्रणीता या कारिका सा अलङ्कारसूत्रनाम्ना व्यवहियते, मम्मटप्रणीता या वृत्तिस्सैव काव्यप्रकाशनाममाक् ॥

Several other authors call these Kārikas 'sūtras'

i उदाहरणेषु दृष्टत्वात्सूत्रानुक्तमपि प्रमेदद्वयमाह—Maheśvara

ii सूत्रे प्रश्नोत्तरपदं पूर्वापरवाक्योपलक्षणम्—Bhīmasena.

iii सूत्राक्षराननुसाराच्चोपेक्ष्यम्—Vaidyanāṭha

iv सूत्रे विभागः उपलक्षणपरः—Govinda Thakura.

v सूत्रं चोपलक्षणपरतया योज्यम्—Nagojibhatta

4 सूत्राणां भरतमुनीश्वरिणितानां वृत्तीनां भित्तवपुर्वां कृतौ ममास्याम् ।

लक्ष्याणां हरिगुणशालिनां च सत्वात् कुर्वन्तु प्रगुणधियो बतावधानम् ॥

5 e g. व्यभिचारिभावविभाजकानि निर्वेदग्लानिशङ्काख्याः ॥

6. *BKR*, Ap. cxviii.

Ṭrayīsvaramisra and lived about the 12th century A D. He is quoted by Jagannātha. These sūtras have been extracted and illustrated by Yasaskara in his *Devīstotra*, a poem of devotion. Yasaskara was a poet of Kāśmir¹. On account of ill-health, he spent much of his time at the sanatorium² on the hill Pradyumna and there on the spot held sacred on account of the final ascent of King Pravara to Heaven in bodily form, he composed his *Devīstotra*³.

There are again Kāvyaalankārasūtras on which Vāmana wrote his own *Vṛtti* and Ruyyaka's *Alankārasūtra* on which Maṅkha wrote *vṛtti* *Alankārasarvasva*. Jayaratha mentions an *Alankāravārtika* in his commentary on *Alankārasarvasva* (p. 71).

बिम्बप्रबिम्बभावेनापीय भवति । यथा —

क्षिपन्त्यचिन्त्यानि पदानि हेलया स्वराजहसानधिरुह्य च स्थिता ।
कवीन्द्रवक्त्रेषु च यत्र शारदा सहस्रपत्रेषु रमा च रज्यति ॥

अत्र वक्त्रपद्मयोर्बिम्बप्रतिबिम्बभावः । अनेनैव चाशयेनालङ्कारवार्तिके ग्रन्थकृता वैशिष्ट्यमस्यादर्शितम् ॥

815 Bhamaha was the son of Rakṣita Gomin. Maṅkha was probably his son⁴. From the word Gomin and from the salutation to Sarva Sarvagna at the commencement of his work it has been said he was a Buddhist. Caṇḍra in his grammar mentions Gomin as a termination of respect⁵. The epithets Sarva and Sarvagna have been used for various divine incarnations without limitation. Bhamaha's reverence to the Hindu pantheon⁶ and his elegant references to heroes of Rāmāyana,⁷ Mahābhārata⁸ and Purāṇas⁹ indicate more properly his Vedic persuasion. This surmise is supported by Bhamaha's scathing criticism of Buddhist theory of Anyāpoha¹⁰.

1 PR, I 12

2 This health resort is mentioned in *Raj*, III 645

3 PR, I 77 (where the sūtras are all extracted)

4 He says so in his commentary on Caṇḍama Dharmaśāstra.

5 गोमिन् पूज्ये ।

6 प्रणम्य सार्व सर्वज्ञ ।

7 II 85, III II 82, 86, IV 21, 28, V 44

8 III 7, V 36, 39, 41, 42, 43

9 III 5, 42 V 59.

10 VI 16, 17

On the relative priority of Bhāmaha and Dandin, there has been divergence of opinion¹. But the assertiveness of Dandin's expression of dissent in relation to views of Bhāmaha on particular topics indicates his posteriority. It is possible that Bhāmaha was an elder contemporary of Dandin and Bhāmaha was an author whose opinions were then fresh in the minds of the readers which Dandin thought ought to be controverted before they gained a place of honor².

From illustrations³ of Alankāras and from their number and significance it is conjectured that Bhatti came after Bhāmaha.

If Dandin flourished about the beginning of the 7th century, Bhāmaha can be safely placed in the 6th century A D⁴.

Bhāmaha composed his Kāvyaalankāra⁵ after an investigation of the thoughts of good poets for the instruction of the virtuous.

अवलोक्य मतानि सत्कवीनां

अवगम्य स्वधिया च काव्यलक्ष्म ।

सुजनावगमाय सामहेन

प्रथित रत्निलगोमिसूत्रनेदम् ॥ VI 64

and the making of faultless poetry facilitates the pursuit of the Puru-

§1 For details of arguments about the priority of Bhāmaha to Dandin, see Trivedi's introduction to Prataparudrayasobhushana, M Rangacharya's Introduction to Kavyadarsa, Anantacharya in Brahmayadin (1911), R Narasimhaacharya, *Ind Ant.* XLII 20 and Medepalli Venkataramanacharya's *History of Alankārasūtra* (in Telugu). Tarunavācaspati, in his commentary on Kāvyaadarśa (I 29, II 295 7, IV 4) distinctly says that Dandin criticises Bhāmaha. See S K De's *SP*, I 45 62. For a contrary opinion, see P V Kane, *JRAS*, (1908) 545, *IA*, XLI 12-98, Patihak, *JBAS*, XXIII 19, *IA*, XLI 222, M T Narsimha Aypangar, *JRAS*, (1905) 535, Barnett, *JRAS* (1905) 841, D T Tatacarya, Int to Edn. While Bhāmaha mentions that Upamā should not be divided into several categories as Nūṇopamā, Praśamsopamā, etc., and that all such varieties should come under sāmānyaguṇa, these scholars see in it a criticism of Dandin's long list of varieties of Upamā.

2 See A Rangasami Sarasvati, *JMy*, III 682

3 For the list of Alankāras illustrated in Canto X, see *JRAS*, (1922), 880 *et seq*. On this question there is a difference of opinion. See para 48 *supra*.

4 Ganapathi Sastri, in his introduction to Svapnavāśvaḍaṭṭa (*TSS*, No 15 p XXIV), places Bhāmaha far earlier than Kālidasa and in the 1st century B C. See III. 36 and I. 43, where references to Kālidasa's Raghuvamśī, XV 7, 8 and Megha, I. are indicated. S K De, (*SP*, I 49) places him in 7-8 century A D.

5 Printed by K P Trivedi, as appendix to Praṭāparudrayasobhushana (*BSS*), Ed by P. V Naganathasastri with translation, Tarjore, Ed D T Tatacarya with Vṛtti, Trivadi, Tanjore.

sarṥhas and leads on to pleasure and celebrity His instruction for choice of words and their disposition is an enchanting instance of his esthetics

एतत् प्राह्य सुरमि कुसुम ग्राम्यमेतन्निधेय
धत्ते शोभा विरचितमिदं स्थानमस्यैतदस्य ।
मालाकारो रचयति यथा सायु विज्ञाय माला
योज्य काव्येष्ववहितधिया तद्वदेवामिधानम् ॥ I 59

His humility is in keeping with his dignity and he leaves his homage to the Goddess of Poetry unmindful of his deserts

न दूषणायायमुदाहृतो विधिर्न चामिमानेन किमु प्रतीयते (?) ।
कृतात्मनां तत्त्वदृशा च मादृशो जनोऽभिसन्धि क इवावमोत्स्यते ॥ IV 51

In six chapters, he deals with six topics, Kāvyaśarīra, Alankāra, Doṣa, Nyāya and Sābdasuddhi His veneration for Pāṇini is supreme and his description of the Ocean of Vyākaraṇa reminds us of the garlands of metaphors which is Vālmīki's peculiar glory

सूत्रात्मस पदावर्तं पारायणरसातलम् ।
घातूणादिगणग्राहं ध्यानग्रहबृहत्सुखम् ॥
धीरैरालोक्षितप्रान्तभ्रमेषां सिरस्यितम् ।
सदोपमुक्त सर्वाभिरन्यविधाकरेणुभिः ॥
नापाययित्वा दुर्गाधमसु व्याकरणार्णवम् ।
शब्दरत्नं स्वयं गम्यमलङ्कृतुमयं जन ॥ VI 1-3.

Here is Vālmīki's description of the sky as an ocean

स चन्द्रकुमुद रम्यं सार्ककारण्डव शुभम् ।
तिष्यश्रवणकादम्बमम्रघैवालशाद्वलम् ॥
पुनर्वसुमहासीनं लोहिताङ्गमहाग्रहम् ।
ऐरावतमहाद्वीपं स्वातीहसविलोलितम् ॥
वातसघातजालोर्ध्वचन्द्रांशुशिशिराम्बुवत् ।
भुजङ्गयक्षगन्धर्वप्रबुद्धरुमलोत्पलम् ॥
हनुमान् मारुतगतिर्महानौरिव सागरम् ।
अपारमपरिक्षोभ्यं पुष्पलवे गगनार्णवम् ॥

Rāmāyaṇa, V 57, 1-4

By his assertive expression and courageous criticism he displays the ardour of his study and the range of his learning He disapproves

as unnatural and improbable of the use of inanimate objects as messengers of love and the story of the capture of Vaṭsarāja by the lure of a false elephant. He condemns the Sphota theorists with disdain.

शपथैरपि चादेय वचो न स्फोटवादिनाम् ।

नमः कुसुमस्तीति श्रद्धयात् क सचेतन ॥ VI 12

The illustrations are all Bhāmaha's except where he quotes expressly from other authors. He says:

ख्य कृतेरेव निदर्शनेरिय मया प्रकल्पता खलु वागलङ्कृति । II 96

Bhāmaha is called the founder of Alankāra school. According to him Vakroktī is the character of poetry.

सैषा सर्वैव वक्रोक्तिरनयाऽर्थो विभाव्यते ।

यत्तोऽस्यां कविना कार्यं कोऽलङ्कारोऽनया विना ॥ II 85

This verse of Bhāmaha has been quoted by later writers, and Bhāmaha also states it in other words:

वक्रामिधेयशब्दोक्तिरिष्टा वाचामलङ्कृति ।—I 36

वाचां वक्रार्थशब्दाक्तिरलङ्काराय कल्पते ।—V 66.

And Abhinavagupta thus explains it:

शब्दस्य हि वक्रता अभिधेयस्य च (वक्रता) लोकोत्तरीणेन रूपेणावस्थानमित्ययमेवासावलङ्कारान्तर्भावः । (?)

It cannot therefore be said that Bhāmaha was an opponent of the existence of Dhvani, though indeed Mallināṭha called him Dhvanyabhāvavādin.

Ānandavardhana appreciates Bhāmaha's views :

मामहेनाप्यतिशयोक्तिलक्षणे यदुक्त 'सैषा सर्वैव वक्रोक्तिरिति, तत्रातिशयोक्तिर्यमलङ्कारमधिष्ठति कविप्रतिमावशात्तच्छ चातुर्यातिशययोगोऽयस्यालङ्कारमाहृतैवेति सर्वालङ्कारत्वकरणयोग्यत्वेनाभेदोपचारात्, सैव सर्वालङ्काररूपेणयमेवार्थोऽवगन्तव्यः । तस्यालङ्कारान्तरसङ्कीर्णत्वकदाचिद्वाच्यत्वेन कदाचिद्वचनत्वेन । (Bom. Edn. P. 207-8)

Ruyyaka thus sums up Bhāmaha's views :

इह हि तावद्भामहोद्भूतप्रभृतयश्चिरन्तनालङ्कारिकाः प्रतीयमानमर्थं वाच्योपस्कारतया अलङ्कारपक्षनिक्षिप्तं मन्यन्ते ।

Among the authors and works mentioned by Bhāmaha are Nyāsa-

kāra, Medhāvin,¹ Śākhavardhana,² Ratnāharana, Rāmasarma's Acyutottara,³ Asmakavamsa and Rājamiṭra

It is a matter of controversy whether this Nyāsakara was Jinendrabuddhi.⁴ Namisādhu mentions Medhāvīn as a writer on Alankāra and adds

अत्र च स्वरूपोपादाने सत्यपि चत्वार इति ग्रहणाद्यन्मेधाविप्रभृतिभिरुक्तम् यथा लिङ्ग-
वचनभेदौ हीनताधिक्यमसम्भवो विपर्ययोऽसादृश्यमिति सप्तोपमादोषा , तदेतच्चिरस्तम् ।

Medhāvin is probably identical with Medhavi Rudra, whom Rājasekhara instances as a poet born blind and one of the three Kālidāsa (Kālidasaṭraya) mentioned by Rājasekhara. The Lexicon Trikandasesa gives it as a synonym of Kālidāsa.

Rāmasarma's poetry is thus described

नानाधात्वर्थगम्भीरा यमकव्यपदेशिनी ।

प्रहेलिका सा ह्युदिता रामश्मार्च्युतोत्तरे ॥ II 19

Śākhavardhana's verse is fine

निष्पेतुरास्यादिव तस्य दीना शरा धनुर्मण्डलमध्यभाज ।

जाज्वल्यमाना इव वारिधारा दिनार्धभाज परिवेषिणोऽर्कात् ॥ II 47

and the same verse is quoted anonymously by Namisādhu and Mamata

On the style of Asmakavamsa there is this comment

ननु चाश्मकवशादि वैदर्भमिति कथ्यते । I 33

From Rājamiṭra, there is an instance taken to illustrate the figure samāhita

1 त एत उपमादोषास्तसमेधाविनोदिता । I. 40

2 His verse

निष्पेतुरास्यादिव तस्य दीना शरा धनुर्मण्डलमध्यभाज ।

जाज्वल्यमाना इव वारिधारा दिनार्धभाज परिवेषिणोऽर्कात् ॥ II 47

is quoted to illustrate the fault Asambhava.

3 His verse

सर्पातवासा प्रगृहीतशार्ङ्गे मनोहर्त्ताम वपुराप कृष्ण ।

शतहृदेन्द्रायुर्ध्वानिशायी ससृज्यमानश्शशिनेव मेघ ॥ II 57

is instanced for उपमाने अधिकपदत्वम् ।

4 On this see K B Pathak's *Bhāmaha's attacks on Jinendrabuddhi* (JBRAS, XXIII 18), P. V Kane, *Bhāmaha, Bhasa and Magha* (Ibid 91) and K. P Threl, (IA, XLIII, 204, 207)

समाहित राजभिन्ने यथा क्षत्रिययोषिताम् ।
रामप्रसक्त्यै यान्तीना पुरोऽदृश्यत नारद ॥ III 10

Bhāmaha refers to Nanda and Cāṇakya thus ,

चाणक्यो नक्तमुपयानन्दक्रोडागृह यथा ।
शशिकाक्तोन्तोपलच्छन्न विवेद पयसा कणै ॥—III 13

Bhāmaha has been honoured in the history of poetics as an Ācārya of antiquity and renown Vidyānātha wrote

पूर्वेभ्यो मामहादिभ्य सादर विहिताञ्जलि ।

Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta, Vāmana and Mammata and others quote his views and verses with distinction

Udbhata's gloss, Bhāmahavivarṇa, is now lost ²

In the prefatory eulogies to his commentary on Kāvyaṣṭakāśa Bhatta Gopāla wrote

उद्धटेनापि नम्रेण नायकेनोपललित ।
हृद्यो माम इव स्त्रीणामल्पारम्भोऽपि मामह ॥

Is it possible that Bhaṭṭanāyaka also composed a commentary on Bhāmaha's Kāvyaṣṭakāśa, as Udbhata did ?

It is suspected that Bhāmaha wrote a later work on rhetoric with greater completeness, for we have in Rasikarasaśānam,³ which goes under his name, an elaborate treatment in seven parakarṇas of all topics embraced in poetics. The exposition of the Nāṭyaṣṭakāśa of Bharata is particularly good. But a distinction must be made between the Kārikas and the Vṛttis. If these Kārikas could have been the

1, In his commentary on Udbhata's Kāvyaṣṭakāśa-saṅgraha Praṭibhārendurāja says,

विशेषोक्तिरक्षणे च मामहविवरणे मद्दोद्धटेन एकदेशशब्द एष व्याख्यात

Abhinavagupta in his Locana (p 10) says

मामहोक्त 'शब्दच्छन्दोऽभिधानार्था' इत्याभिधानस्य शब्दात् भेद व्याख्यातु मद्दोद्धटो बभाषे ।

Hemacandra in his Kāvyaṣṭakāśa-udāmaṇi (p 110) says

तस्माद्गुणिकाप्रवाहे गुणालकारभेद इति मामहविवरणे यद्गद्गदोऽप्यधात् तन्निरस्तम् ।
and Ruyyaka in Alankārasarvasva (p. 188) says

अपि च शब्दानामाकुलता(?)चेति तस्य हेतून् प्रचक्षते मामह्वये । वाचामनाकुलत्वेऽपि माविकमिति चोद्धटलक्षणे ।

2 Mys 808

work of Bhāmaha Vṛtti must have been anonymously written later than the 12th century A D, for it mentions Kāvya-prakāśa and Bhāva-prakāśa and quotes Mālaṭīmādhava.

In spite of the attempts of scholars to get at a complete manuscript of Bhāmaha's work, it is still suspected that these editions are not yet the last word. For instance in Locana, Abhinavagupta writes

भामहेन हि गुरुदेवचूपातिपुत्रविषयप्रीतिवर्णनं प्रयोऽलङ्कार इत्युक्तम् ।

But in the extant editions, we see only one verse delineating the Love for Devas

प्रेयो गृहागतं कृष्णमवादीद्विदुरो यथा ।
अथ या मम गोविन्द जाता त्वयि गृहागते ।
कालेनैषा भवेत्प्रीतिस्तवैवागमनात् पुन ॥—III, 5

There is an indication that Bhāmaha wrote also a work on metrics Rāghavabhatta in his commentary on Śaṅkara quotes

तदुक्तं भामहेन—

देवता वाचका शब्दा ये च भद्रादिवाचका ।
ते सर्वे नैव निन्धा स्युर्लिपितो गणतोऽपि वा ॥
क खो गो घश्च लक्ष्मीं वितरति वियथो हस्तथा च सुखं छ
प्रीतिं जो मितलाम भयमरणकरौ ह्यौ टठौ खेददुःखे ।
हृश्चोमा हो विशोमा भ्रमणमथ च गन्तं सुखं थश्च युद्धं
दो घ. सौख्यं मुदं न सुखमयमरणह्येशु.खं पवर्गं ॥
यो लक्ष्यं रश्च दाहं व्यसनमथ लवौ शस्सुखं षश्च खेदं
सस्सौख्यं हृश्च खेदं विलयमपि च ल क्षसमृद्धिं करोति ।
सयुक्तं चेहं न स्यात् सुखमरणपञ्चवर्णविन्यासयाग (?)
पद्यादौ गद्यवक्त्रे वचसि च सकल प्राकृतादौ समोऽयम् ॥

And if these two authors are identical, this work on metrics appears to be an extensive treatise on the topic.

Here are some fine specimens of Bhāmaha's poetry

ताम्बूलरागवलयं स्फुरद्भजनदीधिति ।
इन्दीवराभिनयनं तवेव वदनं तव ॥ III 46
अशुभाङ्गिणं मणिमि फलनिर्झरं शाखिमि ।
फुल्लैश्च कुसुमैरन्यैर्वाचोऽलङ्कुरुते यथा ॥ V 64.

किंशुकव्यपदेशेन तस्मादुह्य सर्वत ।
 दग्धादधमरण्यानां पश्यतीव विभावसु ॥ II 92
 एलातकोलनागस्फुटवकुललताचन्दनस्पन्दनाढ्य
 सूक्ताकपूरचक्रागरकमनशिलाध्यानकाम्यासतीर ।
 शङ्खप्राताकुलान्तस्तिमिमकरकुलाकीर्णवीचीप्रतानो
 धत्ते यस्याम्बुराशिश्शशिकुमुदसुधाक्षीरशुद्धा सुकीर्तिम् ॥ V 68
 तस्या हारी स्तनामोगो वदन हारि सुन्दरम् ।
 हारिणी तनुरत्यन्त कियन्नहरते मन ॥ VI 47
 आक्रोशनाह्वयन्न्यानाधावन्मण्डल रुदन् ।
 गा वारयति दण्डेन डिम्भस्वस्यावतारणी ॥ II 94

816 Dandin's Kavyadarsa,¹ in four parts, is a standard treatise on poetics and belongs to the school, for which *itti* or style is the mark of poetry.² It deals with only two styles Gaudī (learned) and Vaidarbhī (simple) but allows intermediate types. The first part treats of the nature of poetry and classification of poems, the second and third parts with figures of speech and poetical devices and the fourth part with the faults of poetry. It refers to Setubandha³ and quite often differs from opinions must probably of Bhāmaha.⁴ Very soon it attained great eminence and as early as the eighth century A D it was copied in the Kanarese work on Alankāra, Kavirājamargaviṇaya of Amoghavarṣa or Nṛpaṭunga.

There are commentaries on Kāvya-darsa by Vāḍighaṅghālaḍeva,⁵

1, Ed by Premacandra Tarkavagisa, (*Prob Ind*) Ed by Bohtlingk, (Leipzig) with German translation by Jibananda (Calcutta) Tr in English (Poona) On Agasthe's doubt on the identity of the authors of Kavyādarśa and Daśakumāracarita, see *IA*, XLIV 67, S K De, *Bharavi and Dandin*, (*IQ*), I

2 The four *vidhagās* (parts) are called *mārga arthālamkāra*, *śabdālamkāra* and *doṣa*

3 Kāvya-darsa, I 34, also to a work called *Kalāparicoḍeḍa*

4 On the relative priority of Bhāmaha and Dandin see para 815 *supra* S K. De, *A note on Avantasundarikāvya in relation to Bhāmaha and Dandin*, *IQ*, III 395

5 Ed with notes and translation by V Krishnamachariar and V Hanumanṭa chariar, Madras *TC*, III 3928, *SKC*, 61, 270

There is a copper plate grant of Ganga Kung Mārasimha dated 968 A D to a Jain Scholar Munjārya who had the title "Vāḍighaṅghālabhatta" (See *Mys Arch Rep.* 1921)

The contents of this plate and 6 other plates are described by R Narasimhacharya in his paper "The Western Ganges of Talkad," published in the *Jl Mythic Society*,

Tarunavācaspati,¹ S K Belvalkar and N B Raddi,² by Premacandra,³ by Jibānanda,⁴ by Harināṭha son of Viśveśvara,⁵ by Naraśimha, Bhāgiratha and Vijayānanda,⁶ by Viśvanātha,⁷ by Tribhuvanacandra,⁸ by Tṛṇaranata Bhīma,⁹ by Kṛṇakinkara Tarkavāgisa Bhattachārya,¹⁰ by Mallināṭha, son of Jagannātha,¹¹ and three anonymous¹²

Bangalore Ganga geneology from Konganivarman to Marasimhadeva (Satyavakya) is given there. See *MI*, IV 141, *Mys Arch Rep* 1919, *Ep Car* X, Kolar 90. In commenting upon Kāvyaṭṭarāsa, II 979, he says

रात (ज?) वर्मण इति रातवर्मा नाम

and that verse is from *Keralavamsākāvyā*. In mentioning previous rhetoricians (I 2) he names Brahmadatta, Nandiswami etc. He refers to Kusumamanjari an Ākhyāyikā Rangaśārya and Agashe read *Rājavarman* and he referring to Rājāsundara varman alias Naraśimhavarman II of Kāncī whose titles Kālakāla Dandin is said to have alluded to in Kāvyaṭṭarāsa (III 80) Mahāvīraṇa (*Ibid* IV 25) is said to be a from referring to the royal token of Calukya Pulakesin II. S K De, (*SP*, I 55) says "But the passage under discussion looks like a reference to a legendary rather than a contemporary prince and as Pischel suggested the entire verse 278 may have been taken directly from a work relating to history."

1. Ed Madras, by M Rangacharya with an introduction *DC*, XXII 8635. Tirunavācaspati and Vāḍighaṅghāla say in their commentary on I 29, II 235 and IV 4 that Dandin there criticises Bhāmaha. Tarunavācaspati quotes Bhoja and the Jain poet Hastimalla and is quoted in an anonymous Subhāṣitāsangraha, probably of the 15th century. Poet Hastimalla referred to by him is probably the Jain dramatist (See S K De, *SP*, II 72). The name is given as Dharmavācaspati in *Opp* 2581.

2. Ed *BSS*, Bombay.

3. Printed, Calcutta.

4. Printed, Calcutta.

5. Ed Madras *DC*, XXII 8638. It is called *Hṛdayaṅgamā*. In the commentary on I 2, it is stated that before Dandin, Kāśyapa and Vararuci had written works on Alankāra and Kālidāsa had produced his poem. The second anonymous commentary is extant only to the 1st Parichheda and seems to be an ancient work. This quotes the first verse of Pratiṅgāyāugandharāyana. For the third, see *Mitra*, 297, *CSO*, VII 21.

6. *PR*, VI 30 (Bod 206). He was son of Viśvaḍhara and wrote a commentary on *Sarasvatikanthābharaṇa*. He cites *Keśavamītra*.

7. *CC*, I 102. Nṛsimha was the son of Godāḍhara and grandson of Kṛṣṇaśarma.

8. Haraprasad Sastri's report (1896 00) and Haraprasad Sastri's Notices, second series, i iv. He was a Jain and was also known as Vāḍisimha.

9. *Hall's Index*, 63.

10. *ICO*, No 1497.

11. *CC*, II 20. He is referred to by Viśveśvara in *Alankārakaustabha* (69). He is different from Kolacala Mallināṭha.

12. *CC*, I 108, *Opp*, 4112.

817 Dharmakīrti is an old writer on Alankāra. He was a Buddhist philosopher.¹ He commented on Dignāga's *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* and wrote several other works on Buddhist philosophy. His *Buddhanirvāpastotra* is a short poem of devotion. Quotations in the anthologies show his exquisite poetry.²

818 Bauddhasangati, though not now extant, is probably alluded to by Subandhu in his *Vāsavadattā*.³ It is quoted by Ānanda-vardhana⁴ and Ksemendra.⁵

According to Tārānātha,⁶ Dharmakīrti lived in the time of the Tibetan King Srong-tsan-gampo, who was born in 617 A.D. and reigned 629-698 A.D.⁷ and if Dignāga flourished in the 5th or 6th century A.D.⁸ it may be safe, apart from difference of opinion, to say

1. Andrecht, *IST*, XVI 204, *ZDMG*, XXVII 41, CC, I 268. He is quoted in the *Sarvadārsanasaṅgraha* (I 5). See also *BR*, (1897) xx.

2. For a full list of his works, see Thomas, *Kav* 48-9.

3. Bstod, fol. 222.

4. Hall's *Hdn* 285 and preface 10. बौद्धसंगतिमिवालङ्कारभूषिताम्. On this Śivā-rāma says अलङ्कारो नाम धर्मकीर्तिकृतो ग्रन्थविशेष. See also R. V. Krishnamachariar, *Int* to Vasa xxxii, K. T. Telang, *JBRAS*, XVIII 148, K. B. Pathak, *JBRAS*, XVIII 88, L. H. Gray, *Int* to Vasa. Levi denies this allusion (*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, III 45). The Tibetan Tanjur does not mention this work.

5. For quotations in the anthologies, see Peterson, *Subh* 46-48, F. W. Thomas, *Kav* 48-50.

See for instance in *SDK*, II 141.

शशिनमसूत प्राची नृपति मदमो हसन्ति ककुमोऽपि ।

कुमुदरज पटवास विकिरति गगनाङ्गणे पवनः ॥

6. See Peterson, *JBRAS*, XVI 408, 172-8.

7. *History of Buddhism*.

8. Dignāga's date is fixed at 5th or 6th century (see para 17 note *supra*) and Dharmakīrti must be at least half a century later.

There is a tradition that at the instance of Bāṇa, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa secretly studied under a Buddhist monk and after learning the secrets of their teaching vanquished Dharmakīrti, then they became friends and jointly composed the grammatical work *Rupāvatāra* (Jd Madras). This would make Bāṇa, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa and Dharmakīrti contemporaries.

9. Burnell's Preface to *Śāmaśāstra Brāhmaṇa*, K. B. Pathak, (*JBRAS*, XVIII 88) says that ITsing calls himself a contemporary of Dharmakīrti (Max Müller, *India*, 210 and *IA*, XIX. 319 and Takakusu's Translation of ITsing's, *A record of the Buddhist religion*, iv et seq and the accuracy of the translation is disputed (see *JBRAS*, XVIII 149). See also *IA*, IV 141 and IX 316, K. T. Telang (*JBRAS*, XVIII 149) calls attention to this fact that Śhivarama who was a contemporary of Dharmakīrti (Max Müller, *India*, 806) died some considerable time before 587 A.D. (*IA*, VI. 19).

that Dharmakīrti flourished in the last quarter of the 6th and the early part of 7th century A D

819 Vamana was a poet of the Court of King Javāpīda of Kāñmir (779-819 A D)¹ and having migrated later to the Court of the Rāṣtrakūta King Jagatīunga known as Govinda III (794-813 A D,) he became also a member of his Council.² From the invocatory verses in his works, it is inferred that in religion he favoured Buddhism and Jainism Abhinavagupta refers to Vāmāna's views as having been alluded to by Ānandavardhana and thus suggests that Vāmāna was the earlier.³ Vāmāna makes quotations⁴ from Kādambārī, Uṭṭararāmacarita, and Śiśupālavadha and these references make it probable that he flourished about the end of the 8th century and the beginning of the 9th century A D.⁵ His Kāvya-lankārasūtras with his own gloss⁶ are divided into 5 chapters and embrace the whole sphere of poetics His theory is that style (रीति) is the soul of poetry,⁷ and though traces of this theory are discernible in earlier literature, it was Vāmāna who clearly propounded it and created a school of poetics The popularity of the work has brought it the name of Kavipriyā

There are commentaries on the Kāvya-lankārasūtras by Gopendra

1 मनोरथश्चन्द्रदत्तश्चटक्सन्धिमास्तथा ।

बभूवु कवयस्तस्य वामनायाश्च मन्त्रिण ॥ *Rai* IV 497

2 "While commenting on the phrase *Rājārtha* in the 9th Kārika of his *Lingānūśāna* Vāmāna mentions Jagatīunga sabhā Vāmāna also mentions the name of the village Śrībhāvana as a village and this village is given in *RI*, XI 162 (Varāṇasī and Rādhāpur plates) of that King as a place where he spent the rainy season with his army" For the grants of Govindarāja III, see *RI*, VIII App 10-12, *RI*, V 192

3 Dhvanyāloka, p 97 वामनामिप्रायेणायमाक्षेप ।

4 He also quotes from Subandhu, Amarśāṭaka, Kīrtītarjuniya and Mṛccha-katikā and refers to Kāmaṇḍakīnīlī, Nāmamālā and Hariprabodha, also to poets Viśākhila (author of *Kāśāśāstra*), Śūdraka and Kavirāja, probably the one mentioned as ancestor of Rājasekhara (?)

5 Vāmāna the author of the grammatical work *Kāśika* is referred to by Huen Tsang the Chinese Traveller and could not therefore be identical See also *PI*, I 28 So. See articles in *COJ*, and II

6 Edited by Cappeller (Jeena), also Bombay (*Kāvya-māla*) and Srirangam. Ed by N N Kulkarni, Ed. by in *JSSP*, Calcutta Tr into English by Ganganāth Jha

7 See para 801 *supra* See article by K. Gopalakrishnasastri in *Andhra Sah Par Patrika*, XXI 189 and by G Ganapatiśarma, in *Ibid*, XX. 817

Tip̥pa Bhūpāla¹ and by Mahesvara² and by Sahadeva.³ Sahadeva, the earliest commentator on the work says that the study of Vāmana's⁴ work had fallen into disuetude and Bhatta Mukula procured a manuscript and revived the interest in it⁵

Besides this work on rhetoric the following works were also Vāmana's compositions, Lingānusāsana,⁶ Vidyadharakāvya⁷ and part of Kāśikāvṛtti⁸

820 Udbhata was a poet of the court of King Jayāpīda of Kāśmīr (779-813 A D.) and was the President of the royal Council on a salary of a lakh of dinaras a day In that council was Manoraṭha, Sankhadatta, Cataka, Sandhuman, Vāmana etc

So says Kalhana (*Raj* IV 495, 497)

विद्वान् दीनारलक्षेण प्रत्यहं कृतवेतन ।
महोऽमृदुद्वटस्तस्य भूमिमर्तुस्समापतिः ॥
मनोरथश्चङ्खदतश्चटकस्तन्धिमांस्तथा ।
बभूवु कवयस्तस्य वामनाद्याश्च मन्त्रिणः ॥

1 He is otherwise known as T̥purahara Bhupāla, apparently a South Indian Prince He cites Vidyādhara, Vidyānāṭha, Mallināṭha and Dharmada and also a work called Kavikajānkūśa He lived probably in the 16th century A D The commentary is called Kāmaḍhenu Ed Benarer and Srirangam

2. *IOC*, 566 O Bod 2076 See for further information under Śrīvatsalānchana and Subodhanamiśra, commentators on Mammata *poet*

3 Sahadeva was a disciple of Śankadhara and belonged to the family of Tomaras He learnt the work from Bhatta Mukula

4 On Vāmana generally see V V Sovani, *Bhandarakar Com* Vol 398, G A, Jacob, *JRAS*, (1897), 288, Buhler, *Bhl*, 6h, P V Kane, *Id*, XLI 204, Vāmana cārya, Introduction to Kāvyaṇṇakasa, Fischell, Introduction to Śṛṅgārātīlaka, Capeller, Introduction to Edn (His date as later than 1000 A D is untenable) S K De, *SP*, 81-4.

5 वेदिता सर्वशास्त्राणां महोऽमृदुकुलामिध ।
लब्ध्वा कृतविदादर्घं ब्रह्मन्नार्यसमुदघृतम् ।
काव्यालङ्कारशास्त्रं यत्तेनैतद्वामनोदितम् ।

6. Ed with the author's own commentary by O. D Dalal, (*GOS*) with introduction

7 This is referred to by Vardhamāna in his Gaṇarāṭnamahodadhī

“वामनोऽविश्रान्तविद्यारकाव्यकर्ता”

8 The joint author was Jayāditya See Belwalkar, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* and articles in *JSSP*, Calcutta by Malati Sen.

In Sadgarusantānaparimāla it is stated that Abhinavasankara, 38th Ācārya of Kāmakotipīṭha was contemporary of Udbhata

क्षीरस्वामिनोरथेशचटकश्रीसन्धिमच्छङ्खक-
श्रीदामोदरदङ्कयवामनमहोपाध्यायमुख्यान् कवीन् ।
अष्टावप्यमिभूय दुर्जयतया मष्टोद्धट प्रलह
यो दीनारकलक्षवेतनवह कोस्याग्रतस्सोप्यभूत् ॥

According to Kalhana, Jayāpīda roamed about other kingdoms with a feigned name Kallata and while witnessing Bharatanāṭya in the temple of Kārṭikeya at Paundravardhana (in Gauda Country ruled by king Jayanta) he was so taken up by the graces of the art, that he took with him one of the dancing women, Kamalā and made her his queen. It was probably at the request of the king that Udbhata began his writings ¹

Ānandavaḍhana mentions him with great reverence His KAVYA-LANKARASANGRAHA, a treatise in six chapters, deals with 41 figures of speech ²

There are two commentaries on it, one Vivṛṭi (now anonymous), probably the same as Uḍbhatavivēka of Rājānaka Ṭilaka, the other by Prajñārendurāja ³

Uḍbhata's gloss Bhāmahavivaraṇa is referred to by Ānandavaradhana, Abhinavagupta and Hemacandra,

821 Uḍbhata's poem **Kumarasambhava** is extant only in the illustrations quoted in his Kāvyaālankarasangraha. The few verses so preserved indicate a grace of expression and a mode of narration, which far transcends the theme of Kālidāsa in its poetic propriety. These are some verses

तत प्रभृति निस्सङ्गो नागकुञ्जरकृचिभृत् । शितिकण्ठ कालगलत्सतीशोकानलव्यथ ॥
तत्र तोयाशयाशेषन्याकौशितकुशेशया । चक्राश्ले शालिकिंशारकृपिशामुखा शरत् ॥
सान्द्रारविन्दवृन्दोत्थमकरन्दाम्बुविन्दुमि । स्रग्दिमिस्सुन्दरस्रग्द नन्दितन्दिन्दिरा कचित् ॥

1 *Raj* IV 412-434

2 *Bom Edn.*, pages 96, 108

3 *Ed GOS*, Baroda Rājānaka Ṭilaka is mentioned by Jayaraṭha in his commentary on *Alankārasarvasva*, as the author of *Uḍbhatavivēka* (*Bom Edn.*, 118), Ṭilaka was the father of Ruṇyaka (Rucaka) and lived about the end of the 11th century for whom see *post*. In the introduction to this edition by K. S. Ramaswamisastri Śrīmanu discusses all that relates to this commentary

4 *Ed* by Banhatti, Bombay

केलिलोलालिमालाना कलै कोलाहलै क्वचित् । कुर्वती काननारूढश्रीनूपुररवभ्रमम् ॥
 क्वचिदुत्फुल्लकमला कमलवान्तषट्पदा । षट्पदक्वाणमुखरा मुखरस्फारसारसा ॥
 पद्मिनी पद्मिनी गाढस्पृहयागल्य मानसान् । अन्तर्दन्तुरयाभासुहसा हसकुलालयात् ॥
 जितान्यपुष्पकिञ्जल्ककिञ्जल्कश्रेणिशोभितम् । लेभेऽवतसतां नारीमुखेन्दुवसितोत्पलम् ॥
 काशा काशा इवामान्ति मरासीव सरासि च । चेतस्याचिक्षिपुर्धूना निम्नगा इव निम्नगा ॥
 ज्योत्स्नाम्बुनेन्दुकुम्भेन ताराकुसुमशारितम् । कमशो रात्रिकन्यामिव्योमोद्यानमसिच्यत ॥
 उत्पतद्भि पतद्भिश्च पिच्छालीवालशालेभि । राजहसैरवीज्यन्त शरदेव सरोजपा ॥
 आसारभारविशिष्टै नमोभागप्रभासिभि । प्रसाध्यते स्म धवळैराशाराज्य बलाहकै ॥
 सजहार शरत्काल कदम्बकुसुमश्रिय । प्रेयोवियोगिनीना च निशेषमुखसम्पद ॥
 क्षण कामज्वरोच्छ्रित्यै भूयस्सन्तापवृद्धये । वियोगिनामभूचान्द्री चन्द्रिका चन्दन यथा ॥
 तरुण्य इव भान्ति स्म चक्रवार्ते स्तनैरिव । प्रबोधाद्वल रात्रौ किञ्जल्कालीनषट्पदम् ।
 शशाङ्कबिम्बेन सम बमौ कुसुदकाननम् ॥
 अपि सा सुमुखी तिष्ठेददृष्टे पथि कथंचन । अप्रार्थितोपसम्पन्ना पतितानव्रष्टिवत् ॥

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इति काले कलोह्लापिकादम्बकुलसकुले । त्रिदशाधीशशार्दूल पश्चात्तापेन वूर्जि ॥
 तां शशिच्छायवदनां नीलोत्पलदलेक्षणाम् । सरोजकलिकागौरौ गौरौ प्रति मनो दधे ॥

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सदग्धविग्रहेणापि वीर्यमात्रस्थितात्माना । स्पृष्ट कामेन सामान्यप्राणिबिन्तमाचिन्तयत् ॥
 चण्डालकल्पे कन्दर्पं प्लुष्ट्वा माये तिरोहिते । सञ्जातातुलनैराश्या किं सा शोकान्मृता भवेत् ॥

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स गौरीशिखर गत्वा ददृशौमां तप कृशाम् । राहुपीतप्रमस्येन्दोर्जयन्तीं दूरतस्तनुम् ॥
 पद्म च निशि निश्श्रीक दिवा चन्द्र च निष्प्रमम् । स्पुरच्छायेन सतत मुखेनाथ प्रकुर्वतीम् ॥
 शीर्णपर्णांस्त्रुवाताशकष्टेऽपि तपसि स्थिताम् । समुद्रहन्तीं नापूर्वं गर्वमन्यतपास्त्रिवत् ॥
 या क्षैशिरी श्रीस्तपसा मासेनैकेन विश्रुता । तपसा तां सुदीर्घेण दूराद्विदधतीमथ ॥
 अङ्गलेखामकाङ्क्षीरसमालम्भनापिञ्जराम् । अनलक्तकताम्रामामोष्ठमुद्रां च बिभ्रतीम् ॥
 दन्तप्रमासुमनय पाणिपल्लवशोभिनीम् । तन्वीं वनगतां लीनजटाषट्चरणवल्लिम् ॥
 तपस्तेजस्स्फुरितया निजलावण्यसपदा । तपसास्याः कृतान्यत्वं कौमाराद्येन लभ्यते ॥
 अचिन्तयच्च भगवानहो नु रमणीयता । पतेधदि शशिद्योतच्छठा पथे विकासिनि । मुक्ताफलाक्षमालायाः करेऽस्थाः स्यात्तदोपमा ॥
 मन्ये च निपतन्त्यस्या कटाक्षा दिक्षु पृष्ठतः । प्रादाणाथे तु गञ्जन्ति स्मरबाणपरम्परा ॥

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किंवाच बहुनोक्तेन ब्रज सतीरमानुहि । उदन्वन्तमनासाध महानथः किमासेते ॥

822 Lollata's commentary on Bharata is mentioned by Abhinavagupta and other later writers. He seems to have definitely championed the theory of *rasa*, and this Sankuka who came after him attacked. He was probably a Kāśmīrian and lived about the beginning of the 9th century A D, because according to Abhinavagupta he controverted the views of Udbhata. On the question of denotation of words, he held that *abhidhū* is comprehensive enough to include any implication or suggestion, so he is called by Mammata and Hemacandra as *Īrghavyāpāravādin*. There is Rājasekhara's quotation in *Kāvya-mīmāṃsa* (p 45)

“ ‘ अस्तु नाम निस्सीमा अर्थसार्थ । किन्तु रसवत् एव निबन्धो युक्त , न नीरसस्य इति आपराजिति । यदाह —

‘ मञ्जनपुष्पावचयनसन्ध्याचन्द्रोदयादिवाक्यमिह ।
सरसमपि नातिबहुलं प्रकृतरसान्वित रचयेत् ॥
यस्तु सरिदद्रिसागरपुरतुरगरथादिवर्णने यत्न ।
कविशक्तिख्यातिफलो विततधिया नो मत स इह ॥’ ”

This second verse is quoted along with another by Hemacandra in his *Kāvyañusāsana* (p 35) as Lollata's

यथाह लोकट —

‘ यस्तु सरिदद्रिसागरनगनुरगपुरारिवर्णने यत्न ।
कविशक्तिख्यातिफलो विततधिया नो मत प्रबन्धेषु ॥
यमकानुलोमतदितरचक्रादिभिदोऽतिरसविरोधिन्य ।
अभिमानमात्रभेदद्वन्द्वरिकादिप्रवाहो वा ॥’ इति

This suggests that Lollata was son of Aparājita ¹

1 Vallabhadeva has a verse of Bhatta Aparājita (*Sūbh* 1024) which looks satirical

क्षुत्क्षामेण कथं कथंचिदनिशं गात्रं कृशं विभ्रता
भ्रान्तं येन गृहे गृहे गृहवतामुच्छिष्टपिण्डार्थिना ।
अस्थं खण्डमवाप्य दैवपतितं शून्या त्रिलोकीमिसा
मन्वानो धिगहो स एव सरमापुत्रोऽस्य सिंहायते ॥

Is he identical with Aparājita, the poet who was a contemporary of Rājasekhara and mentioned in his prologue to *Bālarāmāyaṇa* (see para 655 *supra*).

On Lollata, see S. K. De, *SP* 88 and Vamanācārya, *Int to Kāvya-prakāśa*,

823 Sankuka¹ is by tradition known to have criticised the views of Lollata on rasa, and he was probably a younger contemporary of Lollata, for his poem Bhavanābhyudaya² was composed during the reign of Aṭṭāpīḍa, King of Kāśmīr (814-851 A D).³ Sankuka's commentary on Nāṭvasāstra is quoted by Abhinavagupta and later writers. He lived earlier than Anandavardhana.

824 Ghantaka came after Sankuka. His verses are quoted in the anthologies,⁴ but Abhinavagupta's quotation of his opinion on nāṭaka

श्रीशङ्कुस्तु अयुक्तमेतदित्यभिधाय अष्टमेति व्याचष्टे । तथा च देवी कन्या च ख्याता अख्याता मेदेन चतुर्धा । कन्या तु अन्न पुरसङ्गीतकमेदेन द्विषेति । षण्ठकादयस्त्वाहुः नायको नृपतिरित्येतावन्मात्रम् । नाटकादावृपजीवितं न तु प्रख्यातत्वमपि । तद्वेदद्वयादन्ये षोडश मेदा इति ॥

suggests that he wrote a treatise on dramaturgy

1 In the Sārngadhara-paddhati and Sukṭimukṭāvalī, the verse

दुर्वारास्सरमार्गणा प्रियतमो दूरे मनोज्ञयुस्तु
गाढं प्रेम नव वयोऽतिकठिना प्राणा कुलं निर्मलम् ।
स्त्रीत्वं धैर्यविरोधि मन्मथसुहृत् कालः कृतान्तोऽश्वमः
नो सख्यश्चतुरा कथं नु विरहस्सोढव्य इत्यं शठ ॥

This is quoted in *Subh* as Mayura's son Bhatta Śankuka's. If Śankuka was the son of Mayura (see para 279 *supra*) he must have lived in the 7th century A D and must be a different from Śankuka of Vikrama's Court.

2 Thus says Rājataranginī (IV 703-4)

अथ मन्मोत्पलकयोरुदभूद्वादनो रणः । रुद्रप्रवाहा यत्नासीद्वितस्ता सुमर्तैर्हतैः ॥
कविर्धमनस्सिन्धुश्चाक्षुश्शङ्कुकाभिधः । यमुद्दिश्याकरोत्काव्यं भुवनाभ्युदयाभिधम् ॥

On Śankuka, see S K De, *SP*, 98, Peterson's *Subh* 127, Quackenbros, *Sanskrit Poems of Mayura*, 50-52, G A Jacob, *Notes on Alankara Literature*, *JRAS*, (1897), 281, 287. For the misreading by Peterson (*PR*, II 59), see *IA*, XLI 189. For quotation in anthologies, see Quackenbros, *loc* 50 fn and Peterson *loc*. This is a poet Śankha or Śankhaka quoted in *Subh* 8514.

"In 1877 one of the Buddhist Pundits obtained clue to the existence of a copy but did not succeed in persuading the ignorant owner to produce it."

3 S P Pandit's Pref to Gaudavāno, lxxxvii

4 धनुर्माला मौर्वी कणदलिकुल लक्ष्यमबला

मनो मेध शब्दप्रभृतय इमे पञ्च विशिखाः ।

इयान् जेतुं यस्य विभुवनमदेहस्य विभवः

स कामः कामान् वो दिशतु दयितापाङ्गवसतिः ॥ *Subh* 82

See on Ghantaka, R. Ramamurti in *JOR*, II

825 Anandavardhana,¹ was the son of Nona. He was a poet of the Court of Avantivarman of Kāśmīr (557-584 A D). Raṭnākara, Mukṭākāra and Śīvaswāmin were his friends.² He was the father of the school of Dhvani in the science of poetics. His *Dhvanyāloka* or *Kāvvaloka*,³ elaborates the doctrine of *dhvani* or suggestion, as the soul of poetry, and on that basis he discusses its relation to the other poetic embellishments. His language is lucid and is such as must clothe the expression of one who was inaugurating a new thought. His ideas have always been respected and have found a deserving notice at the hands of every later author.⁴ The commentary on it, *Locana* of Abhinavagupta, has given it a worthy elucidation and a wide renown.

His *Devīsataka* is a melodious lyric in praise of Pārvatī.⁵ Among his other works⁶ are *Arjunacaritamahākāvya* and two Prakrit poems, *Viśamabānālīlā*⁷ and *Harivijaya*.

According to *Gururaṭnamalikā*, (64), Saṅgīdānandasarasvatī, 18th Acārya of Kamakotipīṭha was a contemporary of Anandavardhana.

अनुपमपुत्र चिराय तिष्ठन् ध्वनिकारादिदुधाश्रितो व्रततिष्ठ ।

1, Ānandameru, the teacher's teacher of Paṇḍasundera who wrote the *Rāya mallābhyudaya* (*Mahākāvya* in Sam 1615 (1631 A D) (*PR*, III 267, IV, List of authors) is a different person. See para 281 *supra*.

2 *Raj* V 94

3 Called also *Sahṛdayāloka*. Ed *Kāvyamālā* Bombay. Abhinavagupta appears to think (I c 54) that Anandavardhana was the author only of the *vṛttis* and the *Rākas* are anonymous. Uṭṭungodhya in his commentary on the *Locana* (*TC*, III 8876) calls Anandavardhana's work *Kāvya-loka*. Among the authors and works quoted are *Kālidāsa*, *Pundarikā*, *Bāṇa*, *Bhaṭṭoqbhata*, *Bhāmaha*, *Sarvasena* and *Śātavāhana*, *Amaruka*, *Dharmakīrti*, a poem named *Madhumāṇhanavijaya*, *Raṭnāvali*, *Tāpasa vatsarāja*, *Rāmābhyudaya*.

4 So says Rājasekhara

ध्वनिनातिगभीरेण काव्यतत्त्वनिवेदिना ।

आनन्दवर्धन कस्य नासीदानन्दवर्धन ॥

—Jahlaṇa's *Sukṣumuktāvali*

5 In *DC*, XIX 7678 and *SKC*, 68 there is a different work of the same name.

6 There is a commentary by Kayyāta, son of Candrādītya and grandson of Vallabhaḍaḍa, composed in Kali 4078 or 978 A D in the reign of king Bhīṣmaguṇṇa. This Vallabhaḍaḍa is probably the famous commentator and the same as the poet quoted in the *Subhāṣitāvali*. See Peterson's *Subh* 112-114. Kayyāta, son of Jayyāta, the author of *Bhāṣyapraḍīpa* is a different person. See para 29 *supra*.

7 It was an anthology. See Sten Konow's *Int* to *Karpuramanjarī* (*JOS* No IV) p 198. Peterson (*PR*, II 18) conjectures it is a work like *Kuttinimajam*.

826 Mukula was son of Bhattakallata who was a poet of the Court of King Avantivarman of Kāśmīr (855-884) Mukula's son Harata wrote a gloss on Jayadevachandas,¹ and that is mentioned by Abhinavagupta in his commentary on Nāṭyasāstra² Mukula's Abhidhāvyūṭtīmāṭṭkū deals with the literal denotation of words³

INDURAJA, also known as Praṭihārendurāja⁴ was his pupil He was born in Konkhan⁵ and subsequently migrated to Kāśmīr His only known work is Kāvīālankārasāralaghuvṛtti, the commentary on Udbhata's Kāvyaālankāra⁶

827 Bhattanayaka's Hrdayadarpana is reputed to be another commentary on Bharata Abhinavagupta and Jayaratha⁷ quote a verse under his name, which Mahima cites as from Hrdayadarpana⁸ It is in prose and verse and is traced only in a fragment the availability of which now is doubted⁹ Bhattanāyaka thought that rasa is the essence of good poetry and differed from Dhvani theory of Ānandavardhana He was therefore the object of attack by Abhinavagupta Ruyyaka sums up Bhattanāyaka's views¹⁰ He was probably a poet of the Court of King Avantivarman (855-884 A.D.) and King Sankaravarman of Kāśmīr He seem to have written a commentary on Bhāmahālankāra¹¹ His transcendental view of Nāṭya is rightly quoted by Abhinavagupta

1 *Raj* V 66

2 See *Bharata* (1925) S. K. De, *SP*, II 76,

3 Ed. Bombay If refer to Kumārila, Śābarasvāmin and Bhartṛhari.

4 On Indurāja, see *PR*, IV Index of authors, *BKR*, 66, Peterson's, Paper on Aulityavivaraṇasāra, 20 and introduction to *Subh* 11, and Vamanacarya's introduction to *Kavyaprakāsa*, 22 Jacob *JRAS*, (1897), 295

5 He called himself कोङ्कण श्रीन्दुराज

6 Ed. Bombay Among old authors mentioned in it are Amaruka, Kāṭyāyana, Curnikāra (Patanjali), Dandin, Vāmana, Bhāmaha,

7 See *BKR*, 64-67

8 See T. R. Chintamani, *Fragments of Bhattanayaka JOR*, (1927), 257

9 The manuscript was possessed by the late father of M. Ramakrishna Kavi and was by him entrusted to Cheru Narasimha Sastri of Pidur village, 8 miles from Manubole Railway Station in Nellore District This may set at rest the doubt and suggestion of S. K. De, *SP*, 39-43 that Hrdayadarpana is not a commentary on Nāṭyasāstra, but an independent treatise on Alankāra

10 *Raj*. V 159. Peterson's, *Subh* 50.

11 GA Jacob, *JRAS* (1897), 296.

Bhātagopāla's commentary on Kāvyaaprakāśa has

मद्वनायकस्तु, 'ब्रह्मणा परमात्मना यदुदाहृतम् अविद्याविरचित निस्सारमेदग्रहे यदुदाहरणीकृत तद्वाच्यम्, तद्वक्ष्यामि । यथा हि कल्पनामात्रसार तत एवानवस्थितैकरूप क्षणेन कल्पनाशतसहस्रसह स्रष्टादिविलक्षणमपि सुष्ठुतरा हृदयग्रहनिदानम् अत्यक्तसालम्बनब्रह्मकल्प नाटोपराचित रामरावणादिचेष्टित कुतोऽप्यभूताद्भुतवृत्त्या भाति, तथा भासमानमपि च पुमर्थोपायतामेति । तथा तादृगेव विश्वमिदमसत्यनामरूपप्रपञ्चात्मकमथ च श्रवणमननादिवशेन परमपुमर्थप्रापकमिति लोकोत्तरपरमपुरुषार्थसूचनेन शान्तरसोपक्षेपोऽयं भविष्यति, 'स्व स्र निमित्तमासाद्य शान्तादुत्पद्यते रस' इति । तदनेन पारमार्थिक प्रयोजनमुक्तम्' इति व्याख्यान हृदयदर्पणे पर्यग्रहीत् । यदाह—

‘नमस्त्रैलोक्यनिर्माणकवये शम्भवे यत. ।

प्रतिक्षणं जगद्वाच्यप्रयोगरसिको जन ॥” Baroda Edn, pp 4-5

He distinguished Kāvya for Śāstra and Ākhyāna by the poet's expression of Bhāvaktavavyāpāra generated by *guna* and *alankāra* Mahimabhatta embarked on the same object of refuting Dhvani theory, though he did it without seeing this Hṛdayaḍarpana and he was probably his younger contemporary¹

828 Rajasekhara's Kavyamimamsa is a unique work of literary criticism and tradition. It is supposed to be a fragment of a bigger treatise KAVIRAHASYA (or Kavivimarśa), not now traceable, though

उद्धटेनापि नम्रेण नायकेनोपलालित. ।

हृद्यो माम इव स्त्रीणामल्पारम्भोऽपि मामह ॥

V Raghavan explains that this does not mean any commentary on Bhāmaha

“Nāyaka accepted, as Abhinava says (p 12), that Rasa is the Ātman of poetry. But in distinguishing poetry from ordinary, Śāstric, or Purāṇic utterances, he formulated the doctrine of *अभिधाप्राधान्य* or *व्यापारप्राधान्य*. This means an emphasis on the form of poetry as its differentia. Bhāmaha gave Vakrokti as the differentia of poetry. The Abhidhā of a poet is his characteristic expression as a whole, his Vakrokti. Abhinava equates Nāyaka's Vyāpāra, (i.e.) expression having it and Bhāmaha's Vakrokti in his commentary on the section on Lakṣaṇas.

Abhinava says in his Locana that the Bhāvaktavavyāpāra, which is one of the three *Amśas* of Kāvya Śībda as distinguished from other Śībdas, is the embellishment having *Gunas* and *Alankāras* pp 68-70

“भावकत्वमपि समुचितशुणालङ्कारपरिमहमस्माभिरेव वितत्य वक्ष्यते ।”

Thus it is most likely that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, in defining poetry and its difference from other utterances, and in expounding his idea of Abhidhāpradhānya or Vyāpāra pradhānya, drew upon, adopted, exploited and re-interpreted Bhamaha's idea of poetry as being characterised by Vakrokti. This is perhaps the उपलालन which Bhaṭṭa Gopāla says, Nāyaka gave to Bhāmaha.”

1. So he says अदृष्टदर्पणा ममची.

Bhallaśrī Nārāyaṇasastrin mentions it and gives an extract about Bhāsa's works¹ Kāvya-mīmāṃsa has been extensively used by Ksemendra, Bhoja and Hemacandra and has been held in very great reverence²

A B Keith has an excellent summary of this work. He conceives of the Kavyapurusa, the spirit of poetry, son of Sarasvatī, and the Sahityavidyā, science of poetics, who becomes his bride, the term Sahitya being derived, we may believe, from the old doctrine of the union of word or sound and sense to make a poem, as laid down by Bhamaha, Magha, and others. He distinguishes carefully science, *Castra*, and poetry, and analyses the division of the former and discusses at length the relation of genius, poetic imagination, culture, and practice in making a poet and classifies poets on this score. A further classification is based on the fact that a poet may produce a *Castra*, or a poem, or combine both in varying proportions, and of poets in the narrower sense he makes eight illogical groups. His own conception of poetry appears traditional, he defines it as a sentence possessing qualities and figures, and he accepts Vamana's doctrine of styles which are the extreme of Sahityavidyā's wanderings in diverse lands. The sources of poetry are touched on, and the subject-matter as concerned with men, divine beings, or denizens of hell is investigated. Very interesting is the discussion of borrowing from earlier works, it is recognized as justified by freshness of idea and expression, and elaborate illustration is given of thirty-two different ways of evading improper plagiarism. Important also is the consideration of poetical conventions, and we are given a geography of India and many remarks on the seasons with their appropriate winds, birds, flowers, and action. Rājasekhara also gives curious details of the likings of different parts of India for certain languages and their mode of mispronouncing Sāṃskṛit. The Magadhas and others east of Benares are blunt in Prākṛit, good at Sanskrit, but the Gaudas are thoroughly bad in Prakṛit, the Latas dislike Sanskrit but use the Prakṛit beautifully, the Surāstras and Travanas mix Apabhraṃsa with Sanskrit, the Dravidas recite musically, Kāshmirian pronunciation is as bad as their poetry is good, Karnātas end up sentences with a twang, northerners are nasal, the people of Pañcala sweet and honey-like. Women poets are recognised, and sex barriers despised, while of the ten grades of poets the rank of Kavirāja, held by Rājasekhara, comes seventh even above the Mahākavi himself. Great stress is laid on the assem-

1. See para 568 *supra*

2. See S. K. De, *SP*, 125.

blies at which poets were judged and where the prize given by the king included crowning with a fillet and riding in a special chariot. The poet's paraphernalia is given, chalk, a board, palm leaves, hiren bark, pen and ink. More important is the insistence on the equal rights of all four forms of speech, Sanskrit, Prakrit elegant, sweet and smooth, Apabhraṃsa also elegant, as loved in Marwar, Takka, and Bhadānāka, and Bhūtabhāsā current in Avanti, Pariyatra, and Dacapura, while the people of the Madhyadeca, used all equally well. The people of that land show also their admixture by their colours, brown like the easterners, dark like the southerners, while like the westerners, while the northerners are fair. When we add that he quotes extensively including the *Mahimnastotra*, gives many fine verses and anecdotes and is usually lively if pedantic, the merits of his work can be appreciated."¹

829 Rudrata² known as Satānanda was the son of Bhatta Vāmuka, a follower of Sāmasākhā³. His Kāvyaṅkārā is quoted by Rājasekhara, by Bhoja and by Praṭiharendurāja in his comentary Udbhatāṅkārā which was written in Sam 1122 (1066 A D). Rudrata must have therefore flourished in the latter half of the 9th century.⁴

Of Rudrata's works, there are two, Śṅgaratīlaka and Kāvyaṅkārā, besides Tṛipravādha of which there is a mention.

830 SRNGARATILAKA,⁵ in three parts, delineates rasas as developed in poems as opposed to plays. It is written in very fine verse and has been quoted profusely by later writers with admiration. There

1 SL, 885. Ed with introduction, (GOB) Paroda and Ed by Narayanasastri Kusthe, with his own commentary and Ed with the commentary of Pandit Madhusūdanamitra.

2. Nyāyavācaspati Rudrakavi, son of Vidyavilāsa was the author of Bhāvavilāsa and panegyric of King Bhāvasimha of Jaipur, son of Wanasingha, contemporary of Akbar of the 17th century. (Kavyamala, Part II).

3 This information is given in the Mahācakrabandha. See the diagram at the end of the book in the Kāvyaṅkā Series.

4 Buhler originally thought (BKR page 67, JBRAS XXI 67) that Rudrata belonged to the second half of the 11th century but later on saw (IA, XII. 80) that he could not be placed later than the 10th century A. D. Jacob (VOJ, II 151) suggests that Rudrata was a Kashmiran contemporary of King Śaṅkaravarman, son of Avantivarman and that the example of Vakrokti given by him (II 15) was prompted by Raṭnākara whose work Vakroktipancāśikā contains similar riddles between Śiva and Pārvatī.

5 Ed. Bombay, and by Pischell, Kiel. On the identity of authors of Śṅgaratīlaka and Kāvyaṅkārā, there has been much difference of opinion. But the quotations here following make the identity clear. In Bhāvaprakāśa (Ch. IV) Śaraṭātanaya says

is a commentary on it called *Rasaṭaranginī* by Gopala Bhatta, son of Harivamśabhalla.²

831 His *KāvyaĀlankāra* is written in Āryā metre and is in 16 chapters. Rudrata recognises the fame of the poet and the good of others as the only object of poetry. He deals with the figures of speech depending on sound and sense. He includes *Vakrokti* among the former and makes a broad classification of the latter into *vāstava*,³ *aupamya*, *atīśaya* and *śleṣa*.

There are three commentaries on *KāvyaĀlankāra* by Vallabhadeva,⁴ *Namīsādhu*,⁵ and *Āśādhara*.⁶

832 *Namīsādhu*⁶ was a Svetāmbara Jain Bhikṣu and disciple of Śālinīhadra. He wrote his commentary in the year Sam 1125

इत्थं शतत्रयं तासामशीतिश्चतुस्तरा ।

सख्येयं रुद्रटाचार्यैरुपमोगाय कल्पिता ॥

in which the 1st half is I 88 of *Śṛṅgārāṭilaka* and saying

शृंगारामास एव स्यान्न शृंगार कदाचन ।

इति द्विषन्तमुद्दिश्य प्राह श्रीरुद्रट कवि ॥—*Śṛṅgārāṭilaka*

He quotes from *Śṛṅgārāṭilaka*, I 51, 68-70. In his commentary on *Daśarūpa*, *Bahurūpanīsa* thus quotes from Rudrata: *रसिकसार्वभौमै रुद्रट एवोत्तरमाह* and quotes some verses I 49, 68, 69.

Bhaṭṭagopāla in his commentary on *Kāvyaaprakāśa* says

आर्यानुरागी सर्वज्ञस्सत्यं रुद्रस्त रुद्रट ।

In *Rasārṇavaśudhākara*, *Śṛṅgabhūpāla* quotes *Śṛṅgārāṭilaka* (I 69) as of Rudrata. *Bhoja* quotes from *Śṛṅgārāṭilaka* and *KāvyaĀlankāra*. *Aufrecht* (*ZDMG*, XXVII 80, XXXVI 776), *Weber* (*IS* XVI), *Bühler* (*BKR*, 67) and *Fischel* (*ZDMG*, XLII 296-301, 125-135 and preface to *Edn*) accept the identity. *Durgaprasad* (*Edn* of *Śṛṅg*) *Trevedi* (*Notes to Bhavale*, 3), *Jacobi* (*VOJ*, II 51, IV 69, *ZDMG*, XLII 296, 425), and *S K De* (*SP*, I, 90-96) deny the identity. *Peterson* (*Subh* 104-5, *PR*, I 14, II 19, *JBRAS*, XVI 14-20) and *Thomas* (*Kav* 92-96) doubt the identity. See also *BR*, (1897) xiv and *JRAS*, (1897) 221. *Durgaprasad* (l.c.) notes that a verse *Sūṛgham Manoraṭhaśataś* is quoted by *Viṣṇusarman* in *Panastāntra* and because the latter cannot be earlier than 8th century A.D. (as he quotes *Kuttinīmaṭa*) the author of *Śṛṅgārāṭilaka* must have lived about the end of the 7th century A.D. In some colophons of *Śṛṅgārāṭilaka* he is called *Rudrabhaṭṭa*. See also *IA*, XV, 287, *BKR*, 65.

² If he is the author referred to by *Kumārasvāmīn* he is earlier than the beginning of the 15th century A.D. He wrote commentaries on *Kāvyaaprakāśa* and *Rasamanjari*. See *S K De*, *SP*, I 101 and *OC*, I 118, 161, 195.

³ *BR*, I 14-20.

⁴ The work is lost.

⁵ *Ed.* Bombay,

⁶ *OC* I 103, 779.

⁶ He calls himself, *Śvetabhāṣaṇami*, *Śvetāmbaranami*, *Pandīṭhanami* *Namī āḍhu*, *Sāḍhunamī*.

(1069 A D),¹ for "men of feeble intellect, ever on the lookout for primers and abstracts His gloss is drawn up "in strict accordance with commentaries drawn up by mighty minds of old" For Rudrata's work to grow so much in importance and for it to become so popular sufficient time must have elapsed and about two centuries may be thought of as that interval²

833 Dhananjaya was the son of Viṣṇu He was a poet of the King Munja (Vākpaṭirāja II) of Paramāra dynasty of Malva who ruled in 974-995 A D³ Among Dhananjaya's friends were Padmagupta, Halāyudha and Dhanapāla His *DAŚARŪPA*⁴ is a succinct treatise on dramatic writing It is mainly based on the rules laid down by Bharata, which "being diffuse is bewildering to those of slow wit" and except to a little extent in the classification of heroines, and treatment as Śṅgara, he rarely differs from Bharata's Nāṭyasāstra The excellence of Dhananjaya's presentation has gained for it a popularity which has tended to replace in a great measure the usefulness of Nāṭyasāstra and it is referred to by later writers on rhetoric mostly with approbation

There are commentaries on *Daśarūpa* by Dhanika,⁵ and by Bahurūpamiśra,⁶ by Nṛsimhabhatta,⁷ by Devapānu,⁸ by Kṣoṇḍharamiśra,⁹ and by Kūravirāma.¹⁰

1 Ed Bombay He quotes from *Ajuna-carīṇa* of Ānandavardhana, *Ṭīlakamanjari* of Dhanapāla and from a work on prosody by Jayaḍeva

2 Peterson (*PR* I 17) thinks middle of 11th century probable

3 About this dynasty, see paras 515 *supra*

4 Ed by F Hall, Calcutta with preface, by K P Parab, Bombay, by Vidyasagara, Calcutta Tr into English by O C C Haas (*Col Uno Series*) with notes and introduction See also S K De, *SP*, I 128-135, Barnett, *JRAS*, (1918) 190

5 Ed along with *Daśarūpa* (l c)

6 *TC*, IV 5434, V 6180

7 *TC*, III 3947 There are commentaries on *Kāvya-prakāśa* on *Sarasvaṭī-kanthābharaṇa* and *Śābarabhaṣya* by Naraśimha, but it is not known if all these Naraśimhas are identical From the fact that manuscripts of commentary on *Kāvya-prakāśa* are found in Telugu commentary only, it may be said he was a different author but the manuscripts of the other three commentaries are found in Malabar and were discovered in the house of Pēyyur Pattēri, father of Vāsuḍeva, in whose family there was a scholar named Naraśimha About Pēyyur Pattēri see para 170 *supra*

8 *TC*, II 1097 He is quoted by Ranganātha in his commentary on *Vikramorvaśī* and must therefore be earlier than 1656 A D

9 Hall's Edition, 4 notes

10 *CC*, II 58 His *Daśarūpa-kāṇḍaḥṭhaṭi* (*CC*, II 1097) is in 110 verses on the characteristics of plays He also wrote a commentary on *Bhāratacampū* and *Viśva-guṇādarśa* and *Kuvalāyananḍa*. (See *HR*, I xi) He was patronised by the Zamindar of Karvetnagar, Chittoor Dist. in Madras.

834 Dhanika was probably Dhananjaya's brother¹ unless as some say Dhanika and Dhananjaya are one. In one of the manuscripts of his *Avaloka* he is described as an officer (*Mahānādhya-pāla*) of king Utpala rāja, that is Munja.² He was probably the father of Vasanṭacārya who was a donee under a grant of land by king Vākpati (Munja) in 974 A.D.³ He also wrote poetry and gives his own illustrations of Dhananjaya's definitions.⁴ In his *Avaloka* (IV 46) he quotes verse from another work of his, *Kāvyamanaya*.

835 BAHURUPANISRA is described as *Mahāmahopādhyāya* in the colophon to his work. Of the latest writers, he quotes are Bhoja and Murāri and from the circumstance that he does not refer to Mammata or any later rhetoricians he may be assigned to the beginning of the 12th century A.D. He comments on the text and gloss of Dhananjaya and Dhanika, and thereby treats both as *Dasarūpa*. His commentary is called *Rūpadīpikā*. It is probably the best commentary available and its value is enhanced by illustrations taken from author of whom many are now unknown.⁵

836 Abhinavagupta alias **Nṛsiṃhagupta**⁶ was the son of Nṛsiṃhagupta (known as Chukhala or Mukhala) and Vimalā, and grand son of Varāhagupta. His father's maternal grandfather was Yasoṛāga

1 In some works *Dasarūpa* is referred to as the work of Dhanika (see *Sāhityadarpana*, 313 and 316) and this had led to the confusion that the author of the *Dasarūpa* and the commentary are one. See Levi, *IV*, 17, Jacobi, *GA*, (1913) 808. The commentary has several indications of difference in authorship. See for instance *II* 34 *III* 40 and *IV*, 62.

2 See Wilson's, *Theatre*, I २१-२२१, Hall, *Int to Edn* 3 notes.

3 *IA*, VI 51-53, *JASB*, LXX, 195-210.

4 Among works quoted or referred to are, *Uḍāṭṭarāghava*, *Chaliṭarāma*, *Pandavānandī*, *Rāmābhyudaya*, *Tarangaḍaṭṭa* and *Pospaduṣiṭaka*.

5 Among rare authors and works quoted by him are

कोहल, नखकुट्ट, मट्टनारायण, श्रीहर्ष, छलितराम, मातृगुप्त, षट्सहस्रीकार, कुमारगर्भ, नायकानन्द, प्रतिज्ञामीम, पाण्डवानन्द, दशग्रीववध, रामाभ्युदय, सुग्रीवामिषेक, नलविजय, देवी-परिणय, मेनकानहुष, मदलेखा, स्तमितरम, स्वप्नवासवदत्त, कल्यारावण, नृत्यचरक, तरंगदत्त, पद्मावतीपरिणय, पुष्पभूषितक, माधवी, ललितनागर, शशिकला, भगवदञ्जुक, तारकोद्धारण, सिधुर, विक्रम, भीमविक्रम, अमृतमथन, शक्रानन्द, मालतिका, कामदत्त, नागविजय, कुसुमशेखरविजय, ऊर्वशीमदन, उदात्तरावण ॥

6 'Gupta' denotes a sect of Kashmir brahmins. Abhinava is the proper name. So writes Kṣemarāja in his *Netrodyōṭa* अभिनवबोधो. See Durgāprasāda's *Int to Sāhityadarpana* (Bombay).

Manorathagupta¹ was his brother His teachers were Utpalarāja Bhattendurāja, Lakṣmanagupta, Siddhicela and Bhaṭṭa Tauta² Kṣemendra was his pupil He was a staunch votary of Śiva He is held in great reverence by later writers and he is styled Ācāryapādāh His Bṛhat-Pratyabhigñā-vimarsinī gives his parentage and the date of its composition as the year 90 Laukika or 1013 A D³ He was a poet, logician and philosopher

Abhinava's paternal uncle VAMANAGUPTA was also a writer on poetics He is quoted thus in Abhinavabhāratī (p 297)

तत्र हास्याभासो यथा अस्मत्पितृव्यस्य वामनगुप्तस्य—

लोकोत्तराणि चरितानि न लोक एष

समन्यते यदि किमङ्ग वदाव(म?) नाम ।

यत्तत्र हासमुखतस्त्वममुष्य तेन

पाश्वोपपीडमिह को न विजाहसीति ॥

In Mādhava's Sankaravijaya (XV 158) it is said that Abhinavagupta was vanquished by Sankara⁴ The 48th Ācārya in Kamakotipīṭha, Advaitanandabodhendra is said to have vanquished by Abhinavagupta and Śrīharṣa So says Punyaslokamanjari and Gururātṇamalikā

अभिचारकगुप्तपादवादिप्रमुहर्षादिपरामवाग्रभूमिम् ।

His Locana is a commentary on Dhvanyāloka⁵ of Anāndavardhana

1 The poet Manoratha of the Court of king Jayāpīḍa (779-319 A D) was a different person (RAJ, IV 496) See Peterson's *Subh* 85

2 He was called Mahāmāheśvara Abhinavagupta (DC, XXI 8666),

3 इह विश्वानुजिघृक्षापर परमशिव एव सकलभूमण्डलोत्तरे श्रीमच्छारदादिव्यकीडासदने श्रीकाश्मीरदेशे श्रीनरसिंहगुप्तसहधर्मचारिण्या श्रीमत्यां विमलायां लीलया अवतीर्य श्रीमदमिनगुप्तनाथ इति प्रख्यातामिधान

श्रीमदुत्पलदेवाचार्यमुखोद्गीत श्रीमदीश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञाख्य शास्त्र व्याचिख्यासु

4 See C V Krishnaswami Iyer's *Life of Sankara* (Madras) 70 On Abhinavagupta, see Jacobi *JRAS*, (1897,) 297, (1908), 65-9, P V Kane, *IA*, XLI 204

5 Ed Kāvyaṃalā, Bombay, [except chapter IV which has been edited by S K De in *Jl of Dep of Letters*, Calcutta, 1923] Being edited by S K. De for BSS, Bombay There is a commentary on it Anjanā, anonymous, It cites Induraja as Paramaguru or teacher's teacher (ibid 8668), There is another commentary by Uṭṭungodaya (TC, XII 3876) In the Locana the following works are referred to

Arjunacariṭa, Kadambarikathasara (as the work of Bhaṭṭa Jayantaka, father of Abhinavagupta though the latter is the reputed author of it), Tapasavatsaraja, Bhallata Maṅgaḍivakara, Śrīharṣa, Yaśovarman's Ramabhyudaya, Bhattanayaka, Rudrata Viśambhāṇalīlā, Bhāmaha, Duṅgaḍa, Patalavijaya (of Faṇini,) Veniṣamhara, Śukasaptāṭī, Tīlakamanjari, Svapnavasavadattā, Kavyakautuka, Haravijaya (prakṛit)

and is a mine of rhetorical learning, Bhairavastōtra¹ is a collection of verses in praise of Kālabhairava and Mahopadesavimsaṭi is a series of sententious moral maxims. Among his other works² are also Kramastōtra,³ Ghatakarparavivṛti, Nātyalocana and Abhinavabhāraṭi, the last two being commentaries on Bharata's Nātyasāstra.⁴

837 Utpaladeva was the teacher of Abhinava's teacher Lakṣmaṇagupta. He was the son of Udayākara and lived about 930 A.D. He is quoted by Ksemendra. He was the author of Isvara-pratyabhijñā-sūtra, on which Abhinava wrote a gloss (vṛtti) in 1015 A.D.⁵ Utpala's guru was Somānanda, founder of Pratyabhijñā cult. Utpala's views on music are quoted by in Abhinavabhāraṭi. For instance

तस्मादुक्तधर्मोपजीवनमेव परमगुरुरितरूपित युक्तम् ।

यथोक्त श्रीमदुत्पलादे —

स्थितस्थायित्वसपन्नात् प्रस्तुतस्थमयोजनम् ।

ध्रुवासु यद्यदन्त्येभ्यस्तद्वत्प्रज्ञोपकल्पयेत् ॥

and in Basavarāja's Śivatatvaraṭṇāṅkara, there is this reference

उत्पलाद्य परिमल कृतिं शार्ङ्गधरस्य च ।

838 Bhatta Tauta's⁶ work Kāvya-kautuka is lost. His definition of Kavi and Kāvya is mentioned by Rāmacandra and quoted by Māṇikyacandra.⁷

तथोक्त काव्यकौतुके—

प्रज्ञा नवनवोन्मेषशालिनी प्रतिभा मता ।

तदनुप्राणनाजीवद्वर्णनानिपुण कवि ॥

तस्य कर्म स्मृत काव्यम् ।

It appears that Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dikṣita had a copy of this book and he follows Tauta's definition in his Kāvya-darpaṇa.⁸

Tauta's estimation of a kavi (poet) is superb and is quoted by Hemacandra.⁹

1. Composed in Laukika 68 (980 A.D.)

2. For a list of his works, see SKO, 865.

3. Composed in Laukika 66 (991 A.D.).

4. See chapters on Music and Dancing, post.

5. TO, III 3843. For a summary of quotations, see Thomas, Kau, 29, also Aufrecht, ZDMG, XXVII. 12, CC, I. 64, SKO, 806.

6. For a discussion of fragments of Tauta, see V. Raghavan's article on Writers quoted in Abhinavabhāraṭi, JOR, Madras.

7. Mys. Edn. of Kavyaprakāśa, p. 7.

8. Srirangam Edn. I. 7.

तथा चाह भट्टतोत —

“ नाचृषि कविरित्युक्त ऋषिश्च किल दर्शनात् ।
 विचित्रमावधर्माशतस्वप्रख्या च दर्शनम् ॥
 स तत्त्वदर्शनादेव शास्त्रेषु पठित कवि ।
 दर्शनाद्वर्णनाच्चाथ रूढा लोके कविश्रुति ॥
 तथा हि दर्शने स्वच्छे नित्येऽप्यादिकवेद्युने ।
 नोदिता कविता लोके यावज्जाता न वर्णना ॥—*Kāvya-mūṣāsana*, p 316

Abhinavagupṭa wrote a gloss on it Vivaraṇa and mentions it in his Locana,¹ and quotes his views in Abhinavabhārata, Tāṭṭa refuted the theories of Lollata and Sankuka on rasa

839 Bhattenduraja was the son of Śrībhūṭirāja and grandson of Saucuka of Kāsyapagoṭra His verses furnished easy illustrations for Abhinavagupṭa, who calls his teacher Vidvat-kavi-saṁdaya-cakravarṭin He is quoted by Kṣemendra in Aucityavicāracarcā and Svayāṭatīlaka

840. Kṣira or **Kṣiraswamin** was a pupil of Bhattendurāja His drama Abhinavarāghava is quoted in Nāṭyadarpaṇa by Rāmacandra, a pupil of Hemacandra, where Sthāpaka says—

आर्य चिरस्य स्मृतम्—

अस्त्रेव राघवमहीनकथापवित्र
 काव्य प्रबन्धघटनाप्रथितप्रथिन् ।
 महेन्दुराजचरणाब्जमधुव्रतस्य
 क्षीरस्य नाटकमनन्यसमानसारम् ॥

and Rāmacandra in introducing the above quotation says—

यथा क्षीरस्वामिविरचितेऽमिनवराघवे ।

841, Bhojadeva of Dhārā² has a distinguished place in poetics, and with his name are associated Sarasvaṭīkanthābharana and Saṅgāra-prakāśa In Sarasvaṭīkanthābharana,³ in five long chapters, Bhoja discusses the merits and faults of poetry, the figures of speech, and the sentiments The general precepts are profusely illustrated from the

¹ Bom. Man p 178 भट्टतोतेन काव्यकौतुके अस्माभिश्च तद्विवरणे बहुतरकृतनिर्णयः ।

² See S. K De, *Agnipurana and Bhoja* [JAS (1923), 587]

³ Ed Benares. For a detailed description of the work, see Auf Bod. Cat. No 489 and R. Mitra's Cat No. 8148, DO, XXII, 8708.

works of standard authors¹ and in this respect, the treatise forms a landmark in the history of Sanskrit literature.

There are commentaries on it by Raṭṇesvaramiśra composed at the instance of Rāmasimhadeva,² by Bhaṭṭa Narasimha,³ by Lakṣmī-nāṭhabhaṭṭa⁴ and by Jagaddhara⁵

842 Bhoja's Srngaraprakasa⁶ is the most extensive work on Ālankāra and has largely been used by Hemacandra and Śaraṇātānaya. It has 36 Prakāśas or Chapters. The first eight deal with grammatical technicalities and the theory of Vṛtti, the ninth and the tenth with faults and merits of expression and thought, and the eleventh with Mahākāvya and the twelfth with drama, and the next twenty-four chapters are devoted to Rasas, of which the main is held to be Śṛṅgāra.⁷

In the last verses of these two treatises Bhoja invokes eternity for his work thus.

यावन्मूर्ध्नि हिमांशुकदलमृति खर्वाद्दिनो धूर्जटे-
र्यावद्वसति कौस्तुभस्तवकिते लक्ष्मीर्द्वेष्टेभिः ।
यावच्चित्तमुबल्लोकविजयप्रौढ धनुः कौसुम
भूयात्तावदिय कृतिः कृतधियां कर्णवितसोत्पलम् ॥

1 Among rare works and authors quoted are, Kāṇḍambarikāśāśāra, Bhāṇavi, Kumāraśāśa, Gāḍhāsaptasāṣi, Candisāśaka, Caturpāñcāśikā, Daśakumārāpariśa, Bhallaśāśaka, Bhāsa Mahānāṭaka, Mālayarudra, Rudrata, Bhāmaṇa, Muṇḍarāśaka, Lakṣmīdhara, Vikataniṭambā, Vijñāṣa, Rājasekhara, Hayagrivavāṛṇa. For a fuller reference, see Jacobi, *Notes on Ālankāra Literature*, [JAS (1897), 291]

2 Ed. Benares DC, XXII 8505

3 TC, III 3518.

4 CASB, 215.

5 Ed. by Kodarnath Sarma, Bombay

6 TG, IV 4831 Ed. partly by Sri Yadugiriswāmi of Malkote

7 Among works and poets quoted are the following that are rare

अनङ्गवती, अश्विमेधनम्, अभिसारिकावचितकम्, चौरपञ्चाशिका, इंदुलेखा, इंदुमती, उदयनोदयम्, उषाहरणम्, उदात्तराघवम्, कुदमाला, कुवल्याश्वचरितम्, कृष्णचरितम्, काम्यती, चित्रलेखा, छलितराघवम्, तापसवत्सराजम्, त्रैलोक्यसुवरी, वनयती, देवीचन्द्रयुग्मम्, पार्थविजयम्, फुल्लसंकम्, बृन्दावनम्, बृहत्कथा, भीमकुल्या, मत्स्यहसितम्, मलयवती, मदालसाख्यायिका, माधविका, मारीचवधम्, मालविका, मुकुटताडितकम्, रतिविलापम्, रामचरितम्, रामाभ्युदयम्, राघवानंदम्, रावप्रवधम्, लक्ष्मीसंयंकरम्, लीलावती विक्रान्तशूद्रकम्, विनयवतीशूद्रकम्, शकुन्तिका, शाखाविशाखोपयमम्, शूद्रकथा, खप्नवासव-दत्तम्, खंयप्रभा, सुमद्राहरणम्, हयग्रीववधम्, हरकिलासम्, हरिवंशम्, हरिविजयम्, हरिश्चन्द्र-चरितम्.

843 Ajitasena was a Jain ascetic. He was priest of Cāmun-darya, minister of the Ganga King Rācamalla of the 10th century A.D. He was the teacher of the Kanarese poet Nāgavarma, head of a Mutt at Bankipore. His Śringāramanjari is a small work in 128 verses meant for elementary instruction,¹ but Alankāracūdāmaṇi² is more elaborate.

844 Kṣemendra's *Auṇṭyavicāracarcā* has been noticed. It propounds the theory that *auṇṭya* is the mark of poetry.³

In his *Kavikanthābharana* (p. 126) Kṣemendra quotes a verse of Bāna, from a source unknown.

कद्रु कणन्तो मलदायका. खलारतुदुःखल बन्धनशृङ्खला इव ।
मनस्तु साधुध्वनिमि पदे पदे हरन्ति सन्तो मणिनूपुरा इव ॥

and from *Lalitamahākāvya* of his pupil Udayasimha,

845 Kuntaka or Kuṇṭala came between Rājasekhara and Mahimabhatta and was very probably a younger contemporary of Abhinavagupta. He must have lived between 10-11th century A.D. Bhāsmaha had declared that vakrokti embellishes poetry. Ḍandin classified poetry as svabhāvokti and vakrokti.

मित्र द्विधा स्वभावोक्तिर्वैकोक्तिरिति वाङ्मयम् ।

Kuntaka laid down in his *VAKROKTIJIVITA*⁴ that vakrokti is the life of poetry and combatted the theory of dhvani by saying that dhvani should be included in upacāravakrāṇā, vakrokti based on resemblance or attribution.⁵

846. Mahimabhatta or Mahimā was the son of Śrīdhairya. Mahimā courted renown and the means he chose was to make a destructive critique on the most famous work of his day.⁶ Ānandavarḍhana's *Dhvanyāloka* was the target⁷ and with a sagacity of thought, scarcely rivalled by any other rhetorician, Mahimā brought into his work a width of learning and a logic of argument which can only be appre-

1. Ed. by Paṇḍaraja Paṇḍita in *Kavyāmbudhī* (1898-4). CC, I, 6, III, 2

2. CC, I 661, SR, II 88, 231, DO, XXI 8699

3. See para 69 *supra*

4. Ed. by S. K. De with a valuable introduction in COS, Calcutta.

5. K. A. Sankaran, *Kuntaka's attitude towards Dhvani*, JOR (1927), 45.

6. TC, III 3891.

7. On Mahimabhatta, see Peterson, PR, II 17, Aufrecht, CC, I, 616 (Rājānaka Mahimācārya), M. T. Narasimha Iyengar (JRAS, 1908, 65-69), V. V. Soman (Bh Com Vol. 892), P. V. Kane (IA, 41-204).

ciated by a study of it. The latest writer Mahimā quotes is Abhinavagupta and the earliest writer who reviews the work of Mahimā is Mammata. Mahimā must therefore be placed between Abhinavagupta (about 1000 A D) and Mammata (middle of 1050 A D), that is about the beginning of the 11th century A D¹.

Mahimā was a dialectician par excellence. To him all the world was *anumāna* or inference. He would reduce any idea into a syllogism. In short, no knowledge there is that is not in scientific essence grounded on inference.² Bhatta Nāyaka had already taken up his cudgels against the theory of Dhvani,³ but Mahimā had not seen his work *Ārpaṇa*, *Hṛdayadarpaṇa*, because his aim was to achieve celebrity without delay and without being charged for not being original.

847 HIS *VYAKTIVIVĪKA*, (called by him *Kāvyaālankāra*⁴ of that name), literally an inquiry into *Vyakti* (or succession), is in three chapters.⁵ In the first, the definition of *Dhvani* as given by Ānandavardhana is attacked word by word and letter by letter and is merely a destructive criticism. In the second he takes up other sundry theories such as of *Vakrokti* of Kuntaka and refutes his doctrine of that the merit of poetry is felicitous expression.

Mahimā's reasoning is thus epitomised. *Vyakti* is *Dhvani*. It is the manifestation of that which is desired to be manifested and it manifests itself along with its subject, that is, that which manifests it. For instance, a vessel contained in a dark room becomes visible along with the light that makes it visible.⁶ Mahimā's object, viz., to gain celebrity, has been really attained. He cared not whether it was approbation or reprobation, for in any case his aim was not to sink into oblivion in the literary world.⁷

1 अनुमानेऽन्तर्भाव सर्वस्यैव ध्वने प्रकाशयितुम् ।

व्यक्तिविवेकं कुर्वते प्रणम्य महिमा परां वाचम् ॥

2 See P. V. Kane, (I.A., 41, 204)

3 सहसा यद्योभिसर्तुं समुद्यताऽष्टदर्वणा मम धीः । See para 809 *supra*,

4 व्यक्तिविवेकाख्ये काव्यालंकारे ।

5. Ed. TSS, Trivandrum

6 See Mahadevadasastri's preface to Edn 1, c 2

7 अन्यैरनुलिखितपूर्वमिदं ब्रुवाणा दूनं स्मृतोर्विषयतां विदुषामुपेयाम् ।

हासैककारणवेषणया न वार्थतत्त्वावमर्शपरितोषसमीहया वा ॥

The commentary that is printed in the Trivandrum edition is nameless. Jayaratha in his commentary on *Alankārasarvasva* says that Ruyyaka had written a *Vyaktivivēkacāra*. From the fact that the commentator mentions his other works *Nāṭaka-*

848. Mammata was the son of Jayyata¹ of the Rājānaka family. He was a native of Kāśmīr but had his education at Benares. Tradition says that he was the brother of Kayyata, the grammarian and Uvvaṭa, the Vedic glossator.² He came after Bhoja and probably had himself seen the last years of that king's reign, and he distinctly mentions his greatness and liberality in his *Kāvyaaprakāśa*.³ The earliest commentary on this work, yet known, was written by Mānkyacandra in 1159 A D⁴ and we may safely assign Mammata to the middle of the 11th century A D⁵.

Mammata was a staunch devotee of Śiva. He was a great grammarian and followed the views of the grammarian school.⁶ His *KAVYA-PRAKASA* (in 10 Ullasas) is often called *Ākara*. It covers the whole ground of rhetoric, treats as usual of the merits and faults of poetry, the operation of words and their sources, and the figures of speech. According to him, real poetry is that which is free from faults and

mīmāṃsa, *Sāhiṭyamīmāṃsa* and *Harṣacaritvārtika* and *Bṛhatī*, it is likely that this commentary is the work of author of *Alankārasarvasya*, (Mankhuka?). See *Int* to *Alankārasarvasya*, *TSS*.

1 Jayyata was probably the joint author with Vāmana of the *Kaśikāvṛtti*.

2 This account is given in Bhīmasena's commentary on *Kāvyaaprakāśa*. But Vāmanaśācārya (*Int* to *Kāvyaaprakāśa*, Bombay) says that Uvvaṭa calls himself in his *Bhāṣya* the son of Vajrata and that his *Bhāṣya* was composed when Bhoja was the reigning king. He therefore thinks that this tradition cannot be true. See on this *JRAS* (1908), 65, 66.

3 The references are given by Vāmanaśācārya *l c* pp 5-6.

4 *Ibid* *l c* pp 26-27 where the extract from the commentary is given.

5 Peterson (*Subh* 85) notes that Mammata cannot be placed earlier than the commentary on it by one Jayanta written in 1800-1294 A D and that the earliest writer that is known to refer to Mammata is Ruyyaka, who wrote his *Sanketa* on *Kāvyaaprakāśa* (*PR*, II p 18). Duff (*Chronology*, p 189) refers to the commentary on *Kāvyaaprakāśa* by Narahari dated 1242 A D (See Vāmanaśācārya *l c* p. 28-29). Ganapatiśāstrin (*TSS*, No 5 *Int*, p 8-9) makes him contemporary of Bhoja. Vāmanaśācārya (*l b*.) assigns Mammata to the end of the 11th century. M. T. Narasimha Ayyangar (*JRAS* 1908, 65) discusses these dates and arranges the chronology thus: Abhinavagupta, the last decade of the 10th century, Mahimabhatta, early part of the 11th century, and Mammata, middle of the 11th century. Buhler (*BKR*, 68) thought that Mammata was later than Jayaratha, the commentator of Ruyyaka, whom he assigned to the end of the 12th century, but G. A. Jacob (*JRAS* 1897 282) says that Jayaratha refers to Mammata by name and that Buhler's view is impossible. Buhler later on agreed (*IA* Jan 1884) with Peterson (*JRAS*, 1883-84 Extra No.) in placing him in the beginning of the 12th century. See P. V. Kane (*IA*, XLI 204).

6 The commentaries, *Niṣkāśana* and *Sūtrāsāgara* say so (See Vāmanaśācārya, *Int*, *l c* p 9).

A collection of Mammata's grammatical views is found in Vāmanaśācārya's introduction (*l c*, pp 10-12.)

adorned with merits¹. It has two parts, Sūtras or Kārikas and Vṛtti or the gloss². Bhīmaśena expressly says that Mammata was the author of the Kārikas, but on this question there is a difference of opinion³. Vidyābhūṣana in his *Ṣiṭṭiyakaumudī* calls the Kārikas Bharatasūtras and has written his own gloss on it⁴. Whatever it is, Kāvya-prakāśa has in fact eclipsed all earlier works by its popularity. Lucid and erudite it enchants the reader and infuses into his mind a thought of its sublime merit. Mammata begins by the invocation of Sarasvatī

नियतिकृतनियमराहिता ह्लादैकमयीमनन्यपरतन्त्राम् ।

नवरसरचिरा निर्मितिमादधती भारती कवेर्जयति ॥

It is now almost accepted that Kāvya-prakāśa was the work of two authors Mammata and Allata⁵. Mammata's work ends with the *Parikarā-lankāra* and the rest was made up by Allata. The other work known

1 तददोषौ शब्दार्थौ सयुगावनलकृती पुन क्वापि ।

2 Ed by Vāmanācārya Jhalakikara with a long introduction and commentary, Bombay and again revised with additional extracts from several commentaries and Ed with Tr and notes by H. D. Sharma. For other editions with notes, see Cat of Or Book Agency, Poona, p 57, Tr into English by Ganganath Jha, by H. D. Velankare and by P. P. Joshi.

3 On this question, see I 1, XLII 23, ZDMG LXVI 477, LXVII 35. The commentary Vivaraṇā says that the current tradition in Bengal is that Kārikas are the work of Bharata. But in the *Rasagangādhara* Mammata is referred to as the author. See Vāmanācārya's Int l c. 13-16, where he shows that Mammata refers to Bharata as an author, p 101.

4. Ed Kavyamālā (Bombay). See on this PR, II 20 and para 814 *supra*.

5. Ānanda in his commentary on Kāvya-prakāśa says

कृतश्श्रीमम्मटाचार्यवर्यै परिकरायधि ।

प्रबन्ध पूरितश्शेषो विधायाल्लट्स्रिणा ॥

Jayaṅga in his commentary calls Mammata the author of the work (See PR, II 20). It may be interesting to note (PR, II, 14) that in the colophon to that Chap I of the Kāvya-prakāśa-Saṅketa, it is said that the whole work is described as of Mammata, Allata and Rucaka इति श्रीमद्राजानकालकमम्मटवृद्धकविरचिते निजग्रथ-काव्यप्रकाशसंकेते ।

So says Śārasammuccaya also. But were Mammata and Rucaka contemporaries?

Peterson (PR, I 21 and II 1888-84, p 18) takes Alaka to be the real name of the joint author. Some MSS give the name Bhattarājānaka. The Jaṅamu Manuscripts (SKC, xxv) contain the word Allata. Alaka who is mentioned in Rāṇakantha's Śārasammuccaya as a commentator on Ruyyaka's *Alankārasārasva*, who was also the son of Jayānaka, the author of a commentary on Rāṇakantha's *Haraviya*, says Sten, is a different person (See SKC, op. cit p xxvi). Peterson identified them (PR, II 17). See also Bühler (Id, XIV p 358) Vāmanācārya (l. c p 9) confounds one with the other and calls Allata author of the commentary on *Haraviya*.

to be Mammata's is *Sabdavyāparacarcā*¹ on the derivation and function of words like Mukula's *Abhidhāvṛttimāṭṭkā*.

The extent to which *Kāvya prakāśa* was revered is seen from the numerous commentaries that have been composed on it in all these successive centuries. Every later writer of repute considered it an edification of his own learning to expound or discuss Mammata's views so much that it was said by Maheśvara that in spite of glosses written "from house to house,"² *Kāvya prakāśa* was still unfathomable and and Bhāskara and Kamalākara said so too, though they saw ' thousands of commentaries ' written on it³.

So far as is available the commentaries will now be noticed

849 Manikyacandra⁴ was the pupil of Nemicaandra and Sāgareṇḍu⁵ of the Rājagaccha of which Pradyumna was the founder⁶. He wrote his *Pārsvanāṭhacarita*⁷ in ten cantos in Sam. 1276 (1220 A.D.) at Ḍevakūpaka (Divbandar) at the instance of Ḍehada, son of Vardhamāna, a councillor of kings Kumārapuṭa and Ajayaputa. His *Nalāyana*⁸ or *Kuberapurāṇa* is a long poem in 100 cantos and relates the story of Nala, whom he takes to be a prior incarnation of Kubera. His merit in rhetoric is displayed in his commentary, *Sankeṭa* on *Kāvya prakāśa*⁹ composed in 1160 A.D.

850 Sarasvatitīrtha was born at Trībhuvanagin (near Kalpi in Cuddapah District). He was the son of Mallināṭha (nor the famous commentator of *Śrīvaṭṣagoṭṭra*). His original name was Narahari but

1 Peterson, *Subh*, p. 85. The book is in manuscript in Dacca Coll. Library.

2 काव्यप्रकाशस्य कृता गृहे गृहे टीका, तथाप्येष तथैव दुर्गमः ।

3. i टीका काव्यप्रकाशस्य काम सन्तु परश्चता ।

ii काव्यप्रकाशे टिप्पण्यस्सहस्र सन्तु यद्यपि ॥

4 Mānikyacandra mentioned in Meruṭunga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* as contemporary of king Jayasimha is a different person.

5 Peterson (*PR*, IV cxxviii) identifies him with Sāgareṇḍu who wrote the first copy of *Amārasaṃhita* in Sam. 1252 (1196 A.D.).

6 *PR* IV xxi. Pradyumna was a great scholar in Nyāya and triumphed over Digambaras. He is reported to be the author of 84 works and was honoured by kings of Sapāḍalakha, Trībhuvanagin etc. *PR* IV lxxix.

7 *PR* III 160, 820.

8 *PR*, III App. 35.

9 Ed. Mysore. See S. K. De, *SP*, I, 169, *CO*, I 102, II, 20, *PR*, III, 191 *IOC*, II 1104.

after he became a sanyāsi he called himself Sarasvatī Tīrtha. He wrote his commentary at Kāsi in 1242 A. D.²

851 Jayantabhatta (1277-1297 A D) was the son of Bhāradvāja, a priest at the Court of King Śaṅgaḍeva, Vaghela king of Guzerat. He wrote his commentary *Jayanṭi* in 1264 A D.³

852 Srivatsalanchana or Srivatsa was also a native of Bengal. He cites Vidyānātha and is mentioned by Kamalākāra. His commentary *Sārabodhinī* follows in substance Cakravartin's work. He must also be placed therefore in the 16th century. He refers to the commentaries by Viḍyāsāgara and Jayarāma.⁴

853 Somesvara was the son of Devana of Bhāradvājagotra. He belonged probably to the 14th century A D.⁵

854 Visvanātha was the author of *Sāhityadarpaṇa* and lived in 14th century A D. He refers to the other commentaries by Candīdāsa and Śrīdhara.⁶

855 Candidāsa was probably the granduncle of Visvanātha. He mentions a work of his called *Ḍhvanisiddhānta-graṇtha* and cites commentaries of Śrīdhara and Vācaspati-miśra who was different from the author of *Bhāmātī*.⁷

856 Cakravartin or more fully Paramānanda Cakravartin was a native of Bengal and a great logician. He refers to Visvanātha as well as king Pratāpa Rudra and is cited by Kamalākāra and lived probably in the 15th century A D. He wrote the commentary *Sāhitya-ḍipikā*.⁸

1. As for his other works, see Vamanacārya, l. c, pp 28-30 and *PR*, I 25, among which commentaries are *Meghaḍuṭa* and *Kumārāsambhava*. On this author, see para 31 supra.

2. *CC*, I 101, II 19 *BR*, (1883-4) ap, 326. See Vamanacārya, l. c, 30, *PR*, I, 16, 20, *BR*, (1883-4) 17-18. Jayanṭi, author of *Kādambarī-kathāsāra* was an earlier author.

3. *CC*, I, 102, II, 20, 193, *DC*, XXII 8638, *SKC*, 60. He wrote also *Kāvya-rikṣā* (*CC*, I 778, II 19), *Kāvya-mṛta* (*CC*, I 103) and *Rāmodayanaṭaka* (*CC*, I, 326). See S. K. De, *SP*, 177-8. There is a *Kāvya-mṛta*, poem by Kāśya (*CC*, II 20).

4. See Vamanacārya, l. c 30. *CC*, I, 102, II, 20, III, 32, *PR*, V, 52-3. The identification of this author with Somesvara, author of *Kṛtikamudī* (*PR*, V, lxxiv; *CC*, I 102, 737) is incorrect as the latter was the son of Kumāra.

5. *OBSC*, 299.

6. *IOC*, 491.

7. *CC*, I 101, II 19, III, 22, *PR*, II 108-9. See *PR*, VII 22. He also wrote a commentary on *Naiṣadha* (*IOC*, VII, 1438).

857 Mahesvara Nyāyāṅkārā, or Subuddhimisra wrote his commentary Ādarsa at the end of the 16th century A D ¹

858 Ananda Rajanaka was a native of Kasmir and a staunch devotee of Siva He interpreted Kāvyaaprakāśa as having an inner meaning referring to Siva in his commentary Nidarsana which he wrote in 1765 A D He refers to the commentaries of Cakravarṇin and Subuddhi Misra ²

859 Kamalakara was son of Rāmakṛṣṇa, a Mahratta brahmin of Benares His name is particularly known to us as the author of Vivādatāṇḍava and Nirṇavasindhu which he wrote in 1612 A D ³ He refers to the commentaries of Ravibhatta, Padmanābha and Devanāṭha He wrote a big poem Rāmakauṭuka and a commentary on Gītagovinda ⁴

860 Narasimha Thakura appears to have been of the same family as Govindathakura He refers to Kamalākara's views as that of moderns and must have been either a contemporary of Kamalākara or followed him immediately He was a great logician He refers to the commentaries by Yasodhara, Maṇisāra and Rucikara, ⁵

861 Vaidyanatha was the son of Rāmabhatta of Tātsat family, He wrote his commentary Udaharanacandrikā on the illustrations only in 1684 A D and a commentary on Kāvyaapradīpa called Prabhā ⁶

862 Bhimasena was the son of Sīvānanda of the Śāṇḍilya family of Kānyakubja He was a great grammarian He wrote his commentary Sūdhāsagara in 1723 A D He says Mammata, Kaiyata and Auvata were brothers He refers to two other works of his, Alankārasāroddhāra and Kuvalayānandakhaṇḍana It was his object to support the views of Mammata and to answer the faults attributed

1 Ed Calcutta. *CC*, I 193, *Tanj*, IX 400) See Vamanācārya l c pp 86-7, *PR*, II 19 and III ap 894

2. *CC*, I, 102, II 20 Is he the same as Rājānanda (*DC*, XXII 822)? Buhler's statement that Nidarsana was otherwise called Śārasamuccaya (*IA*, 1884) is wrong. See *NKC*, xxvii, I 21, 74 and II 15-16 He wrote also Mādhavānalakṣhāṇakam and a commentary on Naiṣaḍha See *PR*, I 114; III ap 895. IV. x, *BKR*, x. Weber, *IS*, II, 148

3. Ed. Benares. For a list of his works etc., see Vamanācārya l c, 87-88 and *CC*, I, 80 where his works are given, See *PR*, IV cxxiii Hall (*Int to Vss* 54) gives his name also as Mahesvara which according to *PR*, II 19 is doubtful On his pedigree, see V P Mandlik's int to Vyavahāramayukha, lxxxvi, *BR*, (1883-4), 50.

4 *CC*, I 80 5010

5. Ed Bombay. *CC*, I 101, II 19, *Adyar*, II 34

6 Ed. Bombay. *PR*, II 22, 108 He is different from the author of the commentary on Kuvalayānanda

to it by Govinda in his *Kāvya-pradīpa*. He refers to other commentaries by Acyūtabhāṭṭa, his son Ratnāpānibhāṭṭa, and his son Ravibhāṭṭa, by Murāri Mīśra and Pakṣadhara (Jayadeva).¹

Nāgojibhāṭṭa was a Mahratta Brahmin of the Kalag family of Benares. He was the son of Sivalbhāṭṭa and Saṭī and grandson of the famous Bhaṭṭoṇī Dīkṣita. He was attached to the Court of Rāmasimha, the ruler of Śṛṅgaverapura, of the 18th century A.D. He wrote commentaries on *Kāvya-pradīpa*, *Rasagangādhara*, *Rasamanjarī*, *Kuvalayānanda*, *Gīta-Govinda*, *Sudhālaharī* and *Rāmāyaṇa*.²

863 Rajanaka Ratnakantha was son of Sankarakantha of Dharmyāyanagotra of Kāśmīr "the land that is purified by the dust of the lotus-feet of Śārādā". Besides being an excellent scribe of Śārādā script, for in his hand are several manuscripts preserved at Srinagar,³ he was a poet and rhetorician. His eulogy of Śūrya is contained in *Ratnasataka* or *Citrabhānuṣaṭka* composed in 1680-1 A.D. He wrote commentaries on Ratnākara's *Haraviṇya* in 1681-2 A.D., on Vāṇudeva's *Yudhisthiraviṇya* in 1671-2 A.D.,⁴ on Jagaddhara's *Śuṭikūsumāñjali*⁵ in 1680-1 A.D. and on Yaśaskara's *Devīśoṭṭra*. On *Kāyaprakāśa*, he wrote the commentary *Sārasamuccaya*, containing a resume of *Jayantī* and other earlier expositions.⁶ His descendants still live at Srinagar as a respectable family of Karkuns.

1. Ed. Benares, CC, I 102, II. 20. On Bhīmasena's commentary, see *PR*, I 26, 94, IV lxxxvi.

2. Ed. Poona. For a list of his other works on grammar, see Vāmanācārya, I 43-44.

3. See Stein's *Int. to Rat*, vii.

4. Printed, Kāvyamālā, Bombay.

5. *Ibid*. In the colophon his other works are mentioned.

6. *PR*, II 16. In Stein's *Kashmir* catalogue, xxv, there is mention of a manuscript in which colophon to *Ullāsa* I reads thus इति श्रीमद्राजानकाद्वयसम्पदचक्रवर्तिने निजग्रन्थकाव्यसङ्केते—

Ānanda's gloss *Kāvya-darśana* was also called *Śiṭikanthaviḥvāṇa*. "By *Śiṭikantha* is meant the god Śiva. Ānanda calls his commentary the 'perception of Śiva' since it is his endeavour to interpret Mammata's text as having besides its ordinary meaning a mystical sense relating to the worship of the god. Thus he says with reference to Mammata's *Mangala* राजानककुलितलो मम्मटनामा देशिकवर लोकिकस्य काव्यप्रकाशने प्रवृत्तोऽपि अम्यन्तरस्य काव्यस्य शिवतत्त्वस्य प्रकाशिकाममेदप्रयोत्थापिकां शुद्धिर्चा दर्शयति

Ānanda who composed his commentary in A.D. 1665, is still well-remembered in the tradition of the Kashmirian Pandits as the contemporary and friend of Rajanaka Ratnakantha." See *Kash. Cat*, *Int* xxvi.

863-A Other Commentaries—Besides those referred to elsewhere, there are also commentaries¹ by Gopinātha, Candīdāsa, Janārḍana Vyāsa (*SKC*, 61),² Devanātha Ṭarkapancānana (*TC*, II, 2214),³ Jagannātha Panditarāja, Nārāyaṇa, Baladeva, Bhānucandra, Bhāskaramisra (*Tanj* X 298,⁴ *TC*, III 3976), Ratnesvara, Ravi, son of Ratnapāni (*Mys* 298),⁵ Rāmakṛṣṇa, Rāmanātha Vidyāvācaspati, Lauhitya Gopālabhatta (*Tanj*, IX, 4003, *DC*, XXII 8629),⁶ and by Śrī Vidyācakravartīn (*DC*, XXII 8626, *Tanj*, IX 4011),⁷ Venkatācalasūri, Vaidyānātha (*Mys*, 298),⁸ Śivarāma, Sridhara Sāndhivigrahika, Śivanārāyaṇa and Jayarāma Pancānana (*Mys* 298), and by Vedāntācārya, son of Śrīvāsādhvarin of Bhāradvājagoṭra (*TC*, III 3878), Yagnesvara, son of Kṛṣṇaḍeva (*DC*, XXII 8623),⁹ Jayadratha, brother of Jayaratha,¹⁰ Sāhityacakravartīn (*Tanj*, IX, 400, Rucinātha [*Adyar*, II 34], Harisankara (Ed Calcutta), and Sivadaṭṭa (Ed Bombay), and by Bhānucandra,¹¹ Gaḍādhara¹² cakravartīn,¹³ Gokulanātha,¹⁴ Gopinātha,¹⁵ Guṇaratnagaṇi,¹⁶ Kalādhara,¹⁷ Kalyāṇa Upadhyāya,¹⁸ Kṛṣṇa

1 See *CC*, I 101-2, II 19-20, III 22 and 114, 108, 190, *PR*, II 18, 16, 17, 21, III 384

2 He wrote commentaries on Raghuvamśa and Vṛṣṭaratnākara

3 His commentary *Kāvyaśatsumudī* answers the criticism of Viśvanātha. He also wrote *Rasakaprakāśa* on poets (*CC*, I, 497) His son Rāmananḍa wrote *Rasataran* gīṇī (*TC*, III, 3171)

4. About the 14th century A.D.

5. Ratnapāni wrote a commentary probably called *Kā yadarpapa* on *Kāvya* prakāśa which Ravi expanded Ratnapāni or his father Acyuṭa was minister of Śivastimha, king of Mithila See *JASB*, (1926), 149, (2999), 96, grant dated Saka 1321 (1899 A.D.) See Mummahan Chakravartī, *History of Mithila* (*JASB*, 1916).

6 Ed. *TSS*, Trivandrum, earlier than 16th century A.D. He also wrote a commentary on *Rasataran*

7 His *Śāhityaśatsumudī* is printed in *TSS*, Trivandrum. He calls the *Kārikas* Bharatāmuni's See *PR*, IV, xxxi.

8. The commentary was composed at Patna in 1649 A.D. He was pupil of Bhavaḍeva Thakkura.

9. *PR*, II, 18.

10 *CC*, I 101. He wrote a commentary on *Dakṣamāracarita*

11 *Mitra*, 1527; *CSQ*, VII, 13

12 Ganganatha Jha's Translation of *Kāvya* prakāśa, *Int.* IX He wrote the play *Śāhityaśatsumudī* about 1650 A.D. See page 385 supra

13 *CC*, I 101. He also wrote a commentary on *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, about the end of 17th century A.D.

14. *CC*, III, 39.

15. *Obol.* 501. It is a synopsis of the *Kārikas*

16 Ganganatha Jha, *l. c.*

Īvivedin,¹ Kṛṣṇasarman,² Kṛṣṇamitrācārya,³ Jagadīśa Tarkālakāra,⁴ Nāgarāja Kesava,⁵ Narasimhasūri,⁶ Nanayadīkṛita,⁷ Rucaka,⁸ Maḍhumaṭṭiganesā,⁹ Raghudeva,¹⁰ Ratnesvara,¹¹ Rājānanda,¹² Rāmacandra,¹³ Rāmakṛṣṇa,¹⁴ Rāmanātha,¹⁵ Vidyavācaspati, Sivanārāyanadāsa,¹⁶ Vidyāsāgara,¹⁷ Venkatācalasūri,¹⁸ Vijānanda,¹⁹ Yagnesvara,²⁰ and some other anonymous commentaries.²¹

864 RAGHAHA's gloss called *Avacūri* is incomplete and extends only to the middle of the 7th Ullāsa.²²

Mahesacandra was professor in the Calcutta Sanskrit College in 1882.²³

Narasimha's gloss *Rjuvṛttī* is a commentary on the *Karikās* only.²⁴

Kāvyaṃṛtataranginī is an adverse criticism on Mammata's work of unknown authorship.²⁵

1 *CC*, I 101

2 *HPB*, III, No 58

3 *CC*, I, 101 He was the son of Rāmanātha and a logician For his works, see *CC*, I 121

4 *CC*, I 101 He lived at Nuddoa in 17th century A D.

5 *CC*, I, 101.

6 *CC*, II, 19.

7 *CC*, I 101. He was son of Ranganātha who wrote commentary on *Vikramorvaśī* in 1656 A D

8 *Ed. COJ* 1935 See under Ruyyaka, para 870 *post*.

9 *CC*, I, 102

10 *CC*, II 20.

11. Mentioned in his commentary on *Sarasvatī Kanthābharapa*

12 *DC*, XXII 3622.

13 *CC*, I, 102

14. *CC*, I 102, II 20

15 *CC*, I 102 He lived about 1625 A D.

16 *Webster*, I No 81; *CC*, I 102 He lived in the beginning of the 17th century. For his other works, see *CC*, I 649

17 He is cited by Śrīyaśalāhara. Was he identical with the commentator on *Bhāṭikāvya*?

18 *CC*, I 102.

19. *CSC*, 44. The manuscript was transcribed in 1668 A D

20 *DC*, XXII. 3623.

21 *CC*, I 101, 778, II, 20, 193.

22 *Vamanācārya*, I, c. 35.

23. Printed, Calcutta

24. *TC*, III 4115. He belonged to the Āṇḍhra country

25. *Mitra*, 1874.

865 Govinda was the son of Kesava and Sonodevi of the Ravikara race. Rucikara alias Śrī Haraśa was his younger brother. His fifth ancestor Narasiṃha lived in the 18th century and he was himself prior to Kamalākara who wrote *Nirnadyasindhu* in 1612 A.D. He may be assigned to the middle of the 16th century. His *Kāvya-pradīpa*³ though usually considered as a commentary on *Kāvya-prakāśa* is in fact a distinct commentary on the *Kārikas* of the *Kāvya-prakāśa*. His reference to Mammata's lines are much in the way of possible criticism, though likewise explanatory. At the end of his work, he says that in the composition of his work, his brother Rucikara or Śrī Haraśa was a collaborator.⁴

866 Hemacandra lived in 1088-1174 A.D. and for some time in the Court of King Jayasimha of Anhilwīd. His *Kāvyaṇuśāsanam* in eight chapters with his own commentary is very valuable in literary history.⁵

Jayamangala also flourished in the Court of King Jayasimha and wrote *Kavīkṣā*,⁶ and NAGAVARMAṆ wrote *Kāvya-lōkanam*.

867 Vāgbhata Among the contemporaries of King Hemacandra was Vāgbhata I,⁷ the son of Soma. Vāgbhata (Bahada) was the minister in the Court of the Calukya king Jayasimha Siddharāja of Anhilwīd⁸ (1094-1143 A.D.), for such is the description given by Prabhācandra in his *Prabhāvakaraṇa*.⁹ The work on poetics known after his name *Vāgbhatāṅkārā*¹⁰ describes in easy verse and in five chapters the forms and functions of poetry and refers to that king and his capital. It is likely Vāgbhata wrote also the poem *Neminirvāṇa*.¹¹ There are commentaries on *Vāgbhatāṅkārā* by Ādinātha or Jina-

1. Ed. Bombay

2. *PR*, I 27-28 also refers to another commentary on the *Kārikas* called *Kāvya-lakṣā* at Odeypore. This may show that the *Kārikas* are considered as of distinct authorship.

3. See para 70 supra.

4. *CC*, I 88

5. His Prakrit name was Bāhade. Vāgbhata, the writer of medicine was the son of Simhagupṭa and was a different author.

6. Haricand (*Kalidāsa*) wrongly says this Jayasimha was King of Kaśmir. According to Lassen (*Alt*, III 562) Jayasimha ruled 1098-1154 A.D.

7. This work gives the dates for Vāgbhata, 1128 and 1157 A.D.

8. Ed. Bombay and Calcutta. But Weber's Manuscript (1718) has a sixth chapter on *Yamaka*.

9. Winternitz (*IL*, II. 3886, III 642) thinks so. The work is printed in Bombay.

vardhanasuri,¹ Śimha devagani,² Mūrtidhara,³ Kṣemahamsagaṇi,⁴ Samaya-sundara,⁵ Ganeśa, son of Ānandatibhatta,⁶ Rājahamsa,⁷ and Vācanā-cārya,⁸ and two anonymous.⁹

Ādinātha was a priest of Kharataraṅga in about 1403 or 1419 A D

868 Devesvara or Devendra was the son of Vāgbhata,¹⁰ who was a Mahāmātya to the King of Malava. In one of his verses he praises Hammīramahīmahendra, who, if he was the Chauhan king, ruled about 1283 A D. His Kāvīkalpalatā follows the Amarasiṃha's Kāvya-kalpalatā and a verse from it is quoted in Śārngadharapaddhaṭṭi. It was probably composed about the year 1300 A D. He also mentions a work Candrakalāpa¹¹ on poetics.

There are commentaries on Kāvya-kalpalatā by Vecārāma Sūva-bhauma,¹² by Rāmāgopāla Kaviraṭṭa,¹³ by Saraccandrasāstri,¹⁴ by Sūrya Kavi,¹⁵ and one anonymous.¹⁶

869 Vagbhata (II)¹⁷ was the son of Nemikumāra,¹⁸ and Vasun-

1. Ed Bombay Chāṇḍamālā, VIII 1889 b0 CC, I 5599.

2. Ed Bombay Kāṭh, II, VI 249, PR, V, 191.

3. Ed Bombay

4. SKC, 274, CC II, 182.

5. PR, IV, cxlvi, CC, II, 182. He was a pupil of Sakaleśvara, who was pupil of Jinacandra. He wrote also a commentary on Raghuvamśa.

6. CC, I, 559, PR, (1898 4), 156, 279. The manuscript was copied in 1480 A.D.

7. CC, I, 559, 794. He was pupil of Jinaśīlakaśuri who was pupil of Jinaprabhasuri of Kharataraṅga. Composed between 1350-1400 A D. See CCJ, II, 812.

8. CC, I, 559. It was composed in Samvat 1839 in Marwad during the reign of Gajasiṃha.

9. Ed by Kṣemajāya, Bombay, CC, II, 182, III, 118. CSO, VII, 45.

10. It is not likely that this Vāgbhata was identical with the two rhetoricians of that name. On Devesvara, see S. K. De SP, 212, JRAS, (1922) 678.

11. भक्ततत्त्वव्यकल्पेऽमलमतिभि तदुधेयम् ।

The reading however is different in other editions.

12. Ed Calcutta. He was son of Rājārāma. His other work Ānandāraṅgi describes a tour from Candarnagore to Benares (Mitra 805).

13. Ed Calcutta.

14. Ed Calcutta (Bibl Ind) and in Fraṭna Kramanandun, Benares, Nos 1-81.

15. CC, I, 87, III, 19, S. K. De, PS, II, 214.

16. CSO, VII, 8.

17. Eggeling wrongly identifies this Vāgbhata with Vāgbhata I IOC, III, 380.

18. Peterson (IR, III, app 124) notes one Nemikumāra who lived in Sam 1295 (1299 A D) was probably Vāgbhata father.

ḍharā, and lived at Rādhāpura. He refers to Vāgbhata (1)¹ and of the two kings he mentions, Mūlarāja and Vibhākara Mūlarāja was the founder of the Calukya dynasty of Anhilwād and may have lived about the end of the 13th century A.D.² His Kāvyañusāsana with a vṛtti on it is a work full of quotations of fine poetical illustrations and must have suggested itself to him after the work of Hemacandra of the same name. He alludes to his Chandonusāsana, a work on metrics and Rābhaḍevacanta, a big poem, but they are not now available.³

870 Ruyyaka⁴ was the son of Tīlaka.⁵ He lived in Kaśmīr and was the teacher of Mankha, the author of Śrīkanthacarita,⁶ who was attached to the Court of King Jayasimha (1129 to 1150 A.D.) His Alankārasarvasva is reputed to be work of Ruyyaka.⁷ But from the recent edition of the work published at Trivandrum,⁸ with the commentary of Samudrabandha⁹ it appears that Alankārasarvasva is only the name of the gloss, while the sūtras alone were the work of Ruyyaka.¹⁰

1. दण्डिवाचनवाग्भटादिप्रणीतादश्च गुणा , वयं तु माधुर्यौजं प्रसादलक्षणान् त्रीनेषु गुणान् मन्यामहे ।

2 See Harichand, *Kalidasa*

3 Ed Bombay

4 Rājānaka Ruyyaka is identical with Rāi Rupaka and Rucaka (Antrecht, *Oxf Cat* 210, BKR, 68) In Buhler's List 1975 6 No 247 and PR, II 14, 17 the manuscripts make Rucaka the author of Alankārasarvasva and Kavyaprakāśasanketa. Vidyācakravartin calls him Rucaka. Jayaratha, refers to Kāvyaaprakāśasanketa as Ruyyaka's work. In a manuscript (Buhler's List, 1875 6 No 265) of the Sahitya-Samithi, there is an explicit statement of the identity (See Fischel *Gott gel Anz Nr.* 19 p 767) See G. A. Jacob, *JRAS*, (1897) 233 Peterson's *Subbh* and PR, II 14, 106 and introduction to Vyaktiviveka (*TSS*), p 8

5 Fischel (*op. cit*) notes the name of his father as a commentator on Uqbhata. Jayaratha calls it Uqbhataviveka (See Bombay Edn p 205)

6 PR, II 17 18

7 Ed. Bombay Ruyyaka's views as expressed in the Alankārasarvasva are criticised by Mammata. See Vāmanaśārya's Int to Kavyaprakāśa, p 28

8 Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No XL

इति मखुको वितेने काश्मीरकक्षितिपाल सान्धिविग्रहिक ।

सुकविमुत्तालकार तदिदमलकारसर्वस्वम् ॥

9. Samudrabandha also calls it Mankhuka's work. This commentator was a poet of the Court of King Sangrāmaḍhira or Ravivarma Bhupa of Kolamba (Quilon) in Travancore who was born in 1265 A.D. He was probably the father of Simharāja, the father of Prakṛjarupāvaḍāra (See Int to Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, Nos 8 and 40)

10. In the opening Stanza, Mankha says that he was beginning a gloss on Gurvalankārasūtras i.e., the alankāra aphorisms of his teacher. It must however be noted that at p. 15 and 17 in quoting from Śrīkanthastava, it is said that Mankhiye Śrīkanthastave and at p. 17 madīye. The latter is the reading in Bombay Edn. p. 19.

871 ALANKARASARVASVA,¹ meaning by it the gloss above, is in the nature of the Bhā-ya. It attempts to classify Alankāras, accompanied by criticisms refined in language and temper.²

Ruyyaka seems to have been the author of several other works. His SAHRDAVALI is "a short prose-poetic discourse on the qualities of a fashionable gentleman, a charming formulary in four chapters and deals with attributes of beauty, adornments, youth and devises for preserving and enhancing beauty."³ His Alankāravimarsana is a commentary on the Jahaṇa's Somapālaviṭṭa,⁴ and a commentary on Mahimabhaṭṭa's Vyākṛtīviveka has been identified to be (Ruyyaka's?) work.⁵ This latter commentary refers to his four other works Nāṭakamīmāṃsā, Sāhityamīmāṃsā, Haracarīṭavārtika and Bṛhaṭ Śrīkantha-śṭava was probably also his work.⁶

872 Jayaratha wrote his commentary Alankāravimarsinī.⁷ He was the son of Śṛṅgāra,⁸ the minister of King Rājarāja who ruled at Saṅṅaras.⁹ He quotes from Pṛthvīrājavyāja, a poem describing the

1 There is an Alankārasarvasva of unknown authorship in praise of King Gopāla-
deva, DC, XXII 8609

2. For a summary of earlier views, see para 812 *supra*.

3 Ed by Pischell, Kiel Ed Bombay, with the commentary of Jayaratha

4 Raṭṇakantha's Sārasamuccaya yields this reference. See Peterson, *Subh* p 106; PR, II 17

5 In the introduction to Trivandrum Sanskrit Series (No 5) Ruyyaka is taken to be the author of the Alankārasarvasva and from this basis the commentary on the Vyākṛtīviveka is traced to be Ruyyaka's work, because in his Alankārasarvasva the works Sāhityamīmāṃsā and Haracarīṭavārtika are mentioned in both as the author's other works. If as now opined in Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No 40, Alankārasarvasva is the work of Maṅkha, it would follow that all these four works and the commentary on Vyākṛtīviveka must also be Maṅkha's works.

6. Pischell rightly says that this was a hymn to Śiva. But Aufrecht takes it "to be a chapter in praise of the country so called standing at the head of a poem called the Harṣacarita also by Ruppaka." See Peterson *Subh* loc 106. This mistake seems to have been due apparently to Aufrecht's referring to a passage quoted from Harṣacarīṭa, in Alankārasarvasva (Bombay Edition p 47), Harṣacarīṭe, Śrīkanthākhyājanapaṭṭavarṇane. See also JRAS, (1897) 285

7. Śṛṅgāra is quoted in Kavindravacanasaṃuccaya and Saṅkṛtikarṇamṛta, V 25, 114. CO, I 66. M. Duff calls the author of the commentary Jayaratha brother of Jayāratha, author of Tāṇṭalokavivēka (PR II. 181)

8 Ed Bombay. He quotes from a romance Anangalekhā, (see para 145 *supra*), and

माषश्चिन्नुपालवधं विदधत्कविमदवधं विदधे ।

रत्नाकरस्त्रिजयं हरविजयं वर्णयन् व्यवृणोत् ॥

9 Buhler's KR. 62. See also O. A. Jacob (JRAS, (1897) 292 3)

victory of the Chauhan King Pr̥thvīrāja, who died in 1193 A.D. and must have flourished probably in the 13th century. He wrote a poem *Haracantacintāmanī*.

There are also commentaries by Śrī Vidyācakravartī¹ and by Alaka quoted by Raṭṇakāntha.

873 Malayajapandita or Sarvesvara was the son of Trivikrama and pupil of Vāmarī. He was proficient in Bharatasāstra. Vāmarī is referred to in Belgaum inscriptions as having lived at Vanabāsi in 1168 A.D. His *Sāhityasāra* is a short treatise on dramaturgy.²

874 Rajaraja ruled at Calicut about the beginning of the 12th century A.D.³ He, or a poet of his court, wrote *Rājarājīyam*, a name adopted in the absence of the real one. It is a treatise on poetics, music and dancing, but only that portion dealing with the drama is now available. In his days, the works of Manoraṭha and Bhaṭṭanāyaka were probably read and there is therefore a hope that their existence may be still be traced.⁴

875 Asadhara⁵ was the son of Sallakṣaṇa and Raṭhī of the family of Vyaghraṇa. He was a Jain teacher. His wife was Sarasvaṭī and his son Chabada, a favourite of King Arjunavarman of Mālva who ruled in the 1st quarter of the 13th century A.D.⁶ He lived till Sam 1296 (1240 A.D.). He wrote about fifteen works, of which he gives a list.⁷ His *Trisastī-smṛti-sāstra* was written in 1236 A.D.⁸

876 Dharmadasa was a Buddhist ascetic. His *Vidagdha-mukhamandana*⁹ in 4 parts describes poetic riddles and involved composition. Jinaprabha, pupil of Jayasimha, commented on it and he

1 *DO*, XXII 8609. In this commentary he refers to a drama *Hariscandracarita* not known elsewhere.

2 The manuscript is with M. Ramakrishna Kavi, Madras.

3 If he is the great Cola king Rājarāja I he ruled about 999 A.D. See *BI* V 48 *Trav. Arch. Series*, II 1.

4 This verse is fine —

उद्यन्मनोरथमतीं महिमायुतातातुत्सर्पिर्दर्पणहृदो विमतान्विधूय ।

आनन्दवधनपराभिनवोक्तिरेषा व्यक्तारैस्स समया...राजराज ॥

5 Asādhara, son of Rāmāji, commentator on *Kuvalayaśāntai* is a different person. S. K. De, *SP*, I 199.

6 He gives this account at the end of his *Dharmāmṛta*.

7 *PR*, II 85, *BR* (1888-84), 109-4.

8 *CO*, I 84.

9 Ed. Calcutta, Bombay and elsewhere. S. K. De, *SP*, I 227. See para 347, *supra*.

lived about 1298 and 1309 A D¹ Dharmadāsa may therefore be assigned to about the end of the 12th century or the beginning of the 13th century A D There are other commentaries on it by Āṭmārāmā or Svapnārāmā,² by Iārācandra Kāyastha,³ by Nariharibhatta,⁴ by Trilocana,⁵ by Ḍurgādāsa,⁶ son of Vāsudeva

AMRIANANDAYOGIN'S Alankārasangraha in 10 chapters is an extensive work written at the instance of king 'Manva,' son of Bhatibhūmipaṭi who probably lived about 1250 A D⁷

877 Saradatanaya was the son of Bhatta Gopāla of Kāsyapa-gotra. "His great grandfather lived in a village called Mātara-pūjya in Merūtara-Janapada He performed thirty Vedic sacrifices to please the god Viṣṇu, and wrote a commentary entitled the Vedabhūṣaṇa on the Vedas His son Kṛṣṇa, the grandfather of Sārādātana, was also equally well-versed in the Vedas and in the Sāstras He worshipped Mahādeva in Benares and obtained a son by name Bhattagopāla the father of Sārādātana through the god's favour Bhattagopāla was likewise well-versed in eighteen sciences (Vidyas), he propitiated Sārādā the goddess of learning and obtained through her favour a son whom he named after the goddess as Sārādātana" He studied theatrics under Divākara,⁸ who was proficient in the art and kept up a theatre (nāṭyasālā) "He was a follower of the Pratyabhijñā School of Philosophy which had its origin in Kashmir and was elaborated by

1 Weber, 1798, *PR*, IV, xxxvii, Klate's *Onomasticon* His Guru Jinasthha founded Laghu Kharataragaccha in 1276 A.D.

2 *CC*, I 578

3 *CC*, I 574, II 135, III 121. For other works, see *CC*, I, 229

4 *CC*, I, 573

5 *CC*, II 135, *SKC*, 274.

6 *CC*, II 135, III 121, *PR*, IV 86

7. The rare works he quotes from are the plays Māricavandana, Vāliyaḍha, Uḍaṭṭarāghava, Nalavijaya, Deviparinaya The first five chapters were edited at Calcutta with English translation *DC*, XXII, 8604, and *CC*, I, 29, contain only 5 chapters The copy in the Gattami Library of Rajamundry and *TC*, III, 2980 contain all the nine chapters

8 Probably he is the same as Divākara, quoted by Purnaparasavati in his commentary on Meghasandeha The teaching is thus described -

प्रीतस्सोऽपि सदाशिवस्य शिवयोगौरीया मत् वासुके-
 द्वाग्देव्या अपि नारदस्य च पुनः कुम्भोद्भवव्यासयोः ।
 शिष्याणां मरुतस्य यानि च मतान्यध्याप्य तान्यञ्जना-
 स्नोरेष्यथ नास्मिन्नेदमखिल सम्यक्तमध्यापयत् ॥

the great Abhinavagupta While describing the origin of Music on page 181, our author deals with the 36 Ṭaṭṭvas in accordance with the tenets of the Pratyabhijñā system, and defines the functions of Paramāṭman, Jīva and Prakṛti in the beginning of Creation Following the principles of the same philosophy, he has introduced in his work a very interesting simile for the enjoyment of dramatic Rasas by the audience, and refers to a few early works of Sīvāgama in this connection This enjoyment, he said, is similar to Jīva's enjoyment of worldly pleasures In the course of his arguments he also defines certain Ṭaṭṭvas of the Pratyabhijñā philosophy such as Rāga, Vidyā and Kalā¹ He has summarised chapters of Bhoja's Sṅgārāprakāśa He is quoted by many writers of the 13th century and must have flourished in the 12-13th century A D

Sāradāṭanaya wrote a commentary on Kāvya prakāśa² and a work on music SARADIYA³

In his BHAVAPRAKASANAM,⁴ a treatise of extra ordinary merit in 10 adhikāras, Sāradāṭanaya summarises the views of earlier writers like Saḍāsiva, Drauṇi, Vāsuki, Vyāsa, Nārada, Śrī Harsa etc In generality he follows the plan of Bharata's Nāṭyāśāstra and notices the deviations of later authors from Bharata's views He reiterates Abhinavagupta's theory that rasa is the soul of poetry, but differs from him on occasions. "For instance, he differs from Abhinava on the point that Rasas must always be Vyangya in the best poetry and not Vacya Here Saradatanaya following the Dasarupaka opens a new path by suggesting that Rasas are the soul of poetry whether they are expressed or suggested by the poems. In the same way he does not want to

1 Int to Edn GOS, Baroda, pp 10 11 by Yadugiri Yati Rājaswamin

2 मयापि शारदीयाख्ये प्रबन्धे सुष्ठु दर्शितम् || (l c p. 194)

3 l c, pp 14 15

कृतश्रीमम्मटाचार्यवर्यै परिकरावधि ।

प्रबन्ध पूरितश्चेषो विधायाङ्कतमूरिणा ॥

4. Among rare authors and works he quotes are plays

अम्बिधमथनम्, अमृतमन्थनम्, इन्दुलेखा, उदात्तकुजरम्, कलिकेलि., कुसुमशेखर., कुलारावणम्, गगातरंगिका, गगामागीरथम्, गौडविजय., तरगदत्ता, त्रिपुरमर्दनम्, तारधोद्धरणम्, केळिरैवतकम्, त्रिपुरदाह, कुदमाला, देवीपरिणयम्, देवीमहादेवम्, नलविक्रमम्, नृसिंहविजय, पञ्चवतीपरिणय., मदलेखा, महानाटकम्, माणिक्यवह्निका, मारीचवञ्चितम्, मेनकानट्टकम्, वीणावती, वृत्रोद्धरणम्, शारदचंद्रिका, शृंगारतिलकम्, सैरन्ध्रिका, स्तम्भितरमकम्, बालिवध., रामाराधा, स्वप्नवासवदत्तम्, सौमद्रिका.

give altogether a separate existence to the suggestive¹ capacity (Vyanjana) of the words from their Tatparya Vṛtti, and brings the Dhvani also under the Tatparya-sakti. He holds that if at all there must be some difference between these two-Dhvani and Tatparya—it is just like that of the Brahmana and the Brahmacarin, or in other words, that Dhvani occupies a less important position under the wider scope of Tatparya. There are two other important points where Saradatanaya differs from Abhinava. There is difference of opinion as to the exact mode in which the enjoyment of Rasa is brought about, amongst the authors Lollata, Sankuka, Bhattanayaka and Abhinavannupta. Most of the later writers followed Abhinava on this point but Saradatanaya, strange as it may seem, follows the original view of Bhattanayaka as developed and modified by Dhanika in his Dasarupakavaloka. He approves of the theory as formulated by them that the connection between the poetry and the Rasa, is Bhavya-Bhavaka-Bhava and not Vyangya-Vyanjaka-Bhava. The Vṛttis such as the Abhidha, Laksana, and Tatparya help the audience to understand the Kavyartha or the Rasa, and the audience through the Bhavana Vṛtti get the Bhoga of the Rasa, which is similar to Brahmananda. In the same way, Poetry and Rasa are also connected with each other as cause and effect. Because, when poetry is presented before the audience, the necessary Vibhava, etc. create the sense of enjoyment in the mind of the audience. The second point where Saradatanaya criticises the views of other writers on Dramaturgy, especially Abhinava, is about the nature of Santa Rasa. Udbhata was the first writer to include Santa as one of the Rasas, it was approved by Anandavardhana, and Abhinava gave it a place of unique importance amongst the different Rasas. Rudrata or Rudrabhatta not only accepted Santa as an important Rasa but included Preyas also as a Rasa, and boldly declared that the Vyabhicari and the Sattvika Bhavas such as Nirveda, Harsa etc. also when properly developed contribute to the pleasure in the same way as Sringara or Karuna, and therefore, they should also deserve to be admitted as additional Rasas. Saradatanaya, who follows Dhananjaya in this respect, condemns the views of all these thinkers and opines that Santa Rasa cannot be enacted on the stage, for no Vibhava, Anubhava and Sattvika can be produced by the Sama, the Sthayibhava of the Santa. But unlike Dhananjaya our author thinks that it is the chief among the Rasas and it can be realized in the form of poetry except in the Dramas. Thus the scope of this work is to collect as far as possible all theories existing before and after the time of Bharata

and to examine and state them in a final form with certain modifications. Being a firm believer in the theory of Rasa as promulgated by Bharata, Saradatanaya has mainly developed the Sringara Rasa on the lines suggested by Bhoja in his Sringaraprakasa."

Kāvya-kamadhenu is on the same lines as Bhāvaprakāśa and treats of rasa, bhāva and sabdavyāpara elaborately.

878 Sobhakara was the son of Trayīsvaramisra. His Alankāra-ratnākara¹ is in the form of a commentary on aphorisms that had been extracted by YASASKARA of which his Ḍevisottra is meant as an illustration. He probably lived about the 13th century A.D.²

879 Singabhūpala was the son of Ananta or Anapoṭa³ and Annamāmbā and was the seventh in descent from Vetala Naidu⁴ (Betu Reddi), the original founder of Kingdom the Rajas of Venkatagiri. Vasanṭarāya was his brother. Singabhūpāla had six sons and ruled over a vast extent of territory between Vindhya and Śrīsaṭa (in the Kurnool District) about the year 1400 A.D. from his capital Rājācala (Racakonda)⁵. He was a great literate and patron of letters. He bore the title of Sarvaṇa. In his court flourished Viśveśvara and Appayācārya. The latter wrote a commentary on Amarakosa.

It was in his Court that Nārāyanācārya alias Kumāra Vedānta Ḍesika, the son of the famous Vedāntadesika, vanquished Śākalyamalla, the opponent of the Vaiṣṇava religion in disputation and then it was

1. BKR Ap XXVIII

2. For these sutras, see PR, I, 12, 77-81 OC I, 32, II 6

3. Anapoṭa wrote a drama Abhirāma-Rāghava, quoted in Rāsarṇavasudhākara. There is a drama of that name written by Maṇika in Nepal in 1390 A.D. (Levi, 268)

4. The *Biographical Sketches of the Rajas of Venkatagiri* published by the Venkatagiri State. Singabhūpaḷi is given as the tenth in descent. In our manuscript the name is given as Śivabhūpaḷi. Venkatagiri is a flourishing Zamindari in the Nellore District.

5. Singabhūpāla, the present author, was the son of Anapoṭa who was the son of Singabhūpala I. It was the latter who bore the title Sarvaṇa and Śrīnāṭha was the poet of his Court. Śrīnāṭha refers to him by the title Sarvaṇa. In the *Velugutwari Vamancasttram* (in Telugu) the author of Rāsarṇavasudhākara is given as Singabhūpala I. That seems to be incorrect. There are inscriptions there given of Anapoṭa dated Śaka 1302 and of the wife of Mādhava, the last of Singabhūpala II dated Śaka 1351. Another inscription dated Śaka 1291, also printed there, was composed by Nāganāṭha son of Paṣupaḷi. Nāganāṭha wrote a bhāṣa Madanavilāsa mentioning Anapoṭa and was a pupil of Viśveśvara, author of Camatkāracandrikā, in which Viśveśvara eulogised Singabhūpāla. It will be seen presently that Viśveśvara was the real author of Rāsarṇavasudhākara.

(See Veturi Prabhakaraśastry's Śringāra Śrīnāṭham, 196 et seq)

that a commentary on Vedāntadesika's Subhāṣitanīvi, called Raṅga-petukā, was composed and presented to the king

His Nāṭakaparibhāṣā appears to be a work on dramaturgy¹ His RASĀRṆAVASUDHĀKĀRA² presents in three chapters a vivid and elaborate treatment of the canons of dramaturgy inclusive of the governing Rasas and is probably the most comprehensive work on the subject so far available Its importance is enhanced in literary history by the several works and authors quoted in it, and so far it forms a landmark for historical research³

Viṣveṣvara, the author of Camaṭkāracandrikā, was a poet of his Court and in this work which is a treatise on rhetoric the illustrations are in praise of Singabhūpāla Here and in Rasārṇavasudhākara (page 151), his work Kandarāpasambhava is quoted In many places in Camaṭkāracandrikā the reader is referred for details to Rasārṇavasudhākara From these references it is inferred that the real author of Rasārṇavasudhākara was Viṣveṣvara⁴

880 Visvanatha was the son of Candrasekhara⁵ a Mahāpātra brahmin of Kalinga They were Sāndhivigrahika, that is a high official in the royal Court Candīdāsa the commentator on Kāvya-prakāśa was his grand uncle He quotes Giṭagovinda and Naisaḍha and mentions Allauddin⁶ Jayanta wrote his Prakāśadīpikā in 1324 A D and Allauddin, the famous Khilji marauder, was assassinated in 1315 A D⁷

1 CC, I 284 791

2. Ed T S S No 50 and Ed Venkatagiri

3. Among the works and authors quoted are

अमिरामराधवम्, अमोघराधवम्, आनन्दकोशप्रहसनम्, कलिकेलिप्रहसनम्, करुणाकदलम्, पयोधिस्रथनम्, भगवदञ्जुकम्, महेश्वरानन्द, मायाकुरङ्गिका, माधवी, वीरभद्रविजृम्भणम् ।

4 We have several instances in Rāmābhyudaya of Śaiva Narasimharāya and in Mahānāṭakasudhānīṭhi of Immaḍi Devarāya, where the real author was Aruṇa-grinātha

See Veturi Prabhakara Sūstri's Singarasinatham, 208-4

5 सन्धी सर्वस्वरूप विग्रह प्राणनिग्रह ।

अलावदीननूपतौ न सन्धिर्न च विग्रह ॥

6 His works Puṣpamālā and Bhāṣārṇava and verses his are quoted in Sāhitya-darpaṇa.

7 S.K De, SP, I 238 gives the date 1800-1850 A D See also Kane, (Int to Edn VI ; Oakravarti, JASB, lxxii. 140 and II (n. s.) 167 n ; Keith, JRAS (1911), 848

VIṢVANATHAS, authors of (i) Śṛṅgāravāpīkanāṭikā (ii) of Saṅgīta Raghunandana (iii) of Vṛjākaṭuka (iv) of poem Jagatprakāśa and Śṛṅgālyacarita (v) of poem Amṛtalahari (vi) of Śīvaśuṭi, of Śīvaśmṛtī (x) of Bhāgavataśārasaṅgraha (xi) of poem Śambhuvilāsa, [mentioned in CC, I 583-6, II. 129] are different.

Visvanātha mentions [Saugandhikāharapa of his namesake of the Court of King Praṭaparudrendra who ceased to reign in 1323 A D It is said in Sāhityadarpaṇa that Nārāyaṇa, grand-father of Visvanātha, vanquished a poet Dharmadatta¹ in the Court of King Narasimha of Kālinga Visvanātha himself composed a poem Narasimhavijayam, apparently in praise of a king of that name of Kalinga These two Narasimhas must be different There are four Kings (Narasimhas) of the East Ganga dynasty of Kalinga, of whom Narasimha II ruled between 1268-1302 A D,² Narasimha III ruled between 1326-1350 A D and Narasimha IV began to rule in 1376 A D A manuscript of Sāhityadarpaṇa is dated Samvat 1440, (1384 A D)³ Sāhityadarpaṇa could not therefore have been composed after 1376 A D, if we allow an interval for a manuscript to pass from Kalinga to Kāśmir We may infer safely that Visvanātha was in the Court of King Narasimha III (1326-1350 A D) and that of his son Bhānudeva (1350-1376), and Nārāyaṇa his ancestor in the Court of King Narasimha II (1268-1302 A D)

881 SAHITYADARPANA⁴ is an exhaustive treatise on the plan of Kāvya-prakāśa, on which also Visvanātha wrote a commentary In ten chapters, it traverses the whole field of poetics and his treatment is lucid and impressive⁵

There are commentaries on it by Maṭhuranātha Sukla⁶, by Ananta-dāsa,⁷ by Gopinātha,⁸ and by Rāmacarana Tarkavāgiṇī.⁹

1 Dharmadatta is cited in Prabhākara's Rasapradīpa (composed 1585 A D) in which Sāhityadarpaṇa is also quoted

2 *EL*, V, app 58, VIII app 17 See *JASB* (1903), 29

3 *SKC* 64 It is therefore seen that Weber (*SL*, 231, 244-n), Eggeling (*IOC*, III 387) and Harichand (Kālidāsa, 115) were wrong in their assumption of 15th century A D

4 Among rare works mentioned in it are

कटकमेलकम्, हयग्रीवचवम्, पुष्पमाला, उदात्तराघवम्, कुदमाला, रामाभिनन्दम्, बाल-चरितम्, जानकीराघवम्, रामाभ्युदयम्, ययातिविजयम्, राघवाभ्युदयम्, पुष्पभूषितकम्, लीलामधुरकम्, कुसुमशेखरविजयम्, समुद्रमथनम्, धर्मिष्ठाययाति, छलितरामम्, धूर्तचरितम्, स्तमितरमम्, रैवतमदनिका, नर्मवती, विलासवती, शृङ्गारतिलकम्, देवीमहादेवम्, मेनका-हितम्, मायाकापालिकम्, श्रीङ्गारसातलम्, कनकवल्लीमाधवम्, बिन्दुमती, कर्णपराक्रमम्, ब्रिक्काटनम्, आर्याविलासम्, मुक्तावली, देशराजचरितम्, बिन्दुदम्पतीमाला.

5 *Ed* Calcutta, Bombay, Calicut etc Translated into English by Ballantine and P D Mitra *Bib Ind* Calcutta See S K De, *SP*.

6 *CC*, I, 715 He wrote a voluminous writer, see *CC*, I, 472 He wrote his *Jyotiṣṣiddhāntam* in 1288 A D He also was a commentary on 'Kuvālayānaṇḍam

7 *CC*, II 171 He was son of Visvanātha A manuscript is dated 1686 A D

8 *CC*, I 168

9 *Ed* Calcutta and Pombay *DC*, XXII, 8710. He wrote his book in East Bengal in a Śaka 1622 (1701) A D,

Alankāravādārtha discusses the views of Sāhityadarpaṇa¹

Among his other works, from which he quotes are the poems Rāghavavilāsam, Kuvalayasvacaritam (in Prakṛit) Nārasimhaviḥayam, and the plays Candrakulā and Prabhāvatīparinayam. His Prasastī-ratnāvalī is a Karmilīhaka in 16 languages, containing panegyrics.

882 Visvanatha, son of Trimala and grandson of Ananta of Dharasura city on the Godāvari, wrote Sāhityasudhāsindhu in 3 taran-gas² and a play Mṛgāṅkalīkṣā³

883 Rasaviveka called kāvyādarśa is an excellent treatise in three chapters on rasa probably of the 14th century A.D.⁴ The author's name is not known, but he was the brother of Saujanya-bhūṣanakavi and pupil of Dakṣaśmūrṭi. The illustrations are from ancient works,⁵ of which the latest are Kṣemendra's Śilāsataka⁶ till now unknown and Bilhana's Vikramāṅkadevacarita (I, 14)

884 Bhanudatta, known also as Bhānukaramisra⁷ was the son of Gaṇanātha or Gaṇeśvara of Vīdoha (Vidarbha?) His Gīta-Gaurī-sam⁸ is a lyric modelled on Jayadeva's Gīta-Govindam and the commentary on his Rasamanjarī by Gopāla is dated 1428 A.D. Bhānu-datta's father wrote Rasaraṇnadīpikā from which quotations are found in Rasataranginī, and his great-grandfather Śaṅkaramisra who was the author of Upaskara and a commentary on Śrī Harsa's Khandanakhaḍya lived about the year Saka 1327 (1405 A.D.)⁹ From these references it

1. *HPS*, I, 12, *CO*, III, 7

2. *SKO* xxix, where the manuscript is dated 1602 A.D. He cites Candīdāsa commentator on Mammata

3. See para 710 *supra*

4. *TO*, I, 804. Thus he begins discussion

तत्तासौ रसः किमात्मा, किमधिकरण कतिसङ्ख्यश्चेति त्रिविधो विचारः ।

5. An author Kāśmīrāḍhipati is quoted. Can he be Harṣa mentioned as a dramatic writer by Abhinavagupta?

6. "अलङ्कारजातस्य... अनुपादेयत्वे च काव्यस्य तदुत्पत्तिहेतोः शक्तिनैपुण्याभ्यास-रूपस्य क्षेमेन्द्रप्रणीतशिलाशतस्य वैयर्थ्यं स्यात्"

7. There is a poet Bhānukara who was patronised by a king Virabhaṇu, who according to Haradatta Sarina (*IHO*, X, 478) was contemporary of Sher Shah (1540-1545 A.D.) For a discussion, see Chapter on *Erotics* post under Vīrabhadra's Kan-ḍarpaudāmanī. See *COJ*, I, 197, II, 251. In *Sabhyāṅkaraṇa*, Govindāji quote distinctly from Bhānukara and Bhānupandita (*BR*, 1887-91, ixiii)

8. *CO*, I, 405, 793, *IOC*, VII, 1443-5

9. Ananta Bhatta (17th century) commentator explains the verse तत्किं राजपथे निजामधरणीपालोऽयमालोकितः । as निजामाख्यो देवगिरिराजः ।

is inferred that Bhānudaṭṭa lived between 1350 to 1450 A D ¹ His RASAMANJARI deals with the phases of love as embodied in poetry and illustrates the conditions of lovers of different ages and experiences. In delineation of character, in appreciation of psychology in and choice of illustration, it is unsurpassed in excellence ² The reader feels himself in a land of enchantment and it is in short a book of pleasure ³

885 HIS RASATARANGINI⁴ is a similar work in eight chapters on rasas and refers to Rasamanjarī for elaboration Among his other works are Alankāratilaka,⁵ Śṛṅgārādīpikā⁶ and probably the poem Kumāra-Bhārgaviyam⁷

"In the sixth chapter of the Rasatarangini, Bhanudatta excuses himself from giving details about certain points because he says they are given in the Rasamanjarī From this it is clear that the author of both was the same, but there is some question as to his native country In Professor Aufrecht's copy of the Rasamanjarī it is spoken of as 'Vidarbhābhūh' or the land of the Vidarbhas, and the manuscript before me agrees with his But Dr Burnell in his catalogue of the

Ahmed Nizam Shah obtained possession of Deogir (Daulatabad) between 1497-1507 A D and founded Nizam Shahi dynasty in Dekkan which continued in possession till 1637 A D Briggs, *Ferishta*, II 200)

B N Bhattacharya (*Jl of Dep of Letters*, Calcutta, Vol IX, 169) refers to a tradition that Bhānu's father wrote Rasaratnadīpikā and his grandfather Śankara wrote a commentary on Śrī Harṣa's Khandanakhāḍya (*Pandit*, XIII. 172), CC, I 125, II 149, III 130

In Kumārabhārgaviya (IOC, VII 1540) mention is made of one Sureśvara, son of Ratneśvara, who was an ancestor of Bhānudaṭṭa, separated by 6 generations from himself and who wrote Śārirakabhaṣyavārtika

1. S K De (SP, I 249) says he cannot be earlier than the middle of the 14th but later than the 12th century See his paper on the date of Bhānudaṭṭa (*Proc of Or. Confce*, Allahabad, 1926)

2. Ed Madras, Bombay, Benares and Calcutta

3. For instance

स्नात वारिदवारिमिर्विरचितो वासो धने कानने
शीतैश्चन्दनशीकरैर्मनसिजो देवस्समाराधित ।
नीता जागरणव्रतेण रजनी व्रीडा कृता दक्षिणा
तस किं न तपस्तथापि स कथं नाद्यापि नेत्रातिथिः ॥

4. Ed Granthamala and by Regnaud, Paris

5. CC, I 32, II 66, III 7, *Tanj* IX. 4107, *PR*, VI. App 29

6. CC, I 661

7. *CASP*, 47, with com. of Gopāṇananda, Bharatamallika and Navanītarāma

Tanjore manuscripts calls him Mithila Bhanudatta, i.e., Bhanudatta, the native of Mithila, and the copy of the Rasamanjari purchased by me in 1879 and another procured since the close of the year have Videhabhuh instead of Vidarbhabhuh, i.e., the land of the Videhas of which Mithila was the capital. That Vidarbhabhuh is a mislection is shown by the fact that the author represents the river of the gods or the Ganges as flowing through his country, while the country of the Vidarbhas, which corresponds to the modern Berars, is situated to the South of the Narmada."

886 There are commentaries on Rasamanjari by Mahādeva,¹ by Rangasāyina,² by Anantapandita,³ by Nāgabhalla,⁴ by Bopadeva alias Gopāla,⁵ by Śeṣacintāmani,⁶ by Gopālabhalla,⁷ by Anantasarma,⁸ by Vrajaraja,⁹ by Viśveśvara¹⁰ and one anonymous.¹¹

There are commentaries on Rasataranginī by Gangārāma Jati,¹² by

1 *TC*, I 936,

2 *DC*, XXII 8084. He was also called Gurijālaśāyina. He was son of Dharmācārya of Chalakamarti family of Gurjāla, Guntur District, Madras.

3 *Ed Benares DC*, XXII 8685. He was son of Tṛyambaka and patronised by King Citrabhānu of Benares. Citrabhānu was son of Virasimha and was called Śvasakṣin. For particulars, see *IOC*, III, 356. His native place was Puṇyastamba on the Godāvari. He wrote his commentary in 1686 A.D. at Benares.

4 *CC*, I 495, II 116, 120, III 106, *Ullar*, 1076. On Nāgoji, see para *supra*.

5 *CC*, II, 116, *PR*, II 36. When the date of composition is given as Saka 1494 but *SKC*, 273 gives the date as Sam 1484. Bopadeva alias Gopāla Ācārya was son of Nṛama of Kaundinyagotra of Jabalagrama of Mahārāstra.

6 *CC*, I 495, II, 116, 220, III, 106 where his other works are given. Śeṣacintāmani was son of Śeṣaṇṛsimha of the 17th century. For Śeṣa family of Benares, see para 992 *supra*.

7 *Ibid*. He was son of Hanvamsabhalla Dravida. He commented on Śṛṅgārāṭṭilaka and Kāvyaṇṇakāśa. For his other works, see *CC*, I, 161.

8 *CC*, I, 495, II 116. He also wrote Āryasaptasāṭi, in 1645 A.D.

9 *ONWP*, II, 120. He was son of Kāmarāja and Jivaraṇa was his son and wrote a commentary on Rasataranginī. See para 903 *post*.

10 *CC* I, 495, II 116, III 106. For Viśveśvara, son of Lakṣmīdhata, see para 812 *supra*.

11 *IOC*, 548.

12 *IOC*, III 884, *DC*, XXII 8680, *TC*, II 1095. He was son of Nārāyaṇa and wrote Rasamīmāṃsā (Ed Benares). His commentary is dated 1732 A.D.

Jivarāja,¹ by Mahādeva,² by Gaṇeśa,³ by Ayodhyāprasāda,⁴ by Bhagavad-bhatta,⁵ by Divākara,⁶ by Nemisāha,⁷ by Venidatta.⁸

Jivarāja flouts Gangārāma's commentary Nāukā and praises his own *Seṭu* thus

सेतु परित्यज्य विमूढबुद्धयो नौकादिभि क्षुद्रविसारसाधनै ।
 तर्तु समिच्छन्ति यतन्ति चापि ये चक्षुष्मदन्धा इति तेषु मे मति ॥
 इमां बत तरणिणीं रसमयीं गभीरान्तरां
 दुरन्तविषयमिधैरथ तिमिगिलैस्सङ्कुलाम् ।
 वृतां विविधसद्यैर्विषयैर्विना सेतुना
 कथं बुधमतङ्गजा प्रतितरन्तु नौकाद्यतै ॥

887 Jayadeva's Candraloka⁹ is almost a student's hand-book in poetics. In ten Mayūkhās or chapters it describes the qualities of good poetry and illustrates the figures of speech. In the introductory verses, Jayadeva calls himself Pīyūṣavaṣa and in the concluding verses, gives the names of his parents as Māhādeva and Sumiṭrā. These references are conclusive on the identity of the authors of the Candrālōka and Prasannarāghava.¹⁰ Besides Kuvalayananda, there are commentaries on Candrālōka, by Venkatasūri,¹¹ by Payagunda Vaidyanāṭha,¹²

1 *CC*, 494, II 229, III. 106. He was son of Vrajarāja and great grandson of Sāmarāja Dikṣiṭa who lived in the latter half of 17th century. Of Vrajarāja, see para 303 *post*.

2 *CC*, I 494.

3 *Ibid*.

4 *Ibid*. He also wrote a commentary on *Vṛttaratnāka*.

5 *Ibid*.

6 *CC*, II 118.

7. *CC* I. 494, III 106. He was son of Bhimesāna described as Mahārājaḍhi-rāja.

8 *Ibid.*, *Uwar*, 1071. He was author of *Alankāra-candrodaya*. His commentary is dated 1568 A D.

9. Printed Venkateswar Press, Bombay and everywhere. There is another Candrālōka, *Uwar*, 1058.

The identification of this author with the author of *Gitagovinda*, made in the Introduction to this Edition is wrong, likewise is the statement of Dayānanda that this Jayadeva was the same as the brother of Bopadeva, whose parents were Bhojadeva and Rāḍhā (see his *Śaṭyārthaprakāśa*, 335).

10 See para 674 *supra*. Peterson, *Subh* 39, *DC*, XXII 8650, 8656, *SR*, 68.

11. Called *Budharanjanī*. It embraces only the chapters on *Arthālankāra*. The author was patronised by Rāmabhūpāla. Ed. Madras *TC*, III 1536, *DC*, XXII 8651.

12 Called *Rāmā*. *DC*, XXII, 8652. He is different from Vaidyanāṭha Tāṭṣaṭ, the commentator on *Kāvya-prakāśa*.

by Visvesvara alias Gāgābhata,¹ by Pradyoṭanabhattācārya,² by Virūpākṣa,³ by Vājacandra,⁴ by Sūrya Balirama Caube,⁵ and one anonymous⁶

888 Sukhalalamisra was son of Bāburāja and grandson of Hṛdayarāma. He was pupil of Gangesamisra. His sixth ancestor Damodara came to Kāśī from his native village Gharonda and having studied there became minister of Vairamapuṭra. Sukhalāla's Alankāra-manjarī purports to follow Jayadeva's Kārikas. His Śṛṅgāramālā was written in Sam 1801 (1745 A D).⁷ The first verse imbeds the names of planets thus —

अरुणिमरविनखचन्द्र पावकमौम बुधमणिभि ।

सुरचिसुमहिम कविवन्ध मन्दगमवतु पदपङ्कज देव्या ॥

Gangesa's son Hariprasāda wrote Kāvyaṛthagumpha and Kāvya-lōka in Sam 1775 and 1784.⁸

Among Reddī Kings of Addankī, Prola Vema was a great patron of letters. Lolla Mahādeva Kavī adorned his Court. His grandson Kumāragiri or Vasanṭarāja wrote a work on dramaturgy Vasanṭarājīya.⁹ From this work Kūṭayavema¹⁰ who had married Komāragiri's sister Mallāmbikā, has quotations and so too do Mallināṭha, Kumāraswāmin and Nāṇḍīla Gopamanṭṛin

1 धृतातपत्रः शुभशुक्लवासा पुष्पाचिंतश्चन्दनचर्चिताङ्ग ।

विप्रशिखावान् कृतभोजमश्न ददाति दृष्ट पथि सर्वसिद्धिम् ॥

Commentary on *Vikramorvaśīyam*

1. Called Rākāgama or Sudhā. He was also known as Viśveśvara alias Gāgābhata, son of Dinakara and nephew of Kamalākara of the 17th century. *DC*, XXII, 8658, *PR*, II 500

2. Called Śaraḍarāma *DC*, XXII. 8655. This name was apparently suggested from the last verse of the Candrālōka. The author was the son of Balabhadra, and wrote at the instance of Prince Virabhadra son of King Rāmacandra and grandson of Virasimha of Vandella family (Vaghela?). Virabhadra's commentary on Kāvyaśūtras is dated 1577 A D.

3. Called Śaraḍaśārvari (*HLI*, III. vii).

4. *CO*, I, 182

5. Called Dīpikā Ibid

6. Ed. Benares.

7. *Uwar*, 1088, *SKC*, 74

सुधाशुव्योमवसिन्दौ वर्षे ज्येष्ठसिते रसे ।

शुभा शृङ्गारमालेय रविपुष्पे सुसंकिता ॥

8. *CO*, I 108, II 20, *PR*, III 856, S K De, *SP*, II 828

9. See Essay on Vasanṭarājīyam in K.B. Pathak's Com. Vol. by N. Vinkatarao

10. See para 620 *supra*.

- II मदेन मदनेनापि प्रेरिता शिथिलत्रपा ।
योत्सुकाभिसरेत् कान्त सा भवेदभिसारिका ॥

Commentary on *Mūgha*, II 8

- III यद्यप्यङ्गानि भूयासि पूर्वैरङ्गस्थ नाटके ।
तेषामवश्य कर्तव्या नान्दी नन्दीश्वरप्रिया ॥

Commentary on *Pratāparudrīyam*

IV. तथोक्त वसन्तराजीये—

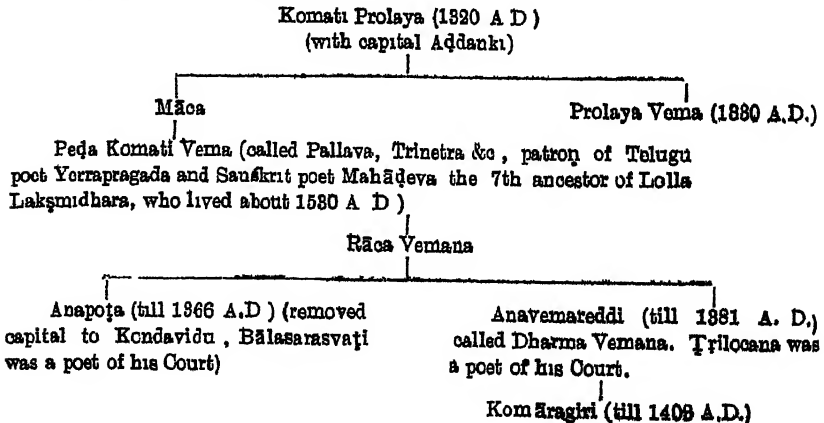
सूचने पात्रभेदानां तत्समावार्थसूचनी ।
या गीति सा ध्रुवा तुल्यसविधानविशेषणे ॥
प्रावेशिक्याक्षेपिकी च तथा प्रासादिकीति च ।
नैष्कामकयान्तरी चेति तासां लक्षणमुच्यते ॥
प्रवेशसूचकादौ तु ध्रुवा प्रावेशिकी मता ।
प्रसङ्गमध्येऽन्यार्थस्याक्षेपादाक्षेपिकी मता ॥
प्रासादिकी तु पात्राणां व्याकुलानां प्रसादनात् ।
निष्क्रामसूचिकायान्ते ध्रुवा नैष्कामिकी भवेत् ॥
विषादे विस्मृतौ क्रोधे प्रमादे सन्नमे मदे ।
दोषप्रच्छादनादौ च गीयते या तु सान्तरी ॥ इति ॥

Commentary on *Prabodhacandōdaya*.

889 Vemabhupala¹ succeeded Komāragiri on the throne of Kondavidu in about 1403 A.D. as the nearest agnate in succession.

1 On Vemabhupāla and his family, see Veturi Prabhākaraśāstri's *Syngāranasādhana*, 45, also *B I* III 288, *III* 60

The geneology is as follows —



He is generally known as Pedakomati Vemareddi. He was the grandson of Māca, the elder brother of Prolayavema. A poet and scholar himself, he was a great patron of letters. He bore the title Vīranārāyana. He gave away a portion of his kingdom to his brother's son Māca and installed him at Kondapalli. He claimed the territory of Rajahmundry which had been given away by his predecessor Komāragiri¹ to his wife's brother Kātayavema and had to wage war against the grandson of the latter and his adherents. His wife Sūramāmbā was known for her charity and some tanks and canals are associated with her name. He passed away about the year 1420 A.D. In his Court the great poets Srinātha and Vāmanabhalla Bāna flourished. Srinātha called him Sarvajñakravarṇin² and Vāmana narrated his life in his romance Vīranārāyanacarita.

Besides his commentaries on Amaruka³ and Saṃśatāsāra,⁴ he wrote Sāhityacintāmaṇi⁵ on poetics and Saṃgītacintāmaṇi⁶ on music. The first is a learned treasure in 13 Paṇchedas on the plan of Kāvya-prakāśa and criticises Mahimabhalla's theory of inference. Among the poets he quotes is one Kusumāyudha. The illustrations are sometimes in praise of himself and this leads to a doubt if the work was only a dedication by a poet of his Court, presumably Srinātha. Among the works quoted in these works, are his own Kāvya (or Bhāna) Vīranārāyanacarita⁷ and Kādambarīnātaka⁸ of Narasimha, a nephew of

2. Komāragiri alias Vasanārāja was found of feast and pleasure and he was free to enjoy them, while his wife's brother Kātayavema a warrior and scholar administered the kingdom with ability. Lakuma, a celebrated actress, was in his Court. He wrote a work on Nāṭya called Vasanārājaṇi and this is referred to by Kātayavema in his commentary on Bākunṭalā. At his instance Kātayavema wrote commentaries on the plays of Kālidāsa.

1. चूडामणिर्नृपाणां दुर्मदपरिपन्थि शिखरिदमोळि ।
सर्वज्ञचक्रवर्ती पेदकोमटिवेमभूपतिर्जयति ॥

2. Ed. Madras.

3. The manuscript in Oriental Mus. Library

4. DC, XXII 8708.

5. Trav 50. This is a Saṃgītacintāmaṇi and Saṃgītaśmṛti by Kamalōcāna (CC, I 79), and another anonymous in Tanj XVI. 7265

6. It is not known what this work was. For instance

यथा ममैव कावेरी वीरनारायणचरिते ।

7. For instance

1. भुवनाय वितीर्णजीवनानां क्षितिभृद्भिश्चिरसोपललितानाम् ।

अधिक विमलश्रियां वनानां लघुतापि प्रबभूव गौरवाय ॥

11. क्षण कपोले स्तनमण्डले क्षण क्षण हृदीय फलकं क्षण दृष्टो ।

नितंविनी न्यस्य निमीलितक्षणा दृष्ट्यो विदग्धेव न वेद नान्तरम् ॥

Agastya In learning and patronage, **Vemabhūpāla** and his family were vying with the contemporary kings of **Racakonda**, of whom **Sarvajnasinga**¹ and his grandson of that name attained fame

890 Paundarika Ramesvara's *Rasasindhu* treats of *rasas* and *bhāvas* in 14 *raṭnas* (chapters) Among the works he mentions the latest is **Viśvanātha's** *Sāhityadarpana* and he must therefore have lived in the first half the 13th century.²

891 Anurathamandana or *Ratnamandanaguru* was the pupil of the Jain priest **Ratnasekhara**,³ son of *lapagaccha* who died in 1861 A.D. His *Jalpakaḥpalatā*⁴ in 3 parts is an instructor in poetic composition and *Mugdhamedhākara*⁵ mainly deals with figures of speech

892 Punjaraja was the son of *Jivana* and *Maku* of *Śrīmāla* family *Jivana* and his brother *Megha* were ministers of *Khalaci Sahi Garjasa* of *Mālva* who ruled about 1475 A.D.⁶ Of his two sons, *Punja*, who became king, abdicated in favour of his brother *Munja* *Punjaraja's* *Dhvanipradīpa* is a treatise on *Dhvani* and *Śisuprabodhālankāra* is an introductory work on figures of speech.⁷

893 Haridasa was son of *Puruṣoṭtama* of *Karana* family His *Prastāvārāṭṇākāra* deals with enigmatic composition and was composed in 1557 A.D.⁸

894 Vitthalesvara or *Vitthaladikṣita* called also *Agnikumāra* was the son of *Vallabhācārya* the reformer and was born in 1515 A.D. His brother was *Gopīnātha* He wrote *Rītiṣṭūṭhalakṣana* on literary style and *Śṛṅgārarasamandāna*⁹ on the sentiment of love

895 Kesavabhata was the son of *Harivamśabhata* and disciple of *Vitthalesvara*, the son of *Vallabhācārya* His *Rasikasanjivani* in three chapters deals with heroines and their relation to the amorous sentiment.¹⁰

1 See para 120 *supra*

2 *CC*, III 106, *BORI*, Poona, Ms No 595, P. K. Goḍe, *COJ*, II 80

3 *BR*, (1888-84) 156-7, *PR*, IV col. 1A, XI 256

4 *Weber*, 1722, II 278 80

5 *TR*, VI xv, 81

6 See *BR*, (1882 3), 12

7 *PR*, V xlii, 168 9, *PR*, V 169

8 *CC*, I 360, II, 212, III 77

9 *CC*, I 661, II. 168, III. 197 For other works, see *CC*, I 572 III 121.

10 *CC*, I 127, 497

896 Appayyadīksita has a venerable place in poetics¹ He composed KUVALAYĀNANDA, a treatise original in itself, but designed as a commentary on Jayadeva's Candrālōka² In Āśādhara's commentary on Kuvalayānanda, we have the story of its composition

किं च “काव्य यशसेऽर्थकृते” इत्यादिकप्रामाणिकपण्डितोक्त राजप्रसादादिकमभिहितम् । एव हि श्रूयते । अप्पय्यदीक्षितो नाम चन्द्रालोक नाम ग्रन्थ चिकीर्षु पण्डितो रङ्ग जस्रुत् स पितुराज्ञया वेङ्कटादिराजमुपजमाम । स च राज्ञाभ्यर्थितश्चन्द्रालोक नाम ग्रन्थ चकार । राज्ञा वर्षाशन दत्त्वा प्रहितोऽलङ्कारविवेचनाय प्रार्थितश्चेमा कारिका कुवलयाणन्द च कृत्वा वेङ्कटेश प्रसादयामास ।

It is said that Appayya who wished to compose a work on Alankāras was sent by his father to go to the king Venkaṭāḍri. The king induced him to compose the work and settled on him an annual allowance in consideration of his scholarship. Appayyadīksita returned with the boon and wrote the kārīkās on the subject under the name of Candrālōka and wrote also a commentary called Kuvalayānanda.

The name of the king is given at the end of the work

अमु कुवलयाणन्दमकरोदप्पदीक्षित ।
नियोगाद्वेङ्कटपतेर्निरुपाधिकृपानिधे ॥

“Appayyadīksita composed the Kuvalayānanda by the command of Vēṅkaṭapati who was the mine of disinterested mercy”

“From the statement of Appayyadīksita in the beginning of the work, it appears, however, that he did not compose the whole original work, but adopted the work of Jayadeva (5th chapter) and added definitions of new alankaras and their illustrations. This perhaps roused the indignation of Jayadeva, the author of Candrālōka and was referred to by him in his drama of the Prasannanaghava as an unworthy plagiarism. In the introduction, it is said that the manager had a brother named Gunarama, that he objected to being called भरताचिराज ‘prince of players’ owing to the fact that his elder brother was living, that the title should be conferred on the latter, that he wrote a drama called Haracaparopana which was acted at the court of a king called Ratūjanaka and obtained a great fame as an actor. A contemptible player stealthily assumed the title of Gunarama and misappropriated

1 For his life and works see paras 142-3 *supra*. In a discussion in JOR, P. P. S. Sastri fixes his date as 1520-1598 A.D. विक्रमे भूतल प्राप्य विजयै स्वर्गमाययौ ।

2 For commentaries on it, see *l.c.* and also by Kuravi Rāma (HB. I xi)

the fame to himself Having heard this, the real Gunarama went to the south and secured the alliance of a singer named Sukantha and began to fight against his enemy at the courts of the kings of southern India. While we can clearly see in the above statements, an allusion to the story of Ravana carrying Sita, the wife of Rama, and the latter allying himself with the monkey leader, Sugriva and fighting with Ravana to recover his wife, we cannot help thinking of the probability of a reference to Appayyadiksita's modification of the Candraloka and commenting upon the work Jayadeva might have considered this to be a plagiarism and resorted perhaps to the courts of king of Southern India where Appayyadiksita was living to expose the plagiarism before the king and the people assembled "1

897 His *Cītramīmāṃsā*, also a treatise on *alankāra* is supposed to have been left unfinished, and Vaidyanātha in his commentary on *Kuvalāyananḍa* thus supports the general tradition "*Cītramīmāṃsā* is not seen anywhere beyond the *Utpreksāalankāra*" Jagannātha made a ruthless criticism of this work in *Cītramīmāṃsākhandana*,² and this was in its turn answered by Nīlakantha³ and Candamāruṭācārya⁴

898 *Gaṅgananda* was a protige of Mahārāja Karna of Bikaner (1506-1527 A D) and belonged to Mithila (Tirabhukṭa) His *Kāvyaadākinī* is divided into 5 dr̥ṣṭis and deals with poetrical blemishes (*dosa*) "In the last chapter there appears also a discussion whether a *dosa* is regarded as a *guna* when it does not involve any defect at all or when it is neutral, so that it cannot be treated as a *guna* or a *dosa*"⁵ *Gaṅgananda* also wrote *Karnabhūṣana*⁶ a treatise on *rasa*, a poem *Bhṛṅgadūṭa*⁷ and a play *Mandāramanjari*⁸

1 *HR*, II 68.

2 *Ed*, Bombay, along with *Cītramīmāṃsā*. For instance on the verse .

निश्चेषच्युतचन्दन स्तनतट निर्मृष्टरागोऽधर

नेत्रे दूरमनञ्जने पुलकिता तन्वी तवेय तनु ।

मिथ्यावादिनि दूति बान्धवजनस्याह्लातपीडागमे

वापी स्नातुमितौ गतासि न पुनस्तस्याधमस्यान्तिकम् ॥

8 *HR*, II viii The latter manuscript is with S A T Śīngaracārya, Triplicand, Madras

4. *Ed*, *Sar. Bhac Seres*, Benares by P. Jagannatha Sastri

5. *Ed* *Kāvyaśāla*, Bombay

6 *CC*, III. 30

7 Mentioned in *Kāvyaadākinī*, p 44

899 Jagannātha¹ His charming lyrics have already been described His Rasagangādhara² testifies to his high culture in the appreciation of poetry It stops with Uṭṭarālankāra, probably in imitation of Appayadīkṣita's Citramīmāṃsā, whose views he criticises in his Citramīmāṃsākhandana³ In his disquisitions he is self-conscious and the language of his rhetorical works, particularly of Rasagangādhara is not lucid and a knowledge of dialectics will facilitate its appreciation He declares that his illustrative verses are his own⁴

900 Kṛṣṇasudhā was the son of Śivarāma and descendant of Jagannātha Panditarāja of Upadrasti family He lived in Uṭṭaramallur on the banks of the Seyyar near Kāncī He wrote Kāvyaakāṇḍī,⁵ a very comprehensive work on poetics, with illustrations in praise of his patron King Rāmavarman of Kollam

In Alankāramīmāṃsā, Sāṅgalūri Kṛṣṇasūri, son of Gopalācārya of Tanuku, Krishna Dist, criticises the views expressed in Rasagangādhara He also wrote Sāhityākalpalatīkā⁶

Bhallata was a poet of the Court of King Praṭāparudradeva, He was called Vira Bhallata and was a proficient in Nāṭyasāstra, He wrote Nāṭyasekhara, so says Śṛṅgārasekhara, author of Abhinayabhūṣaṇa.⁷

901. Kṛṣṇasarman was a pupil of Vāsuḍeva Yogisvara of Guṇapura, His Maṇḍāramanandacampū though so named is in fact a treatise on poetics and prosody of an encyclopaedic variety. He copied his definitions from Appaya Dīkṣita and might have probably lived in the 17th century A.D.⁸ His Rasaprakāśa is a commentary on Mammata's Kāvyaaprakāśa.⁹

1 See para 811 *supra*

2 Ed. Bombay, with a commentary on Nagesabhatta, Views here expressed are criticised by Kṛṣṇasudhā in his Alankāramīmāṃsā (TC, III 8852) There is also an anonymous commentary, CC, I. 4948.

3 Ed Kāvyaśālā, Bombay.

4. His stray verses have been collected and printed under the name Panditarāja Itakam in Arsha Press, Vizagapatam.

5. TC, IV 4209.

6 TC, III, 8852, 8788 His son Jayajaya Rāmānujācārya is a scholar and poet.

7. *Andhrapatrika*, Annual number, 1917-8, 225

8. Ed. Bombay, with a commentary Mādhuryarājanī.

9. See para 868-A *supra*

902 Prabhākara was the son of Mādhavabhāṭṭa and grandson of Rāmesvara of Viśvāmītra-goṭra¹ His Rasapradīpa² in which Alan-kārarahasya is quoted was composed in 1583 A.D. In three chapters it deals with the essentials of poetry, rasa and dhvani. He wrote an epitome of Devīmāhātmyam in 1629 A.D. called Laghusaptasatikāstava, Ekāvalīprakāśa and commentaries on Kumārasambhava and on Vāsava-ḍaṭṭā.

Rāmesvarabhāṭṭa has three sons, Nārāyaṇa, Śrīdhara and Mādhava. Nārāyaṇa was born in 1513 A.D. and was a favourite of Todarmal, the finance minister of Emperor Akbar. He wrote the commentary on Vṛttaratnākara. Prabhākara's son Kṛṣṇa wrote Vāgīśvarīsamśṭava.

903 Samarāja Dikṣita son of Naraharī of Bindu Purandara family composed his play Śrīdāmacarita in 1681 A.D. He also wrote poems Tripurāsundarīmānasapūjanasūtra,³ Akṣaragumpha and Āryā-trīṣaṭī⁴ and in poetics Śṛṅgārāmṛtalahari.⁵

Samarāja's son KAMARAJA,⁶ (or Kāmārūpa Śāstrin) wrote the poem Śṛṅgarakalikā and on poetics Kāvyaenduprakāśa⁷ or Rasamirapaya.

Kamarāja's son VRAJARAJA alias Haradaṭṭa wrote a commentary on Rasamanjarī, and poems Śṛṅgārasataka, ṣaḍṛṭṭavarṇana and Āryā-trīṣaṭīmukṭaka or Rasikaranjanakāvya.⁸ Vrajarāja's son JIVARAJA was in

1 According to Hall (*Bibl.* 181) Prabhākara was born in 1564 A.D. For Prabhākara's works, see *CC*, I 858. For the story of this family, see the poem Śankarabhāṭṭa's Cāḍhivamśavarṇana. Haraprasad Sastri, *Id.*, (1912) S. K. De, *SP*, I 802, Printed Mirzapur. In Kantanātha's Bhāṭṭavamśakāvya Rāmesvara is thus described.

गुणोन्मुखी श्रीश्च सरस्वती च निसर्गमात्सर्यमपीह हित्वा ।

त मेजतुस्सख्यमिवोपयाते गुणैर्वै वेदविदा वरिष्ठम् ॥

मीमांसयाऽऽजि यतश्चिर श्रीध्वत्सुर्निव्याकरण च येन ।

आन्वीक्षिकी चक्षुरपि प्रपेदे वेदान्तविद्या जरती युवत्वम् ॥

कृत मुदा येन च लीलयैव काव्य प्रिय रामकुतूहलाख्यम् । I. 10-12.

2, *Ed Sar. Bhav Series*, Benares by Narayana Sastri Khiste, with a long introduction.

3 S. K. De, *SP*, II 820.

4 *CC*, I. 708.

5. Printed Bombay *Uthar*, 1086.

6 There is a poet Kāmārāja quoted in *Sarng.* and another who wrote a gloss on *Karpuramanjarī*.

7. Printed, Bombay. *BB*, (1887-91) No 601.

8. Printed, Bombay.

the Court of Madhavasena and he wrote *Gopālacampū* and a commentary *Setu* on *Rasaṭaranginī* ¹

904 Caturbhuja wrote *Rasakalpadruma* to the delight of Saistakhan, who is described as son of Asakakhan, and grandson of Iṭamad-doula. It is an elaborate work in 1000 verses in 65 prastāvas covering the whole range of poetics and erotics. Saistakhan was himself a great Sanskrit poet and six of his verses are here quoted. The composition was in the year Sam 1745 (1689 A D). Here is a fine verse

यवाहतस्त्वमलिना मलिनाशयेन किं तेन चम्पक विषादमुरीकरोषि ।

विश्वामिरामनवनीरदनीलवेषा केशा कुशेशयदश कुशलीमवन्तु ॥

Among rare authors and works mentioned are Acalarudra, Aniruddha, Avilamba, Īśvaradāsa, Ugragraha, Kamsanārāyaṇa, Kubyakutīra, Gaudayadāva, Jagannmapūrīja, Dhakkārava, Daśāvadhāna, Navinaka-vindra, Nāṭhamisra, Pañcānana, Parāsurāma, Bhārāṭīkavi, Bhupatīmisra, Maṭi, *Madhuravallī*, Mahāmanuṣya, Mohanamisra, Raghupati, Raṅṭideva, Rāmacandra Sarasvatī, Ruci, *Lakṣya*, Vasanta, Vapīrasāla, Visvambhara, Vahinīpati, Sanjayakavirāja, Sarvadāsa, Svasthānamisra, Hanbhatta, and Harindra.²

905 Baladeva Vidyābhāṣaṇa was a disciple of Dāmoḍaradāsa and a follower of Caitanya and a native of Bengal. He lived during the days of King Jayasimha of Jampur who ruled in the 18th century. His *Sāhityakaumudī* ³ is a commentary on the Sūtras of Bharata and is accompanied by a gloss of his own. These Sūtras are the Kārikas, embraced in *Kāvya-prakāśa* of Mammata and in the colophon, it is explicitly stated that the name of the work comprising the Kārikas is *Kāvyalakṣaṇa* ⁴ composed by Bharata, and that his commentary thereon was following several commentaries of old, such as that of Mammata ⁵

1. *Uwar*, 1070. Here it is said 'Jivaraṇa says that his grandfather Samaraṇa obtained the name Kamaraja and was the author of *Kavyenduprakāśa*, *Rasānirṇaya*, and of *Nṛsimhaviṇaya* and other natakas. Jivaraṇa says that his father Vrajaraṇa was also called Haradatta.'

2. *Uwar*, 1067.

3. See S. K. De, *SP*, I 184 b. A pun in the first verse of *Sāhityakaumudī* refers to Gaṇapati-praṭiparudra of Orissa. See Sterling *As Res.* XV 284, and Aufrecht *Bod. Ost.* 148 notes.

4. Ed. Bombay. *PR*, II, 10.

5. There is *Kavilakṣaṇa* (*DO*, XXVI 9908) which describes the attainments and character of a good poet.

This reference to several commentaries on the Kārikas other than Mammata precludes the idea that Mammata himself wrote the Kārikas ¹

Vidyābhūṣaṇa is an eminent rhetorician. He illustrates his comments with verses of his own composition in praise of Kṛṣṇa of whom Cāṭanya was an incarnation. He adds a supplementary (last) chapter where he formulates rules on topics not touched upon by Bharata ²

An anonymous commentary on Sāhityakaumudī³ is more explicit. It says that Bharata threw into concise Kārikas the science of poetry as developed in Agnīpurāṇa and other works and to explain these is the object of the Sāhityakaumudī ⁴

Among other works of this author are Kāvya-kaustubha,⁵ Padyāvalī,⁶ and a commentary on Uṭkalikāvallari ⁷

906 Visvesvara was the son of Lakṣmīdhara of Pande family of Almōda. His descendants of the ninth generation are now there ⁸. He lived in the beginning of the 18th century. He was a literary genius and began writing when he was ten. Such men are rarely long-lived and he died at 34. In poetics, his writings are various, Alankāra-kaustubha,⁹ Alankāra-karṇābharaṇa,¹⁰ Alankāra-kulapradīpā,¹¹ Alankāra-mukṭāvalī,¹² Kāvya-līlā and Kāvya-raṭna,¹³ Rasacandrikā,¹⁴ and a commentary on Bhānudatta's Rasamanjarī ¹⁵. In Alankāra-kaustubha, he mentions his plays Rukmīṇīparṇayā and Śṛṅgāramanjarī (in prakṛit)

- 1 व्याख्यातमिदं संपूर्णं काव्यलक्षणम् ।
सम्प्रदायमुक्तमाश्रित्य मितं साहित्यकौमुदीम् ॥
वृत्तं मरतसूत्राणां श्रीविद्याभूषणोभ्यधात् ।

In all editions of Kāvya-prakāśa the words संपूर्णमिदं काव्यलक्षणम् are found.

- 2 For a full discussion see PR, II 10 12
3 Peterson (*l.c.*) suspects that Vidyābhūṣaṇa was himself the author of it.
4 See PR, II 99.
5 SKC, 58, 268
6 PR, III App 395
7 PR, IV cxiii Aufrecht says that this work was written in 1765 A.D.
8 See para 812 *supra* S K. De, SP, 81
9 Printed Bombay.
10 Ed Bombay
11 OC, I 81, II 187 Printed Benares
12 DC, XXIII. 8608. Printed Benares
13 See Kāvya-māla, VII 51 52 f n
14 Printed Benares DC, XXII. 8679
15 DC, XXI. 8411.

907 Vasudeva Paro of Karana family was a poet and doctor in the Court of Gajapati Jagannātha Nārāyanadeva of Khimundi State, Orissa His *KAVICINIAMANI* is large treatise in 24 Kiranas and deals particularly on Kavisamaya and Samasyāpūraṇa, and Sangīta also in the last three ¹

908 Gauranarya was son of Ayaluprabhu, brother of Miṭṭarāya, minister of King Singaya Mādhava of Recarla family, probably of the 18th century A.D. His *Laksapaḍīpikā* or *Prabandhadīpikā* is a general treatise on poetics probably in 10 prakāśas ²

909 Ramadeva Ciraṇjīva Battacarya or Ciraṇjīva was the son of Rāghavendra. His *Kāvya-vilāsa* ³ in two parts deals with Rasa and Alankāra His *Śṛṅgāraṭatini* ⁴ is a collection of erotic verses and *Vṛttaraṭnāvalī* ⁵ is an illustrative work on prosody meant as a panegyric of Yasvanṭasimha who was Naib Dewan of Deccan about 1731 A.D. His *Vidvanmodaṭaringiṇi* has been noticed ⁶

910 Tirumala Bukkapatham Venkatakarya wrote *Alankāra-kaustubha* ⁷ He was son of Anṇayācārya, a poet of the court of the Zamindar of Surapuram in Nizam's dominions and lived about 1770 A.D. His brother's son Śrīnivāsācārya wrote *Rasamanjari* ⁸ and the celebrated work *Ṭaṭṭvamṛtāṇḍa*

911 Acyudaraya Modaka was the pupil of Nārāyanasastrin and probably son of Nārāyana His *Sāhityasāra* ⁹ in 12 chapters describes the topics as taken from the "ocean of poetics", so that the chapters are called *Dhanvanṭaraṭna*, *Anrāvaṭaraṭna* etc. He wrote also a commentary on *Bhāmīnīvilāsa* ¹⁰ and probably also *Bhāgirathī-campū* composed on 1815 ¹¹

912 Rajasekhara son of Venkatesa of Kolluru family and of Goṣṭamagoṭra lived in Peruru (Somavāthapuram) on the banks of the

1. *TC*, IV, 4225

2. *DC*, XXII 8692, 8694, *Tan*, IX 4029 He quotes from *Alankārasangraha* and *Kavikānthapāśa*, *Camatkāśa* and *andrikā*, *Sāhitya* and *rodaya* etc

3. *CC* I, 102, II 20, III 22

4. *CC*, I 660

5. *HR*, III No 280

6. See para 768 *supra*

7. *DC*, XXII 8600

8. *TC*, I R No 869

9. Ed. Bombay with commentary *Samsāmoda*.

10. Ed. Bombay.

11. *CC*, I 770. See also S. K. De, *SP*, I 282 3

river Kausiki in the Godavari Konasima about 1840 A D ¹ His *Sāhitya-kalpadruma* is a work on poetics in 81 stāvakas. He also wrote *Siva-saṭaka*, *Śrīśacampū* and *Alankāramakaranda* ²

913 Ratnabhusana belonged to a Vaidya family of East Bengal. In his *Kāvyaakumudī* composed in 1859 A D, he deals with poetics in general, but in the first three chapters with nouns, genders and verbal suffixes ³

914 Bhaskaracarya was a descendent of Varadaguru of Śrīvatsagotra and lived at Sriperumbudur, Chingleput District, probably in the 19th century. His *Sāhityakallolīnī* embraces the whole topic of poetics and dancing ⁴

915 Srisaia Nrsimbhacarya was son of Dāsamacārya. On *Lakṣanamālikā* of unknown authorship he wrote a commentary *Alankā-rendusekhara*, dealing lucidly with all topics of poetics. He also wrote a commentary on *Śāntāvilāsa*, which is a work on music by Subrahmanyasudhī or Harisābhakavīndra. He refers to his work *Campū-jānakāparinaya* and to *Gīṭamanjarī* of Harisaba ⁵

916 Venkatanarayana was the son of Lakṣmī and Kamesvara Dikṣita of Godavartī family. He says he composed works in eight languages. His *Śṛṅgārasāra* in 6 ullāsas treats of heroes and heroines, rasas and rūpakas. He refers the reader to another work of his, *Śṛṅgārasārāvalī*, for fuller treatment ⁶

917 Ramasubramenya Sastrin was son of Rāmaśankara and grandson of Asvatthānārāyaṇa and disciple of Śivarāma. He was an authority on Śāstras and lived at Tiruvananthapuram, Tanjore Dt. He was born in the last thirties and died in 1922 A D. His works on several Śāstras are numerous and his commentaries on the Upaniṣads are very much respected. ⁷ In his *Alankāraśāstravilāsa* he criticises Vidyānātha's definition of poetry ⁸. His *Bhaktiyānandaprakāśa* is a treatise on Bhakti or devotion to God ⁹

1. *TC*, III 2895. First four stāvakas are printed. *Bhāgavatācampū* is partly printed.

2. Kuppusāmi Śāstrī's I, Rep.

3. *HR* II, vii and No 85.

4. *DC*, XXII 8706

5. *DC*, XXII 8696, 8715, *SR*, I 11, 98

6. *DC*, XXII 8699

7. See *TC*, II, 2528, 2532, 2541. He was ordinarily known as Rāmasubbāśāstrin.

8. *TC*, II, 2520

9. *TC*, II, 2546.

In Sāhityakantakodhātra in two chapters Maḍhusūdana, son of Nārāyaṇa of Śrīvatsagoṭra, has a running criticism of works of well-known authors such as Śiṣa Harṣa, Bilhana and Bhāravi in regard to the use of certain nouns, verbs and euphony.¹

918 Surdaradeva Vaidya, son of Govindadeva, wrote Rāmasundara-mahākāvya to illustrate particular poetic conceptions.²

Kavikanthapāsa is a treatise on a poet's personal appearance, on the effects of the initial letters of a poem and of the time of composition etc. It is said to be based on Pingala's work.³

919 Mudumbari Narasimha Ācārya flourished in the Courts of Vijayarāma Gaṇapati and Ānanda Gaṇapati, Māhārājās of Viṣṇanagaram (Viṣṇapatnam District). Besides the works already mentioned (in para 356 supra) he wrote the poems Daivopālambha, Narasimhāhārāsa, Jayasimhāsvamedhīya, Victoriaprasasti and Yuddhaprotsāhana, and in the field of poetics, Kāvyaopottṣhāṭa, Kāvyaprayogavidhi, Kāvyaśūtravṛtti and Alankāramālā and the following Śūtras.⁴

क्षमार्पणस्तव, अखतवस्तव, अर्चामगवद्भयानयोग, कर्मनाथस्तव, कर्मनाथस्तवरामन्थ, केशवस्तव, कुंभस्तव, ज्वालानरहितस्तव, नाथस्तव, मदहासस्तव, अवताररामन्थ, ब्रह्मसमाधिस्तव, पुरुषोत्तमस्तव, प्रमादस्तव, भगवद्भयानयोग, दिव्यलीलावतारस्तव, मार्गस्तव, योगनिद्राप्रबोध, योगनिद्रास्तव, रामानुजचतुस्सति, सिंहद्विनाथस्तव, राधास्तव, वासुदेवस्तवरामन्थ, विष्टभ्यानयोग, वेङ्कटेश्वराष्टिक लक्ष्मीवेङ्कटेश्वरस्तव, वेदान्तदशक, वृत्तिशोधन, श्रीवेङ्कटेश्वरप्रपत्ति, रंगेन्द्रस्तव, कण्ठस्तवरामन्थ, सूर्यस्तव, दुर्गास्तव, श्रीस्तव, प्राबोधकास्तव, गायत्रीमाला, नवनेधिमहालक्ष्मीस्तव, भगवद्दीदार्यस्तव, पुमथंभ्रसानिवृत्तिस्तव, निमुरोक्तिस्तव, निरहकारस्तव, निर्वेदस्तव, कामहरस्तव, निस्तदेहस्तव, सकीर्णचमत्कारस्तव, द्वयमत्रस्तव, प्राप्तिशय, नैय्यानुसधानस्तव, आराधनस्तव, भगवद्विष्टभ्यान

920 Other Works Kāvyaalankārasūtra by Yāskamuni with the commentary of Akhilāndasarmān, Abhinavasūtrasārasamanjarī by Bukkapatnam Venkatīcārya (*Mys*, CC, I, 296), Alankāravivāra (*Tanj* IX 3978), Alankāraprakāśikā (*DC*, XXII 3602), Alankārasekhara by Jīvanīṭha (*CC*, I 32), Alankārasūtravṛtti by Kandalayārya (*Mys*, 296,

1 *TC* III 3119, 3711.

2 *CC*, I 725. See for his other works par. 767 supra.

3, *DC*, XXII 8611, *TC*, III 8771.

4 In the Introduction to Rāmacandrakāṭhāmṛta, an extensive poem on Rāmāyana (printed, Viṣṇanagaram), M. Venkatarāmanacharya gives a long history of the poet's family and of the royal patrons of the ruling house of Viṣṇanagaram.

Ādya, II 33), Alankārakramamālā by Damodarabhatta (*CC*, I 32, 250), Alankārakaumudī by Vallabhabhatta (Ed, Grantharatnamala, Bombay, II 1189), Alankārasāra by Nṛsimha (*Mys* 297), Alankāramanjarī by Nirmala (?) (*CC*, I 32), Alankārakaustubha (i) by Venkatācārya (*Ādya*, II 33, *DC*, XXII 8599, *Mys* 295) and (ii) by Śrīnivāsa (*CC*, I 103), [Alankārasūtra by Candrakānta Tarkālankāra (Printed, Calcutta, 19th century A D), Alankāracandrikā, Alankārakārikā, Alankārakaumudī (*DC*, XXII 8599 *Mys* 295), Alankāramayūkha, Alankāranukramamālikā, Alankāraprakarana (*SR*, I No 52), Alankāraprakāśikā (*DC*, XXII 8602), Śaṭālankāranukramamālikā (*Ādya*, II 38), Alankārasaṅgraha (*DC*, XXII 8606, *Ādya*, II 33), Alankāragraṇṭha (*Ādya*, II 33, *TC*, III, 3907), Alankāravādārtha¹, Alankārasāra by Bālakṛṣṇa]²

Alankārasaṅgraha by Amṛtanandayogin (1st Calcutta, Trans into English (*DC*, XXII 8604), Alankāramuktāvalī by Rāma, son of Nṛsimha (Printed, Vizagapatam) Alankāramanidarpana by Venkappayapradhāna (*CC*, I 32, *Mys*, 296) and by Sampatkumara Venkatācārya (*Gough*, 189), Alankāralakṣana by Śambhunātha (*CC*, III 7), Alankāracintāmaṇi by Santaraja, Alankāraṭīlaka (i) by Śrīkaramisra (*CC*, I 32), and (ii) by Bhānūdatta (*Tanj* IX, 4107, *Mys* 295), Alankārasarvasva by Devarakonda Aubalarya Kṛṣṇa (*TC*, VI 7186)

Alankāraprakarana (*CC*, III 7), Alankāranikāśa by Sudhindrayogin (*DC*, XXII 8713), Alankāravaiṣaya (*Ibid* 8714), Alankāramanjarī (i) by Trimalabhatta and (ii) by Sukhalāla (*PR*, IV 25, *CC*, II 6), [Alankārapariṣāra by Viśvanātha, Alankāramanjūṣa by Devasankara, Alankāratatōkāra by Sobhākaramisra, Alankārarahasya by Prabhākara, Alankāravṛtti (*PR*, IV 25), Alankārasamudgaka by Sivarāma]³, Kāvyaśarāṇī⁴

921. [Kāvyaakalāpa, Kavikalpalatīkā and Kāvyaadīpikā (*DC*, XXII 8618), Kāvyaakaumudī, Kāvyaakaustūbha and Kāvyaalakṣaṇa (*DC*, XXII 8630), Kāvyaalakṣaṇavicāra (*DC*, XXII, 8716, *Trav* 76), Kāvyaamṛtataranginī, Kāvyaapariccheda, Kāvyaaraṭṇa, Kāvyaopadeśa]⁵ Kāvyaibhāga (*Trav*, 70), Kavikanthapāśa (*Ādya*, II 33), Kāvikalpalatīkā by Devesvara (Printed, Calcutta, *Tanj* IX 3985, *DC*, XXII 8612, *SR*, II 80), Kāvikaustūbhala (i) by Viṣṇudāsa⁶ and (ii) by

1 Cited in Śrīnivāsa's commentary on Vāṇavādātīkā

2 *CC*, I 81-2

3 *CC* II 6

4 Quoted by Appayadīkṣita in Vṛttivārttika

5 *CC*, I, 101 3

6. He was probably the author of Manodṛṣṭa, *IO*, 1184. See para 928 *supra*.

Kānticandramukhopādhyāya (Ed Calcutta, 19th century), *Kāvya-tatva-vicāra* by Haladhara (*HPR* (1895-1900), p 16), *Kāvya-candrīkā* (i) by Rāmacandra Nyāvavāgīsa and (ii) by Kāvīcandra, son of Kāvīkarnapūra¹, *Kāvya-vṛttirāt-nāvalī* by Nārāyaṇa (*Tanj*, IX 4012), *Kavīsanjivīnī* (*TC*, VI 7172)

Kāvya-ollāsa by Nilakantha² (*TC*, III 3348), *Kāvya-sārasaṅgrahatraya* by Śrīnivāsa (*Tanj* IX 4014, *Mys* 298), *Kāvīkarpatīkā*³ by Saṅkha-dhara (*CC*, I 86), *Kavī-tūvatāra* by Puruṣottamasudhī (*Tanj* IX 5992, *Adyar*, II 34), *Kāvya-lakṣaṇa-saṅgraha* by Śrīnivāsa (*Idyar*, II 34),⁴ *Vyaṅga-nanirṇaya* by Nūgeśabhatta (Id Bombay), *Kāvya-kantakodhāra* by Narasiṃhasāstrin of the Circars (14th century), *Kāvya-rasāyana* by Samasandarbhā (Id Calcutta)

922 *Rasa-bindu*, *Rasa-grandha*, *Rasīmṛta-sindhu* and *Rasa-samuccaya* (*CC*, I 494), *Rasa-vivēka* (*Idar* 72), *Rasīkara-sāyana* (*Adyar*, I 36), *Rasa-kalp-druma* by Jagannathamīśra, son of Ānandamīśra (1600-1700 AD) (*Adyar* II 37, *TC*, IV 5619), *Rasārnava-lankāra* by Prakāśa-vara⁵ (*TC*, IV 5366), *Rasīkara-sāyana* (*TC*, VI 7223), *Rasat-urāṅgīnī* by Rāmānandī (*TC*, III 31, *Rasaratnādīpikā* by Lallarāja (*Tanj*, IX, 4073), *Rasaratnāvalī* by Vīreśvara (*IO*, II 359), *Rasa-kūmudī* (i) by Śrīkantha (*CC*, I 494, early 17th century) and (ii) by Ghāṣīrāma (*DC*, XXII 5877), *Rasa-mīmāṃsā* by Gangārāmajadīn (*IC*, 176, 290), *Rasa-candra* by Ghāṣīrāma (*IO*, II 351, 1696 AD), *Rasa-sindhu* by Paundarikāmeśvara (*CC*, III 106), *Rasa-padma-lāra* by Gangādhara (*CC*, II 30), *Rasīkaprakāśa* by Devanāṭha (*CC*, I 497), *Rasīkajīvana* by Gangādhara (*CC*, I 497, II 116), *Rasīkamohana* by Raghunāṭhabhatta (1745 AD), *Rasīkapriyā* by Indrajit (*PR*, VI No 379), *Rasa-sarvasva* by Bhīmeśvara (*Tanj* IX 4078), *Rasa-dīrghīkā* by Vidyārāma (*PR*, III, No 336), *Rasa-sudhā-sindhu* by Sonthī Mūrabhattāraka (*TC*, IV 4769), *Rasa-mādhava* by Dayī Sivājīpradhāna, *Rasāmṛta-sudhā* (*CC*, III 106), *Rasaratna-hara* by Sivarāma (*CC*, II 116), *Rasa-kalikā* (*TC*, III 3055)

1. *IOC*, III 844 He quotes from his own poem *Raunāvalī*, *Rāmacandra-campu*, *Śṭavāvalī*, *Sāntīcandīkā* and also verses of his own sons Śrīkavīvalabha and Śrīkavībhūṣana,

2 He was the author of the play *Kalyāṇasaṅgandhika*

3 There is a poem *Kavīkarpatīkā* by Vāḍīndra (*CC*, I 86, *Tanj* VI 2711)

4 He is different from Raṭṭakhetā. S K De's identification (*SP*, I. 819) is not correct.

5 He is mentioned by his disciple Vallabha in his commentary on *Māgha* and quoted by Mallināṭha in his commentary on *Bhāravi*

Śṛṅgārarasamandana by Viṭthalesvara and Śṛṅgārasārodadhī by Sudhākara Pundarikayajvan (CC, III 137)

Bhāratibhūṣaṇa by Giridharadasa (1875 A.D.), Padmābharaṇa by Paṇḍitakara 1875 A.D.), Nāvikaṇuvarṇana by Rāmaśaṣṭaman (DC, XXII, 8678), Uṭprekṣamanjari by Viṭṭaladācārya (Mys 297), Kankanabandha by Sudarsanācārya (Ibid), Vṛttālankāra by Chavilal Suri of Nepal (1901 A.D.), Kākaṭalavāṇīṭha by Sambhudāsa (Ibid), Cittamanjari by Ranganatha (Ibid 300), Lakṣmīlakṣaṇamālikā by Nṛsiṃha (Ibid 303), Vṛttādīpikā Venkatesa (Ibid, 303)

Dasarūpakapaddhati of Kuravi Rāma¹ and Dasarūpakavivaranam² (anonymous)

923 Sāhityābhidhī by Venīḍatta (Tanj IX 4105), Sāhityavicāra by Kṛṣṇatarkālankāra (CC, I 716), Sāhityavicāra by Ananta (CC, I 13), Sāhityaṭaṅgaṇī by Kṛṣṇa (CC, II 171) Sāhityakaumudī (JO, III 33) and Sāhityakautūhala by Yasasvin (CC, I 715) Sāhityaśūcī by Hara dattasimha (CC, I 716), Sāhityakallohṇī by Bhāṣyakarācārya of Bhūṭa-purī (DC, XXIII 8706), Sāhityasāra (1) by Śrīśaṣṭarājā (TC, III 338, Trav 72) (2) by Mānasimha (CC, I 715), and by (3) Aṣṭaśrīmadmodak (Ed Bombay, Mys 304, composed in Saka 1753-1831 A.D.), Sāhitya-mīmamsā (Tanj IX 4104), [Sāhityasaraṇī, (Mys 304), Sāhityasūksmasaraṇī by Śrīnivāsa, Sāhityacūdāmanī and Sāhityabodha by Īṅanara Setu-rāma (TC, III 3593), Sāhityasārngadhara by Sārngadhara, Sāhityasān-graha (1) by Kāla and (2) by Śambhudāsa] (CC, I 716)

Sāhityacandrikā, Sāhityamuktāmāṇī, and Sāhityaratnamāla (CC, I, 7156), Sarojakalikā by Kaviraṭna (CC, I 87), Upamāsudhānidhī (CC, I, 68), Ekavāṣṭyalankāraprakāśā (CC, I 74), Kiraṇāvalī by Saṁdhara (Opp II 4531), Karpūrarasamanjari by Bālakavi (Rue, 282), Kāvyaarthacūdāmanī (TC, I 792), Nālakāvyaṭāra (CBod 142), Bhāva-viveka (TC, VI 7151),

[Śṛṅgāracandrodaya,³ Śṛṅgārakaustubha, Śṛṅgāramanjari (SR, II 23), Śṛṅgārapavana, Śṛṅgāraṭaṅgaṇī, Śṛṅgārārasa, Śṛṅgāravidhī⁴, Śṛṅgāradīpaṇī (DC, XXII 8701), Śṛṅgārārasavilāsa by Deva-daṭṭa (CC, I 258), Śṛṅgārahāra by Baladeva (BKR, 1880-12, 71),

1 TC II 1097

2 DC, XXII 8664 It is conjectured to be the nāṭaka chapter of bigger treatise.

3 Cited in Praśastacintāmaṇī, Weber, I. 229,

4 CC, I. 660-1

Śṛṅgārasarasi by Bhāvamīra (CC, I 681, II 158, 230), Śṛṅgārasāra by Venkatanārāyaṇa Dīkṣiṭa (DC, XXII 8899) Śṛṅgāralatā by Sukha-devamīra (PR, IV app 29), Śṛṅgārasārodadhī by Sudbhākara Pundarikāyajan (CC, III 131), Śṛṅgārāmṛt ilaharī by Śamarājadīkṣita (DC, XXII 8702),

Kāvyaopadeśa,¹ Ra-ākara,² Rasamatnākara,³ Rasasāgara,⁴ Rasasudbhākara,⁵ Rājakandaipa,⁶ Rasikasarvasva,⁷ Rasikalāh⁸ Angahārāla-hāna (T¹av 75), Saṭvikāṅgikabhāvarasaviveka (Ibid 172), Tṛiṇya-puruṣārthasāraṇi⁹

924 HALAṆUDHA's Kāviraḥasya is really a guide to poets. It is called Kaviguhya or Āpasabdābhāsakavya by the commentator Ravidharmā¹⁰

कविगुह्य प्रसक्तादिभावगम्यमेकवा ।

यस्य येनोपसगण धातो कविपद च यत् ॥

अर्थतश्चदत्ते वापि समात् धात्विवन्तता ।

तथा हलायुधवेद कृत कविरहस्यकम् ॥

आत्मनि पदान्वय प्रचुराण्यपशब्दवत् ।

तद्विषय स्वभावेन निबन्धनमपेक्षते ॥

* * * *

अपशब्दामेऽख्यं काव्ये टीकाशतानि चतुर्दशानि ।

रचितानि कविरहस्य नाम काव्य समासमिति ॥

"According to a Gujarat copy of the work its hero was one of the Kṛishna of the Rashtrakuta line, possibly the first of that name (A.D 760-80)"¹¹

1 Cited by Hemādri on Raghu (CC, I 103)

2 „ by Mallinātha in commentary on Meghadūta

3 „ „ „ on Kirāta LX 71

4 „ „ „ on Māgha, XV. 89.

5 „ „ „ on Raghu, VI 12.

6 „ „ „ on Kum, VI 40

7 „ by Nārāyaṇa in commentary on Gītagovinda, V. 2

8 „ by Vāsaḍoḃa in commentary on Karpuramānjari (TC, III 8055)

9 It is about 400 years old and quotes several mediæval poets of 900-1300 A.D

10 See Int to Kāvya-mīmāṃsa (GOS), 1984 Edn, ix x Ed with commentary, Bombay

11 Bhandarkar inclines to identify the author of the Kāviraḥasya with the Halā-yuḃha who wrote the Abhidhānarājanamālā, but Weber places the latter about the end of the eleventh century. PR, 1888-4, p 9.

SECTION 2

Yasobhusana

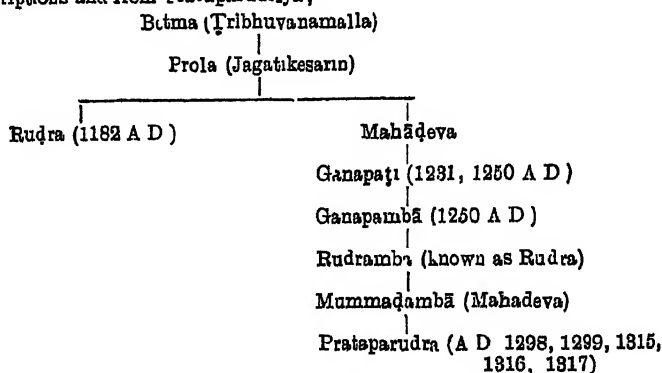
925 A mode of composition, which may be styled Yasobhūṣana, was directly designed by Vidyānātha, in which was attained a double purpose of a treasure on poetics and a eulogy of the poet's patron or deity of devotion. Udbhata inaugurated it in a way, when he imbedded the story of Pārvaṭī's wedding in illustration of his tenets of Alankāra.

But it was Vidyānātha that developed the idea and called his work PRAṬĀPARUDRA-YASOBHUSANA.

926 Vidyaratha was a poet of the Court of King Pratāparudradeva of Ekaśilānagara of the Kākāṭīya dynasty (Warrangal),¹ who ruled between 1268 and (1319?) 1328 A.D.² The term Vidyānātha appears now to be a mere appellation granted or assumed for proficiency in arts and behind that appellation is the name of AGASTYA³

1 For this word see Sewell's *Sketches of the Dynasties of Southern India*, 82

2 Pratāparudra also called Vitarudra or Rudra was the son of Mahāḍeva and Mummidamba. He had a boar as a sign in his flag and he bore the title of Chalamarūganda. He was a patron of letters and it is said there were 200 poets in his Court. Among them was Mallikārjunabhata who wrote Nirosthya Rāmāyana. Sewell (*l.c.*) gives dates 1295 to 1328 A.D. Seshagiri Sastru (*SR*, II 82) gives dates 1268 to 1319 A.D. For inscriptions referring to him and Kakatiyas, see *BI*, III 84, 94, V 148, VII 128 32, VIII 166 7, *IA*, XI, 9 20, XXI 197, Sewell's *List of Antiquities*, II 114, 172. K. P. Trivedi gives the following genealogy as made up from these inscriptions and from Pratāparudriya, —



For the later history of the dynasty, see Sewell (*l.c.* 82). W. W. Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.* XIII 521 and new edition XXIV 858. For a general account of Kakatiyas by Seshadri and Ramana, see *Andhra Patrika Annual* No. (1921-22) 163 8 and *Jl. of Andhra History Society*.

3 This is inferred from the following verse in the Pratāparudriyam (Bombay Edn. p. 91).

औसत्य etc., quoted in para 126 *supra*

who is known as the author of several works and as having been honoured by the Kings of Vijayanagar.

927 HIS PRATAPARUDRAYASOBHUSANAM shortly called Pratāparudriyam is an elaborate treatise on poetics with illustrations in praise of his patron. His mode of pinyegryic imbedded in a work of instruction is a new device of Vidyānātha's creation. In dealing with the canons of dramaturgy he has ingeniously interposed a model play known as Pratāparudrikalyānam, which performs at once the functions of apt illustration of the technique of the Sanskrit play and of giving a description of the goodnesses and exploits of Pratāparudradeva. The object of the work is avowedly to show how the importance of composition depends on the apt characterisation of the merits of the hero. Accordingly the first Prakaraṇa classifies heroes and heroines and describes their qualities. The second Prakaraṇa propounds the nature of poetry and the several species of poetic composition. The third Prakaraṇa contains the model drama, describing the coronation of Pratāparudra and his glorious rule and conquests. The fourth Prakaraṇa deals with Rāsas, the next two with the faults and merits of composition and the last three with figures of speech.

This treatise has been very popular among later writers and is specially in Southern India never missed as a text book in rhetorical study. It is profusely quoted by Mallinātha and it was apparently that appreciation by Mallinātha that made his son Kumāraswāmin write a commentary on it. Appaya Dīkṣita criticised some of these views in his Cītrmīmāṃsā, but these criticisms were answered by Viśveśvara in his Alankāra-kaustubha.

There are two commentaries¹ on it now extant, Ratnasāṇa and Ratnāṇana. Ratnasāṇa² is the work of Ṭṛimalicārya of Sukavāta (Cilakamarṭi) family. He was the son of Rāmānujācārya and lived at Rāmatīrṭha near Kolhapur in Godavari District in the 18th century A.D. He mentions another work of his Hemaṇṭatilakabhāṇa³ and he

1. Ed. BSS, by K. P. Trivoli and at Madras.

2. The first two prakaraṇams have been published in BSS, (1 & 2). The rest is in Ms. TC, II 8050.

3. The following verse is quoted at page 521 1 :

बुद्धमर्थमर्थचित्रं तु मदीये हेमन्ततिलकमाणे .—

आदृतवसु प्रतीच्या मातु क्षितोऽपराधिजलमध्ये ।

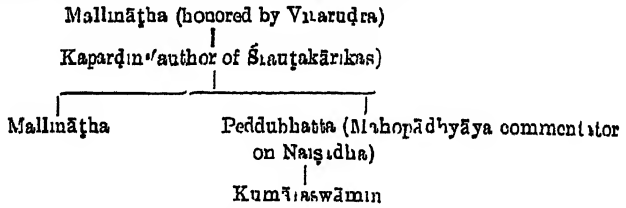
कथमपि पूर्वाधिगतो ध्रु . . . मुद्रो भुवनानाम् ॥

wrote a commentary on the Kuvalayānanda also¹ Ratnāpana of Kumāraswāmi, son of Mallinātha,² is replete with illustrative quotations

928 Vidyadhara wrote Ekavali³ on the lines of the Kāvya-prakāsa, with Kārikas followed by an explanation in eight parts called Unmeṣas Vidyādhara mentions Haribara and the prince Arjuna, from whom he got amazing wealth, who must have been the King of Malwa of that name who ruled early in 13th century A D Haribara, a Jaina poet named Madanakīrṭi, and Someśvara the author of the Kīrtikau-mudī and Vastupāla were contemporaries and Vastupāla died in 1242 A D The illustrative verses are in praise of Narasimha, a king of Utkala and Kalunga, which means the modern Orissa and the province bordering on it to the south called Kalunga⁴

1 TC, II 2695 Is this name Unāmaheśvara? (Vys, 297)

2 Printed Madras On Mallinātha, see para 81 *supra* In a commentary on the Cāmpurāmāyana edited Padayojana (DO XXI 8212) by Venkatanārāyaṇa, Kumāraswāmi is described as the son of Peddibhatta, brother of Mallinātha Venkatanārāyaṇa was a descendant of the family and gives the genealogy thus



For further information see K P Trivedi, (l c) xxv While Kumāraswāmi says in his preface to Ratnāpana that he was son of Mallinātha, his word must be preferred to that of Venkatanārāyaṇa, a descendant of several generations from Kumāraswāmi

3 Ed by K V Trivedi, BSS, Bombay with a valuable introduction

4 Beginning

प्रलेयाचलकन्यकाकुचतटीपत्रावलिखित्पिना ग्रेष्ण्णालनिलोचनानलशिखानिर्णीतचेतोभुव ।
देवसेन्दुविदूषणस्य रुचिर पादाग्निद्वयगन्मान् पातु सुगमेश्वरशिरोरेतनांशुनिञ्जितम् ॥

End प्रतिमटङ्कामृततटसर्गिलण्टाम्चाण्टङ्कार ।

वीरचुम्भिहवाजो वारचुम्भिहिर जयति ॥

अत्र लाटालुप्रतिन सहानन्वयस्य एकवचनानुवगेन सङ्ग ॥

Colophon इति श्रीमनो महामहेश्वरस्य कवर्विद्याधरस्य कृतो एकावलीनाम्न्यलङ्कार-
शास्त्रेऽर्थालङ्कारनिरूपण नामाष्टमोऽध्यायः ॥

Śrī Vaidya Vidyādhara, author of Kēśavaśāstra (CC, I 125) is a different author There are poets Vidyādhara, son of Lulla and Vidyādhara, son of Śuśkatasukhavarman quoted in Subhāṣitāvalī

929 Vidyādhara calls Narasimha Hammira-mada-mardana i.e., to have humbled the pride of Hammira. "Of Hammira, three are known. The first belonged to the Harauti branch of the Chohan family and appears not to have been a person of note. He was a dependant of Prithviraja and was killed in 1193 A.D. As the terminus ad quo for Vidyadhara who must have been a protege of Narasimha, as no poet bestows such fulsome praise on a deceased prince, i.e., as shown above, the early decades of the 13th century, this Hammira cannot have been Narasimha's contemporary. Besides, Orissa was not ruled over by a king of that name from 1024 to 1237 A.D. Another Hammira was the prince who belonged to the Gehlote family and was, as stated in the introduction to the Rasikapriya, an ancestor of Kumbhakarna, king of Medapata or Mewar and reigned from 1301 A.D. to 1365 A.D. A third was the king of Sakambari of the race of Chahuvana mentioned by Sarngadhara in the beginning of his anthology and represented by him to have been famous for his bravery which equalled that of Arjuna. He is the hero of the Hammira Mahakavya of Nayachandrasuri and is represented to have begun to reign in 1339 of Vikrama Samvat, i.e., 1283 A.D. It was this Hammira who defended the fortress of Ranthambhor (Ranastambapura) with bravery against Allauddin Khilji for more than a year and fell at last when it was taken in the year 1301 A.D. Both these princes bearing the name of Hammira were famous. But as the Chohan prince is represented by Nayachandra as having attempted the conquest of southern countries, he was probably the Hammira alluded to by Vidyadhara.

From the list of the kings of Orissa given by Sir W. W. Hunter and copied by Mr. Sewell in his Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India, it appears that there was a Narasimha who ruled over the country from 1282 A.D. to 1307 A.D.¹ If the Hammira alluded to was the Mewar prince of that name, our Narasimha may have been the one who reigned from 1307 to 1327. There were two more Narasimhas after 1327, but they reigned for only 2 years and 1 year respectively, and therefore neither can have been the hero panegyrised by Vidyadhara. There was another still, who reigned from 1257 to 1282. But he has been excluded by the whole trend of our argument. Thus then the Ekavali was written about the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century of the Christian era."

1. On Narasimhaḍḍeva, see *JASB*, LXIV 182, LXV 282. There were according to Sewell (i) Kesari Narasimha, 1282-1307 A.D. (ii) Pratāpa Narasimha, 1307-1327 A.D. and Nṛsiṃha II of the inscriptions 1280-1314 A.D.

930 *Ekāvālī* is quoted by Appayya Dikṣita by Jagannātha and Śingabhūpāla

'The commentary called *Taralā*, or central gem, of *Ekāvālī*, or one-stringed necklace, is by Mallinātha, the celebrated commentator on the *Kāvya*s. In the sixth of the verses given below, which has a double sense, the commentator says that 'this *Ekāvālī*, though a work of merit and an ornament, was because it had not a commentary, (this *Taralā*), kept or secreted in treasure-houses as a necklace is, because it has not the central gem. Now that *Ekāvālī* necklace has a bright central gem in the shape of an elucidatory commentary (*Taralā*), may blessed persons wear it round the neck and on the bosom, that is, get the work by heart and commit it to memory! It would thus appear that the *Ekāvālī* was not for some time studied and the work was neglected because it had no commentary, from which it is to be concluded that Mallinātha wrote the *Taralā* after a certain period had elapsed since the composition of the original."

Vidyādhara was therefore almost a contemporary of Vidyānātha and not improbably a rival on the field. It looks as if the name Vidyādhara was assumed to vie with the name Vidyānātha. It is noteworthy that while Mallinātha commented on *Ekāvālī*, his son Kumāraswāmin commented on *Pratāparudrayaśobhāsana*.

931 This mode of composition of rhetorical panegyrics has been fruitful in later imitations. The idea of flattering patrons was by some rhetoricians considered too vulgar and temporal and while adopting this mode of composition they used it in praise of deities of their particular devotion.¹

932 **Dharma or Dharmasudhā** or Dharmabhatta was born at Pedapulivarru on the Kṛṣṇa.² He was a Telugu Brahmin of Velanati sect of Harita-gotra and son of Parvatanātha and Yellamūmbā. He lived at Benares and his descendants are known as of Vāranāsī family. In his later days he became an ascetic and took the name of Rāmānanda or Govindānandasarasvatī. He was a devotee of Rāma and in his

1 In Rupa's *Ujvalanīlamamṛ* and Bhakṛṣṇasūmṛtīśiṅḍhu (*TC*, IV 4484) and in Lakṣmīpati's *Kṛṣṇāṅkārādarpaṇa* and in the anonymous *Bhakṛṣṇasārāt* (*TC*, IV 4529) (*Mys.* 689) the illustrations are in praise of Śrīkṛṣṇa, in *Raghupatīrahasyaṇipikā* (*Ādya*, II 87), the verses adore Rāma.

2. See article by Śrīrangam Somesvarasastri in *Andhrapatrika*, Annual Number (1926-7) and by V. Prabhakarasastri, *Bharati* (1931), 192. Aufrecht (*OC*, I. 269) mentions another work *Pancaśtantrakāvya*.

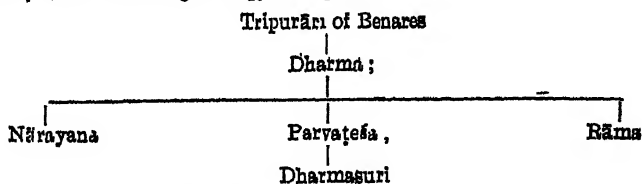
philosophical writings understands Rāma as the Supreme Being. His brother Nārāyaṇa was a vedic scholar and his grandfather of all-round literary merit.¹ He lived in the 16th century A.D. He was particularly great in nyāya, but the attraction of nyāya did not affect his love of poetry and rhetoric. In his Sāhityaratnākara, an extensive treatise on rhetoric, he expressed his devotion by illustrations in praise of Rāma. He blamed poets like Vidyānatha and Vidyādhara who for mercenary motives extolled kings in their writings on poetics and himself illustrated his precepts by the story of Rāma. He wrote a gloss on Sankarabhāṣya, Raṅnaprabhā. His Kṛṣṇāstuti eulogises the river Kṛṣṇā. His Hamsa-sandesa is a prakṛit poem. His vyāyoga, Narakāsuravadha, describes the heroic story of the slaying of Narakāśura. His Bālabhāgavata is a poem on the early life of Kṛṣṇa. There are commentaries on Sāhityaratnākara,² Naukā by Carla Venkatasāstrin,³ Mandara by Malladi Lakṣmanasūri,⁴ and Naukā by Madhusūdanamiśra Śarmā.⁵

933 In Alankāramāṇihāra, Śrī Kṛṣṇa (Parakālaswāmī) has illustrations in praise of God Śrīnivāsa of Tīrupatī. So is his Locanollāsa.⁶

Sathakopālankāraparicaryā⁷ is anonymous and describes various figures of speech with illustrations in praise of Sathakopa known as Nammālvar, the Vaiṣṇava Saint.⁸ So is Śathavairavaibhavadivākaram by Maranganti Narasimhācārya.⁹

934 Sudhindrayogin's Alankāranikaṣa is a short work on Arthālankaras with examples in praise of Sudhindrayogin, a Maḍhwa

1. In *HI*, I, No 297 the genealogy thus given.



2. See paper by E. Veeraraghavacharyulu in *JASSP*, VI, 291.

3. Printed, Ellore, *DC*, XXII, 8712.

4. Printed, Benares, Orissa. He was patronised by Balabhadraḍaḍa (Ganga) Chief of Orissa. He also wrote poems *Māyāśabarivilāsa* and *Hanumat-sandesa* (Tāṭavali).

5. Printed, Madras and Nellore. He died just before 1900 in Godavari District. He also wrote a commentaries on *Campubbhāraṭa* and *Kāvya-prakāśa* (Printed, Madras).

6. See para 211 *supra*. His *Locanollāsa* is printed *Jl. Mys Sans College*, 1985.

7. *TC*, II, 2810.

8. See para 211, *supra*.

9. *Mys*, 808. He lived in Vizagapatam district, probably at Śimhācalam.

ascetic, disciple of Vijayindrayati¹ Sudhinda wrote also the play Subhadrāparinayam while his master wrote the play Subhadrādhānanayam² He lived in 17th century in Tanjore and was honored by king Raghunātha Naik

VISVESVARA'S CAMAĪKARACANDRIKA is a similar work in which the illustrations are in praise of Singabhūpāla who ruled at Rājācala about 1330 A D³ Nāganātha was pupil of Visvesvara He wrote the play Maḍanavilāsa in honour of Māca, son of Sarvagna Singa of Recarla family⁴ He was the author of an inscription dated Saka 1291 (1369) during the reign of Anapota

In his Kavitāvatāra⁵ composed about 1425 A D Puruṣoṭtamasudhi has illustrations in praise of Nāgabhūpāla Nāga was the grandson of Māca, the ruler of Gangāpura of about 1400 A D

935 Sahityacudamani is ascribed to Vīranārāyaṇa but was in fact composed by some poet of his Court in 7 chapters and the illustrations are addressed to Vīranārāyaṇa Vīranārāyaṇa or Peda Komati Vema lived in the beginning of the 15th century A D⁶

936. Bhairavosahanavarasaratna contains 41 verses depicting the nine Rasas. The hero is a prince named Bhairavasāha, son of Prathāpa of the Rasiraudha or Rāthor race, whose capital was Mayūrādrī⁷

937 KRṢṆAJAYAN's Raghunāthabhūpālīyam as a similar work illustrating the greatness of Raghunātha Naik who ruled at Tanjore at

1 DC XXII 8718 There is Ālankāramanjari by Sudhīndrayati, (*Tanj*, IX 8971)

2 DC XXI 8560 8561 Vijayendra commented on Trimalabhatta's Ālankāramanjari, *Tanj*, IX 8973

3. TC III 3818 Eggeling, *Cat* VII 1507-8 He was the disciple of Kāśīśvara miśra, the author of Rasamīmāṃsa See para 906 *supra*.

4 TC II 2619 See para 889 *supra*

5 TC III 3037, *Tanj* IX 8992

6 CC. I. 715 See para 482 *supra* It is called Sāhityacintāmāni in DC, XXII 8708, *Mys* 804

7 "In the Kīrtikaumudī, a Pratapamalla of the Rashtrakuta race is mentioned as a dependent of the Chaulukyas of Anahilapattana Rashtrakuta is the sanskrit form of Rasiraudha or Rathor, but whether this Pratapamalla was the same as the father of our hero cannot be determined with certainty Bhairavasaha is in some of the verses called Bahurammasaha which looks like a thoroughly Mahomedan name But it is not impossible that a Rajput may have adopted it"

the end of the 17th century There is commentary by Sudhīndra¹ likewise are Sāhityaratnākara and Alankāraratnākara of Yagna-ārāyana,²

Vajnesvara³ was the son of Kondubhatta and nephew of Lakṣmī-lhara of Cerukūri family He wrote Alankārarāghava, Alankārasūryo-aya⁴ and a commentary on Kāvyaaprakāśa⁵ and lived about 1600 A D

Kāśīlakṣmana's Sāhityarajiyam⁶ illustrates the merits of King Shahji of Tanjore (1684-1711) So is Gunaratnākara of Narasimha in praise of king Sārabhoji of Tanjore (1712-1727)⁷

Devasankara Purohita's Alankāramanjūsa illustrates Alankāras with the glories of Peshwas Madhava Rao I and his uncle Raghunātha Rao (17 -1768 A D)⁸ He was the son of Natanabhai and lived at Jralpattana near Surat

938 In Kīṣṇarājajayabodindima, Anantārya, son of Singayārya, illustrates the greatness of Kṛṣṇarāja of Mysore (1714-1731 A D) It is noted in his work on poetic conventions, Kavisamayakallola⁹

Mangalesa's Vibhaktivilāsam¹⁰ with a commentary on it Ḍarpaṇa, a small poem in 31 verses eulogising a Vijayaramanṇpāla of the 'usapūti race, Zamindar of Vizianagaram The verses illustrate the rules of poetics as well as the grammatical sūtras of Pāṇini.

In his NANJARAJAYASOBHUSANAM¹¹ in seven Ullāsas Nṛsimhakavi illustrates the greatness of Nanjarāja,¹² son of Vīrabhūpa of the family of Kaluve

Nṛsimha was the son of Sivarama and friend of Alur Jirumala-avi¹³ He bore the title of Abhinavakāṇṭhāsa while his friend

1, TC, I 896 Mys Sup 14. There is a commentary on it by Sudhīndrayaṭi paras 146 and 150 *supra* TC, III 4037.

2 See para 150 *supra* It is a poem in 168 lines Ed. Madras. Tanj IX/39974.

3 Tanj IX 8975, Mys. 296, CC, I 82.

4 Tanj IX 8981, SR, II 65 He commented on his son Yajñakṣvara's prabandhārāyana Tanj, VI 2728 81 See para 241 *supra*

5 DC, XXII, 8623 Lakṣmīdhara commented on Gita Govinda and lived about 70 A D

6 Tanj. IX 4094, Mys 804

7 Tanj, IX 4023 See para 164 *supra*

8 CC, II 6, BR, (1887-91), lxiii (b)

9 There is his Kṛṣṇarājakaḷodaya, Mys 299; DC, XXII 8615

10 TC, IV 4324 He belonged to Nādminti family of Vizagapatam District.

11. Ed. GOS, Baroda DC, XXII 8668, Trav. 71; CC, I 275; TC, I 80,

12. He wrote Hālāsya-māhāṭyam in Telugu prose

13 SR, I. 5, 82

Tirumalakavi was called Abhinava-Bhavabhūti. He also wrote a drama Candrakalāpariṇaya. Nanjarāja was minister and commander of the Mysore forces and was practically the king-maker of Mysore from 1734 to 1770 A.D.¹

939 In Alankārasūtrasangati, a pupil of Mankha, the illustrations are in praise of King Ravivarman, who wrote Pradyumnābhyaudaya.

In Rāmavarmayasobhūsanam² Sadāsivamakhin describes the greatness of Rāmavarma Kulasekhara Vancipāla (Kaṭṭika Tirunāl) who ruled in Travancore in 1758-1798 A.D.³ The author was the son of Cokkanātha⁴ and Minākṣī of Bhāradvājagotra. In the chapter on drama a model drama Vāsulaksmikalyanam is imbedded describing the

1 On Nanjarāja, see Sewel's *FE*, 236-267, S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar's *Ancient India*, 305-308.

2 See *Trav Arch Series*, V 18 Called Balarāmavarmayasobhūṣaṇa in *Trav* 71.

3 He was the nephew of king Mārṇḍavarman and author of the dramatic treatise Balarāmabharatam. See *Trav Arch Series*, IV III, V 18. It was his nephew and successor Rāmavarman who wrote Rukminīparinayam.

4 "We know of three different persons bearing the name of Chokkanatha at the end of the 17th century, viz.,

(i) the author of *Sevantiḥkaparinayam* who was the son of Tippādhvarin and who mentions a certain Basavakshatindra, in his drama.

(ii) the author of the commentary of *Yudhishtiravijayam* of Vāsudeva, which is in manuscript in the Palace Library and in which is mentioned that he was the son of Sundarāna-Bhaṭṭa of the Bhāradvājagotra and a native of Sattanur, and

(iii) the father-in-law of Rāmabhadra-Dikshita (1698).

Of these No. 1 refers to Nilakantha-Makhin and was the author of कान्तिमतीपरिणयम् composed at the instance of Shājirāja and belongs therefore to the beginning of the 18th century. It may also be noted that there was a Basavappa Nāyaka of Ikken (1697-1714) and a chief named Basavarajendra (c. 1700 A.D.) either of whom may have been the patron mentioned by the author (*JMy* X. p. 257), but we do not know if he was of the Bhāradvājagotra to identify him with Sadāsiva's father.

No. ii is of that gotra and says in his commentary that he completed it in the cyclic year Vikrama month Nabhas (Śravana), Revatī, Monday *ba* tṛtīya, and as these details are correct for both the Kollam year 875 and 986 in all particulars except the weekday it may be presumed that he was Sadāsiva's father. Sadāsiva must have composed his *Yasobhushanam* in the early part of his patron's reign. See para 161 supra.

marriage of Rāmavarma with Vasulakṣmī, the daughter of the king of Sindhu * Sadāsiva also wrote a drama Lakṣmīkalāṇam

In praise of the same king Sadāsiva wrote thus :

यदृच्छासद्विधौ समधिगतघट्टतन्त्रविभवै
चमत्कुर्वन् धीरान् सपदि रसभावप्रकटनै ।
कवीन् धिन्वन् गानक्रमविवरणाद्रायकवरान्
परिष्कुर्वन् वञ्चिक्षितिपतिलोप्य विजयते ॥

In the Court of the same king Balarāma Varman, Maharaja

1 This is the plot

"The king of distant Sindhu had a daughter named Vasulakṣmī and had set heart on marrying her to the king of Travancore Rāmavarma-Kulaśekhara, whose accomplishment were much noised abroad. But the queen who had another bridegroom in view in the person of her nephew, the prince of Simhala, started her daughter on voyage ostensibly with the intention of visiting a famous temple while the proper destination was in reality Ceylon. Providence, however, upset the queen's calculation and the royal barge was stranded on that part of the Travancore shore which was in jurisdiction of the frontier captain (*antar-durgapala*) Vasumadraja, the brother of the king's consort, Vasumatī. The shipwrecked princess was then sent by this captain to his sister at the capital where her beauty at once captivated the pliable heart of King Rāmavarman, the hero of the drama. The usual love intrigue culminates in clandestine meeting of the lovers in the Palace garden and the jealous senior attempts to dispose of her rival by marriage to her cousin, the Pāndya king. But the scheme is frustrated by the king and his accomplice, the inevitable Vidushaka, who in the disguise of the Pāndya king and his friend receive the bride. In the meantime, King Sindhuraaja learns of the whereabouts of his missing daughter through Nitisagara, the Travancore minister, and coming to Travancore with a large escort confirms the betrothal of King Rāmavarman with Vasulakṣmī which happily coincides with his own inclinations.

३ अरित खलु भारद्वाजकुलकलञ्जलधिहिमकरस्य सर्वतन्त्रस्वतन्त्रस्य चोक्ताययञ्ज
तनूजस्य मीनाक्षीगर्भेशुक्तिमुक्तामणे सदाशिवयञ्जन कृति अभिनव लक्ष्मीकल्याण ना
नाटकम् ।

सर्ता मार्गे स्थित्वा सकलशुभमाधाय जगतां
विपक्षक्षोणीभृत्तिमिरहरतेजस्विनि विधे ।
गतेस्त मार्चण्डे विधुरिव जनानन्दजनक
कलासिन्धू राजा ह्रुदयमथिरुढो विजयते ॥

This describes the late king Martāudavarman

३ See on this author chapter on SANGITA post,

Travancore (1758-1798 A D)¹ flourished KATYANA or KATYANA SUBRAHMANYA. He was the son of Subrahmanya and grandson of Gopāla. "He was a Smarta Brahmin of Paritalam in Central Travancore and was popularly known as Paritalam Subrahmanya Sastri. After education under the Rajas of Paritalam, went over to Trivandrum and composed ALANKĀRAKAUSTUBHA,² on the model of the great Appayya Dikshita's Kuvālayanaṇḍa and Visvesvara's Alankārasarvasva and deals, like them, with Arthalankaras alone. He illustrates the figures of speech by verses in praise of the sovereign or his family deity, Sri Padmanābha. In the troublous times that followed the death of the illustrious patron, Kalyana Subrahmanya went over to Cranganore to teach Sanskrit to the young princes there and lived under the patronage of the Cranganore Rajas till peace returned to Travancore with the accession of Rani Lakshmi to the masnad. He was then invited to Trivandrum and passed his remaining years as the court pandit of Travancore. In 1814 he was directed by the Darbar to translate Vyavaharamāla, a well-known Sanskrit work on law into Malayalam." He passed away somewhere about 1820.

Kalyāṇa also wrote Padmanābhavijaya. Here is a verse from Alankāraukaustubha

राराजन्मधुराधरां प्रविलसच्चोला कनकुन्तलां
काश्मीरागविभूषणातिललिता काञ्चीशुणालकृताम् ।
क्षोणीं श्रीरघुरामवभिरुपमा रत्नाकरोरुर्मिकां
जाला तामानुरञ्जयत्वनुदिन श्रीरामवर्मप्रभु ॥

His King Rāmavarman was thus praised by the youngest brother of Edavettikattu Nambūdri in his poem Rukmīnīparinaya.

राजा किमिन्दुरपि नार्यभिमानहारी राजा पर विजयते भुवि रामवर्मा ।
नालीकमङ्गरुदतीव नदीनवन्धुनक्षत्रयो नवसुधाविमैवैकहेतु ॥

Among his friends and poets at the same court were Devarāja and Rāmāpanivada. Their works have been noticed.³ They were

1 BALA is ordinarily added to the name of every ruler of Travancore and that the two predecessors of the sovereign referred to by the author were known as Bāla Mārtāṇḍa Varma (Vide Travancore Archeological Series, Vol I, pages 27 and 40) and Bālārāma Varma (Vide the Kakkur grant). See Travancore State Manual, I 417.

2 SR, I 80, 221, DC, XXII 8601, Trav 70. There are other works of this name by Viśveśvara (CC, I 81) and by Śrīśaila Venkata (Mys 298) by Śrīnivāsa and by Kavikarṇapūra (CC, I 81) and Alankāraukaustubha (Rece, 280).

3 He was of Mārār caste and not of Warrior caste as stated in para 177 *supra*.

also patronised by King Mārtaṇḍa Varman (1729-1758 A.D.) of Travancore. Besides a treatise on drama, Rāmapāṇivāda wrote the plays Candrikā, Līlāvāṭī, Lahṭarāghaviya, Sītārāghava and Pāṇukāpaṭṭābhīṣeka

940 Kṛṣṇasudhī was son of Śivarāma and grandson of Upad-rastṭ Pandita Nārāyaṇa Sāstrin, probably a descendant of Jagannāṭha Panditarāja. He lived at Uttaramerur near Conjeevaram. He wrote Kāvyaakalānidhī in Kalī 4957 (1855 A.D.) with illustrations in praise of king Rāma-varman of Kollam.¹

ARUNAGIRI KAVI wrote Goḍāvarmayasobhūṣaṇam with verses in praise of king Godāvarman of Travancore.²

941 Alankāra-manjari of unknown authorship contains illustrations in praise of Rāmacandra, a Zamindar of Kākarlapūdi family, Vizagapatam District, of the 18th century A.D.³

In RAMACANDRAYASOBHUSANA, Kachapeśvara Ḍikṣiṭa eulogises Bommarāja, Zamindar of Karvetnagar, Madras, who lived in the first part of the 19th century A.D. In three chapters he deals with Śṛṅgāra, rasa and bhāva. He was the son of Vāsuḍeva and lived at Brahmadeśa, a village in the N. Arcot District.⁴

In ALANKARAMAKARANDA, Kolluri Rājasekhara treats of poetics (called a Kāvya) with illustrations in praise of Rāmesvara, ruler of Manna and son of Kāmākṣī and Viśveśa of Anapindi family, Guntur District.⁵

RAMAKRṢṆA'S Yaśavanṭayaśobhūṣaṇa is an eulogy of Yaśvanṭa, a prince of Rājaputāna.⁶

Alankārasarvasva of unknown authorship as available is incomplete and refers to a rhetorical work by the author's teacher in praise of king Gopālaḍeva.⁷

1 TC, IV, 4209

2 Trav 24

3 TC, III 2885.

4 DC, XXII, 8690. In that court was the poet Kuravi Rāma.

5 TC, III 3130. The author quotes from *Camakāracandrikā*. He is also the author of *Sāhityakalpadru*, see *Ibid*, III 2895

6 In praise of the Rājās of Ulwar, Māṇḍikyaṇḍikṭh wrote *Vākhātesvarakāvya* and Gargadina wrote *Vinayasilhakṛtiraṭṭa*.

7 *Ulwar*, 964, 970

Cavalī RAMASAŚTRIN'S KUVALAYAMODA is a similar work with illustrations in favour of the poet's patron Raja Sīmhādri Jagapaṭi Rao of Peddapur, who lived in 1853-1911 A D.

942 Venkata Sastrin was the son of Ānṛivilla Yajnanārāyaṇa of Kākarapartī agraḥāram,¹ in West Godavari District Proficient in all sāstras he was honoured by valuable gifts by the Jagapaṭi Mahārāja of Peddāpuram and Nīlādri Mahārāja of Dārlapūdi Besides Māhesvaramahākāyam, Saṁśaṭakam, Bhāskaraprasastī and Rukmini-parīṇayam (poems) and Alankārasudhāsindhu and Rasaprapanca, he wrote APPARAYAYASASCANDRODAYAM with illustrations in praise of Meka Venkata Narasimha Apparao, Zamindar of Nuzvid,² and was presented with the agraḥāram of Vallurūmalli in 1745 A D There he performed Somayāga and wrote glosses on Srautasūtra His son NARAYANA wrote a similar work Sāhityakalpadrumam and dedicated it to the Zamindar Jagannātha Appārao of Nuzvid³ Nārāyaṇa's son VENKATA known as Bālakālīdāsa dedicated his Cītracamatkāramanjarī to Śrī Vaṭsavāyī Tūmma Jagapaṭi Mahārāja of Peddapur and wrote also Sūryastava, full of citra Ānṛivilla Venkatasāstrin's pupil, Carla Venkatasāstrin, son of Lakṣmana, wrote a similar work, Venkatādnīyam, as also Naukā, the commentary as Sāhityaraṇnakara

943. Carla Bhasyakara Sastrin of Lohityagotra also lives at Kākarapartī Agraḥāram in West Godavari, Madras He is a unique relic of old-day Sanskrit scholarship and in the mastery of grammar, lexicons and poetics he is probably without an equal Venkatasāstrin who was the donee of the agraḥāram aforesaid was his maternal ancestor In grateful recollection of that munificent gift, Bhāṣyakāra has now composed a similar work on Alankāra, Mekādhiśa-sabdārṭhakalpaṭaru

His Mekādhiśa-Rāmāyaṇa is a hemistich of 16 letters (śloka) which is interpreted by the separation and combination of the letters, so as to

1 To the same place belonged another Venkata Śāstrī, who lived about 80 years ago and wrote a commentary on Lakṣmīśahasraṃ, and also another Venkata Śāstrī (1860-1918 A D) who wrote Sītārāmacampu on Rāmāyaṇa and Buḍhamānasollāsa on Bhāgavata.

2. See V Krishnarao's *History of Nuzvid* (Andhra Patrika Annual number, 1914, p 208) Narasimha Apparao lived about 1700 A D He was son of Venkatādnī and Venkatādnī's father built Nuzvid Fort in 1675 A D Among the friends of Venkatasāstrī was Mādabhūṣi Vāḍimaṭṭabhakanthirava Rāmānujācāryā who wrote a poem Śrīnivāsakāvya.

3. Printed, Nuzvid,

cover the whole story of Rāmāyana His Kankābandha-Rāmāyana, has been noticed¹ His Vināyakacaritra narrates the story of Syamaṇṭopākhyāna on the birth of Vināyaka, which is read ceremoniously on Vināyakacaturthi day

By an ingenious and intricate splitting up of the letters, consonants and vowels, that are embraced in the term मेकाधीशा (Me-kā-dhī-śā), thousands of meanings are made out, so as to illustrate various topics of poetics as dealt with in Pratāparudra-Yasobhūṣana and this is Mekādhīśasāubhārtakalpataru The commentary rightly describes his versatile learning in these words —

ये शब्दार्थविचारतत्परधियो ये वा गुणालक्रिया
 दोषासक्तहृदो विचित्रकवने ये वा ध्वनावुत्सुक्ता ।
 ये वा भावरसादरास्सुमनसो ये नाटके रागिण
 मेकाधीशपदे तमर्थविषय पश्यन्तु नन्दन्तु च ॥
 ये साहित्यविशारदास्सुमनसो ये शाब्दिकास्तार्किका
 ये वा चित्रकवित्वपाटवविद कार्तातिकास्तान्त्रिका ।
 येऽलङ्कारविचक्षणास्सुमनसो ये वैद्यका गायका
 मेकाधीशपदे स्वशालविषयान् पश्यन्तु नन्दन्तु च ॥

अथ शृङ्गारमस्याकुरितत्वपल्लवितत्वकुसुमितत्वफलितत्वहेतवो द्वादशावस्था कथ्यन्ते ।
 ताश्च परिगणिता विद्यानाथेन —

चक्षु प्रीतिर्मनस्सङ्गस्सङ्कल्पोऽथ प्रलापिता ।
 जागर कार्श्यमरतिर्लज्जा त्यागोऽथ सज्वर ॥
 उन्मादो मूर्च्छनं चैव मरण चरमं विदुः ।
 अवस्था द्वादश मता कामशास्त्रानुसारत ॥

केचित्तु प्रतापज्वरौ ल्यत्वा दशावस्था इति वदन्ति ।

तत्र चक्षु प्रीतिर्यथा—

आदरादीक्षण चक्षुःप्रीतिमाहुर्भनीविषण् ।

मू ॥ मेकाधीशमेकाधीशा

पद ॥ मा-ह-का-आधीशा-मे-काशीशा

व्या ॥ इ इति संबोधने सेव मा रमासमाना काचिन्नायिका कर्त्री आधीशा आदृष्टा आधीशा मेकाधीशा यया सा आधीशा मेकाधीशदर्शनवतीत्यर्थं मे ममका माग्यवत्ता केत्यर्थं इति इतेस्सामर्थ्यलभ्यत्वादप्रयोगः काधीशा कस्य आनन्दस्य आधीशा काधीशा आनन्दवतीत्यर्थं रमासमाना काचिन्नायिका चित्रादौ मेकाधीशान्दृष्ट्वा मदीया माग्यवत्ता महतीति आनन्दपरवशा बभूवेत्यनेन चक्षुः प्रीति ।

मनस्सङ्गो यथा

प्रियैकप्रवणत्वं यन्मनस्सङ्गः प्रकीर्त्यते ।

मू ॥ मेकाधीशामेकाधीशा

पद ॥ मा-इ का-धीशा-मेकाधीशा

व्या इ इति संबोधने मेकाधीश मेकाधीशाविषयकमनोव्यथावती व्याख्यातमेतत् मेव रमासमाना का काचिन्नायिका धीशा धियि मनसि धीशब्देन धीन्द्रिय मनो लक्ष्यते ईशा मेकाधीशा यस्यास्ता तथोक्ता, मेकाधीशविषयकमनोव्यथाप्रस्ता, रमासमाना काचिन्नायिका मनसाध्यातमेकाधीशेत्यनेन मनस्सङ्गः ।

944 Sri Yatirajaswami, more fully known as Śrī Yaduguri-Yatṛāja-Sampatkumāra-Rāmānuja, is the present head of the Yatṛāja Mutt at Melkote, Mysore Before he became a Sanyāsīn his name was Anantācārya and he was an official of the Mysore Archæological Department He is a great rhetorician and his dissertations on Bhāmaha etc., are very original He discovered the first copy of Svapnavāsavaḍaṭṭa and to him likewise is due the credit of the printed edition of a few chapters on Śṅgāraprakāśa prefixed with a learned introduction

[In KĀLIDĀSA ET L'ART POÉTIQUE DE L'INDE (ALANKĀRA SĀSTRA) [pp XIV 360. (Paris 1917)], P HARI CHAND, Sastri accomplished the colossal task of tracing the verses of Kālidāsa in works attributed to him to quotations in several works on Alankāra and has expressed an opinion on their comparative authenticity thus .

"Six works are by universal consent considered the authentic productions of the great poet: the three dramas *Śakuntalā*, *Vikramorvashī* and *Malavikāgnamitra*, the two epics *Raghuvamśa* and *Kumarasambhava*, and the lyric *Meghadūtā* All these are frequently quoted in Alankāra works The *Rūsamhara* is also commonly attributed to Kālidāsa, but a strong argument adduced by our author against this attribution is the fact that the treatises on Alankāra ignore this poem

CHAPTER XXV

Bharata.

945 Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra is probably the earliest extant work in music and dancing. The name of Bharata appears in two forms *Vṛddha Bharata*¹ or *Ādibharata* and *Bharata* merely. There are two works *Nāṭyavedāgama* and *Nāṭyāśāstra*. The former is called *Dvādaśasāhasrī*² and the latter *Satsāhasrī*,³ about half the former in volume. *Dvādaśasāhasrī* is likely the work of *Vṛddhabharata* and as only sixty-three chapters of it are available now, it is not possible to verify quotations as from *Vṛddhabharata* from the manuscript.

“*Satsahasrī* and *Dvadasasahasrī*” says *Śāradaṭṭanaya* “were simultaneous compositions, the former being meant as an epitome of the latter”

एक द्वादशसाहसैश्लोकैरेक तदर्धतः ।

षड्भिश्लोकसहस्रैर्यो नाट्यवेदस्य सग्रह ॥ (*Bhan* 287)

1 *Bharata Vṛddha* is quoted by *Śāradaṭṭanaya* thus

एव हि नाट्यवेदेऽस्मिन् भरतेनोच्यते रस ।

तथा भरतवृद्धेन कथित गद्यमीदृशम् ॥

“यथा नानाप्रकारैर्व्यञ्जनौषधैः पाकविशेषैश्च सस्कृतानि व्यञ्जनानि मधुरादिरसानामन्य तमेनात्मना परिणमन्ति तद्भोक्तृणां मनोभिस्तादृशात्मतया स्वाद्यन्ते तथा नानाप्रकारैर्विभावदिभावैरभिनवैस्सह यथार्हमभिवर्धितां स्थायिनो भावा सामाजिकाना मनसि रसात्मना परिणमन्ते तेषां तादात्विकमनोवृत्तमेदमिवास्तत्तद्रूपेण तैरस्यन्ते (*Bhav* 86)

Says *Bahurupamītra* in his commentary on *Daśarupa* (I. 62)

समाप्यमानमेकस्मिन्नङ्केऽन्यार्थत्वसूचनम् ।

समाप्यति हि नाट्यसैरङ्कावतार इष्यते ॥

इति द्वादशसहस्रीकारः—

2. *Trav*, VI 12, *Tanj*. XVI. 7228. The book called *Bharatarasaprakāśanam* published in Madras with Telugu meaning deals with *Rasa* and *Bhāva* and it is attributed to *Bharata*. While *Nāṭyāśāstra* deals with eight *rasas*, that book refers to nine *rasas* including *Śānta*. This portion may have formed part of *Dvādaśasāhasrī*.

3, *Bahurupamītra* (*Das*, I. 61) has सूत्राणां सकलाङ्काणां ज्ञेयमङ्कमुखं धुधैः । इति षट्सहस्रीकारः ।

Dhanika (IV. 2) has : षट्सहस्रीकृताप्युक्तम् ।

Abhinavagupta (*Baroda Edn* p 8) has. आपि तु यथावसरं महावाक्यात्मना षट्सहस्रीरूपेण प्रधानतया.... निरूप्यते ॥

Even as it is extant, the Nāṭyasastra, is a very ancient work It quotes from Aindra-vyākharana and Yāska and not Pāṇini It frequently quotes from earlier literature verses and sūtras prefaced thus

अत्रातुवश्ये आर्ये भवत । तत्र श्लोक । etc

In language and in its treatment of the subject it has the archaic tenor and it is natural that Bharāṭa has come to be mentioned as Bharāṭamuni with divine veneration

The extant work has itself been called sūtra, meaning by it a terse and authoritative composition

Nānyadeva has कलानामानि सूत्रकुतानि यथा—

Abhinavagupta says

षट्त्रिंशक भरतसूत्रमिदं विवृण्वन् वन्दे शिवं तितदर्थं विवेकि धाम ।

According to the chronology of the Purāṇas, therefore, the antiquity of Bharāṭa would be very great. Fearing that the tendency of modern scholarship is towards a distrust in anything traditional, it may be sufficient to state that barring the epics it is the earliest available literature in Sanskrit of the period when the sciences came to be restated in the garb of poetry, explanatory of sūtra literature that preceded it¹

1 Ed M R Kavi, GOS, Baroda, with Abhinavabhāraṭi by Sivadatta and in parts by J Grosset, with a preface by P Regnaud, Paris, and by Hall, Calcutta and by Regnaud, Paris "The words printed in the end समासश्चायं नन्दिभरतसङ्गीतपुस्तकम् (See S K. De, SP, 24) which have led to much misapprehension are not found in any of the manuscripts I have examined and on the face of it was written by some scribe who knew no grammar "

On this work generally, see S K De SP 80, 23 44, H H Dhruva, *Natyasastra or Indian Dramatics*, As Quar II 849-59, H A Popley, *The Music of India*, 12, Fischel, Gg A, (1885) 763, P R Bhandarkar, JA, XLI, 157, H P Sastri, JASB, V 352, Sten Konow, *Indian Drama*, 2, Rapson, *Envy of Religion and Ethics*, tit-*Indian Drama*, V 886, T Ganapati Sastri (Int to Pratimanataka xxi-ii (says Nāṭya. śāstra was posterior to Bhāṣa) These scholars assign this work variously to the period, 2nd century B C, to 2nd century A D S K De (l c 26) says that the work assumed its present shape after several modifications by the end of the 8th century A D and this extraordinary conclusion is reached in spite of the admission that before Abhinavagupta there were several commentators whose works are now known only from quotations In another place (l c 32) he places the chapter on music and the rest too in the 4th century A D. (See also IA XII, 158) Fischel's (l c.) argument based on reference in the text to Pahlavas comes to be of no value On Bharāṭa's Rāgādhyāya see Andhrapatrika, Annual Number, VII. 155.

"The present work consists of 37 according to the northern or later recension but only 36 according to the southern or earlier texts. The difference lies in the numbering of the chapters, as the southern or older texts combined the 37th with the 36th. Abhinava, the commentator, appears to be the author of this numerical extension of the text, though he himself states that the work consists of 36 chapters. He actually comments upon the 37th chapter also. Should one be tempted to call the excess a copyist's error, it would be an error for the commentator begins each chapter with a verse in praise of Siva as incorporate of one of the 86 *tattvas* of the *Saiva Siddhanta* in some order while the 37th chapter is headed with a verse indicating *anuttarah* (nothing beyond) a doctrine in Kashmirian Saivism propounded by Utpaladeva, the commentator's *paramaguru* (teacher's teacher). The reason for this extension of the text is not a mere fanciful device for introducing his Saiva *tattvas*. The subject-matter thus separated from the rest was probably composed by one of the *Vartakakas*, either Rahulaka, Sini, or Sriharsa. But he himself says in two places that Bharata's work consists of 36 chapters and hence the 37th must be according to him an interpolation by one of the *Vartakakas*.

Bharata divides the work broadly into four sections based on *abhinayas* or modes of conveyance of the theatrical pleasure to the audience, which pleasure, called *rasa*, is pure and differs from the pleasure we derive from the actual contact with the objects of the world which is always mingled with pain. These modes or *abhinayas* are four, viz. *Sattvika* (conveyed) by the effort of the mind, *Angika* or the natural movement of the organs when any thought is expressed or conveyed, *Vacika*, the delivery through expression and *Aharya*, the dress, deportment, and *Mise-en-scene*. The sage attaches great importance to the first of these modes and deals with it in chapters 6 and 7. Expression of feeling is conveyed to a stranger only by gestures or through the organs of speech. Hence *Angika-abhinaya* comes next and is dealt with in chapters 8th to 13th. Then delivery of *vacika* is taken up which extends over chapters 14 to 20. Then comes *aharya*, i.e. dress and scenic appliances and mutual conduct or movements on the stage along with the musical auxiliaries behind the stage to intensify the emotional effect produced on the stage. To this four-fold division of the subject are added chapters on the origin and greatness of the theatrics, the forms of the stage and rules for their construction, and the auspicious ceremonial of the foundation and the opening days. The fourth and fifth chapters treat of *purvaranga*, preliminaries

before the commencement of the actual drama. These include music and dancing in praise of Gods and in averting the evil influence of the demons. The postures recommended in dancing to please the *daityas* are numberless and a selected list of 108 of them called *Karanas*¹ or single postures and 32 selected *Angaharas*, (combinations of two or more of the these *Karanas*) are fully described in the fourth chapter. The fifth chapter gives details about the preliminaries. Chapters 35 and 36 are supplementary and deal with the qualifications and behaviour of the actors and actresses on the stage and how the theatrics descended from Heaven to the earth. Thus excluding the preliminary and supplementary chapters the subject proper is dealt with in 29 sections (6 to 34)'

"From time immemorial Bharata's work is considered authoritative on the science of *Natya*. In spite of the fact that Bharata treated dramaturgy in extenso, he had to summarise the general principles of *gita* and *nrtiya* in order to add an element of grace in *dhruvagana* and *purvarangavidhi*. Though the two latter subjects are only auxiliaries to *Natya*, Bharata gave them such a comprehensive shape that the writers on those sister sciences had looked upon him as their authority. Bharata has not dealt with *ragas*. For, in his exhaustive enumeration of *jatis* where any of the 63 *svaras* can be chosen as *amsa svara* he has made the field of *ragas* so wide that it covers almost every *raga* in the world —

यत्किञ्चित् गीयते लोके तत्सर्वं जातिषु स्थितम् ।

He left the choice of a particular *raga* to the *sutradhara* himself as befits the occasion. The case is similar in *nrtiya* also. For he has enumerated the general and natural movements of the hand, eye, etc., but their combinations which produce endless variety in each sort are left to the actors to frame new poses without detriment to *rasa* and which have possibility of use in actual life. Bharata has condemned

1 M. R. Kavi says, l. c. —

"In the compartments of the east and west gopuras in the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram in South India *karanas* were cut on rocks with appropriate verses from the *Natyasastra* underneath each of the postures. But unhappily only 98 of the postures were recovered, the remaining fifteen were either damaged or the compartments altered during the repairs. These postures are found in Bharata's order for about 60 numbers and then owing to masons' or supervisors' ignorance or on account of some subsequent alteration in the construction the remaining 48 are not in the order followed by Bharata. Koppesunjingadeva (Rajastimhadeva, the Great?) who set up an independent kingdom against the Cholas between 1243 and 1273 A. D. was the patron of the above decorative sculptures."

the use of *angikabhinaya* for actors of *uttama* or great *sattvic* type Angika is intended for *adhama* characters and to some extent it is tolerated in the *maahyama* also So the stand point of Bharata makes him reject much of the technical side of *sangita* and *nrtiya*”¹

“There are two main recensions with greater difference purely on exegetic principles The older recension, so called because the older commentators have used it, was followed by Udbhata and Lollata The later recension seems to have been adopted by Sankuka, Kirtidhara and was actually used by Abhinavagupta Undoubtedly, the merit decides the question in favour of the later version For Abhinavagupta’s sole aim is to make the work of Bharata completely based upon the principle of *rasa*, while Nandin and Kohala have imported greater conventions from *gita* and *nrtiya* into *natya* i.e., in ordinary parlance they have made the science of stage rather unnatural or more conventional Both of these recensions have on the other hand longer and shorter versions Udbhata seems to have followed a shorter version, while Lollata appears to have used the longer or the older recension Similarly Kirtidhara appears to have followed the longest of the later recension, while Ghantaka seems to have used the shortest These are only tentative theories based upon certain remarks made in the *Abhinavabharati*, other commentaries and various works on *sangita* and *natya*—

Abhinava’s text ends with Chapter XXXVII while most of the others end in XXXVI The apparent reason for extension of the number, seems to be the introduction of the 36 *tattvas* one for each Chapter by Abhinava and the commentary of the 37th is headed by the verse indicating *amultaram dhama* of the Pratyabhijna school

आकाङ्क्षाणां प्रशमनविधे पूर्वमावावर्त्तीनां

धाराप्राप्तस्तुतिश्रुतिगिरां शुद्धतत्त्वप्रतिष्ठा ।

ऊर्ध्वादन्य परमुवि न वा यत्समान चकाल्ति

प्रौढानन्त तदहमधुनातुत्तर धाम वन्दे ॥

It may be added that Bharata looks upon the science of *Natya* as an *anga* to *vedic* rites allowing all its æsthetic profundity. His treatment of *purvaranga* (Chs 4, 5, 29, 31, 32, 34) and of *saptagitas* (Ch. 31) amply illustrates his conception Nandin sees an *agamic* vein in *nrtiya*, *gita* and *natya*. Abhinava maintains in a high degree the *vedic* and æsthetic aspects of *natya* viewing it from a psychological

perspective, while others mix them up to produce only the pictorial effect "1

Abhinavagupta represents the three *matas* or schools of Sadāśiva, Brahma and Bharata and answers an objection that the Bharata-Nāṭya-sāstra was the work of some pupil of Bharata embodying the views of Bharata

यत्तु प्रयोगप्रश्ने प्रत्यक्षेण प्रयोगप्रकटनमुत्तरं स्यादित्याशङ्कां परिहर्तुं कथाग्रहणमिति, तत्त्वसत् । वक्तुमर्हसीत्युक्ते तस्या कोऽवसरः ? एव भरतमुनि परवदात्मानं प्रकल्पयन्त ग्रन्थमसिंहितवान् ।

अन्ये त्विन्यन्त ग्रन्थं कश्चिच्छिष्यो व्यरीरचत् । तत्र ब्रह्मणेति भरतमुनि प्रथमश्लोके निर्दिष्टः, कथं ब्रह्मन्तुत्पन्न इत्येतदेवमेकवाक्यत्वेन निर्वहति । तदनन्तरन्तु भवद्भिः शुचिभिरित्यादिभिर्मरतमुनिगीचितो ग्रन्थो, मध्येऽत्र षट्त्रिंशदध्याय्यां यानि प्रश्नप्रतिवचनप्रयोजनवचनानि तानि तच्छिष्यवचनान्येवेत्याहुः । तच्चासत् । एकस्य ग्रन्थस्यानेकवक्तृवचनसन्दर्भमयत्वे प्रमाणाभावात्, स्वपरव्यवहारेण पूर्वपक्षोचरपक्षादीनां श्रुतिस्मृतिव्याकरणतर्कादिशास्त्रेष्वेकविरचितेष्वपि दर्शनात् । एतेन सदाशिवब्रह्मभरतमतस्यविवेचनेन ब्रह्ममतसारताप्रतिपादनाय मतत्रयीसारासारविवेचनं तदग्रन्थखण्डप्रक्षेपेण विहितमिदं शास्त्रम्, न तु मुनिरचितमिति यदाहुर्नास्तिकधुर्योपाध्यायास्तत्प्रत्युक्तम्, सर्वोपद्रवनीयाबाधितशब्दलोकप्रसिद्धिबिरोधाच्च ॥

946 In the Gopura of the temple of Sivalakūmī at Chidambaram inside the prakāra there are the sculptured figures of various dancing postures as mentioned in Bharata's Nāṭyasāstra. This Gopura was built by the Cola king, Kulottunga III (1178-1216 A.D.). These sculptures are of exquisite beauty and photographs have been printed in Epigraphica Indica and in the Baroda Edition of Bharata's Nāṭyasāstra Vol. I.²

1 M. R. Kavi, l. c.

"Even in the commentary Abhinava is strictly scrupulous in offering additional explanations from the practical side to many of the definitions of Bharata which do not place a practitioner in possession of all details required. The sage like commentator draws his extra material from varṭikas and not from the current practice of his day. For it is possible that time may bring upon alterations though imperceptibly in certain movements. Bharata's purvaranga bestows upon the audience both *drśta* and *adrśta phala* (pleasure and religious merit). In the latter case injunction (*vidhi*) should be strictly followed. This applies to *karanas* and *angaharas* which find prominent place in the various *angas* of purvaranga."

2. The pedigree of Cola kings is thus —

Rājendra I (1018-1045 A.D.), (son) Rājādhirāja I (1018-1054), (brother) Rājendra II (1058-1062), (brother) Vīrarājendra (1062-1070), (son) Adhirājendra. He was murdered by Eastern Cālukya, Kulottunga I (1070-1118) or Rājendra Cola (who was the daughter's son of Rājendra I, Vikrama (1116-1185), Kulottunga II (1183-1143),

947 Bharatatika appears to be the earliest commentary. The author's name is unknown, but he was a pupil of Śrīpāda¹. Abhinavagupta quotes the criticisms of Bharatatikā, mostly in the chapters on music, on Bharata's views and Abhinavagupta attempts a justification and at times his language is scathing.

“अत्र उपदेशातिदेशयो उपमानस्य च साहित्यविषये तार्किकमीमांसकविषये विशेष-
प्रतिपादनं यत् टीकाकारैः कृतम्, तत्सुकुमारमनोमोहनं वृथाभ्रमणिकामात्रम्, प्रकृतानुप-
योगादिह उपेक्ष्यमेव ।” Vol III, p. 48

948 Harsa is another glossator. His gloss is in the form of verses and is known by the name of Harsa-vārtika. He is frequently quoted by Abhinavagupta in his commentary and mentioned by Bhoja and Śārādatanaya as an authority. The following quotations from Abhinavabhārati will elucidate some of his views.

वार्तिककृताभ्युक्तम्—

“वाच्यानुगतेऽस्मिन्ने प्रतिपाद्येऽर्थे च गानविज्ञपे ।

उभयोरपि हि गयाने को भेदो दृष्टनाश्रयत ॥”

‘रगमा * * * * यद्यत् पूष वा अपूर्णं वा तत एव नाश्वनृचयार्थेन
नृत्यानुकारत्वे’ इति हर्षवार्तिकम् ।”

“यदाह श्रीहर्ष, ‘अत एव हासा नाम (कवि) कश्चिन्मिश्राटक ‘देव गानधित्तञ्जरेण
कलिरितं पुनर्भवते । अत्रायमस्य पुरोऽवस्थातुम्’ इत्यादि ।”

From these references, and others we can infer that he differed in his interpretation of Bharata's work from other commentators in the description of Pūrvaranga and the species of dramas. Bahurūpamitra calls him Śrīharsadeva and probably therefore considers him the author of the dramas, Raṭnāvalī, Nāgānanda and Priyadarśikā.

949 Rahulaka's (Rāhula or Rāhala) commentary is in verse. He was a very early writer, and he is mentioned in the Tamil epic Maṇimekalai which is now generally assigned to a date not later than 4th century B.C., though it was probably a much earlier composition. Abhinavagupta calls him Sākyācārya Rāhulaka, implying thereby that he was a Buddhist and does not accept his criticism of Bharata, for instance on Alankaras of damsels.

¹ Rājārāja II (1140-1164), Rājādhirāja Kārikṭī (1172-1178), Kulottunga III (1178-1216) Rājārāja III (1216-1257), Rājendra III (1246-1268). The Pāṇdyas overcame the Cola kings.

“तेन मौग्ध्यमदभाविकत्वपरितपनादीनामपि गत्या(शाक्या ?)चार्यराहुलादिमिरमिधान
विरुद्धमित्यल बहुना ।”

This is also mentioned by Hemacandra in his *Kāvyānusāsana* (p 316)

“ शाक्याचार्यराहुलादयस्तु मौग्ध्यमदभाविकत्वपरितपनादीनप्यलङ्कारानाचक्षते ।
तेऽस्मामि भरतमतानुसारिभिरुपेक्षिता ।

Sārngadhara quotes this verse as Rahulaka's ¹

उन्मिद्रकन्दलदलान्तरलीयमानगुञ्जन्मदान्धमधुपाञ्चितमेघकाले ।

स्वप्नोऽपि य प्रवसति प्रविहाय कान्तां तस्मै विषाणरहिताय नमो वृषाय ॥

There is a manuscript of a *Vārtika*, got by M R Kavi from the Central Provinces. The beginning and end are missing, but as it is it extends to 2000 granthas and the author's name is not known. It is expected to be published as an appendix to *Natyasastra* Edn of Baroda.

950 Nakhakutta was an ancient author. Bahurūpamisra writes

तथा नोटकस्यापि नखकुट्टादिभिर्नोटकान्तर्भावैर्नैव लक्षणमुक्तम्,

दिव्यमानुषसंयोगस्तोटक नाटकागुगम् ॥ इति नखकुट्ट ॥

But Śāradaṅgānaya attributes this to Harṣa

दिव्यमानुषमयागो यत्राङ्कुरविदूषकै ।

तदेव तोटक भेदो नाटकमिति हर्षवाक् ॥

Are Harṣa and Nakhakutta identical ?

951 Matruguṇṭa was a very early writer, probably of about the beginning of the Christian era or even earlier. In *Rājataranginī* (III 129-229) Kalhana gives a long account of the poet Mātṛguṇṭa and his relations with king Vikramāditya Harṣavardhana of Kāśmir.

Harṣavardhana, alias Vikramāditya, had in his court a poet by name Mātṛguṇṭa. He was very conservative and consequently was not prepared to push himself up to royal favour of his own accord. The king was not unaware of the high poetic talents and deep culture of his protege, but he intentionally ignored him. In absolute poverty, without proper food, decent clothing, and timely sleep, the poet continued to serve his master with diligence. He knew no comfort.

At last the time came when his stars began to exert their influence, being in the ascendant. On a particular night it happened by chance

1. So does Vallabhaḍḍa, *Subh.* 2990.

that all the guards were asleep, the lamp which was dimly burning in the apartments of the king was put out by a strong wind, the king wanted the lamp to be re-lit, but there was no servant to do it. He shouted at the top of his voice, but there was no response from any of the guards. Mātṛgupta who was waiting at the gate entered and did the needful. While he was about to retire, the king wanted to know his exact position in life and asked him how he alone was awake at that dead hour of night. The poet composed the following verse on the spur of the moment

शान्तिनोद्धृतस्य माषशिमिवक्षिन्तार्णवे मञ्जत
शान्ताभि स्फुटिताधरस्य धमत क्षुक्षामकण्ठस्य मे ।
निद्रा काप्यवमानितेव दयिता सत्यज्य दूर गता
सत्पात्रप्रतिपादितेव बसुधा न क्षीयते शर्वरी ॥

Rājataranginī III—181

On hearing this verse, the king realised the sin he had committed by neglecting his duty in not having recognised the merits of the poor, needy and eminent poet and began to contemplate as to how best he could expiate the sin.

At dawn he rose, having already come to a conclusion with regard to Mātṛgupta. The kingdom of Kāśmīr was then without a ruler. That kingdom was his vassalage and the responsibility of finding a suitable ruler to that country devolved upon him. Now he called upon Mātṛgupta and handed over to him a note in which there was an order to his ministers at Kāśmīr that Mātṛgupta should be anointed their king, and bade Mātṛgupta deliver it unto the hands of his ministers at Kāśmīr and do as they required. The poet was unaware of what the king had written and did as ordered. He marched along to Kāśmīr with many auspicious omens at every step. And as soon as he delivered the Royal message, he was anointed king of that country.

We also learn from Kalhaṇa that he was not of the same place to which Harṣavardhana belonged. Probably he was a southerner.

Mentha displayed his Hayagrīvavadha before Mātṛgupta and received appreciation.¹

1 See para 87 *supra*. Hemacandra calls it a *kāvya*, but Vamanācārya (p. 249) says it was a *Nāṭaka* on the authority of Candrikā of Vaidyanātha etc. There is a quotation from it by Maṃmata (KP, I, 5).

विनिर्गर्त मानदमात्ममन्दिराद्भवत्युपश्रुत्य यदृच्छयापि किम् ।
ससम्भ्रमेन्दुदूतपातितार्गळ निमीलिताक्षीष मियाभरावती ॥

Mātṛgupta very probably wrote a commentary on Nāṭyasāstra. This appears from a reference to Sundaramisra's Nāṭyapradīpa on Nāndī

अत्र च भरत

आशीर्वचनसयुक्ता

प्यलकृता.

अस्य व्याख्याने मातृगुप्ताचार्यै षोडशाभिपदान्विता इय उदाहृता ।

His opinions on Nāṭya, Alankāra and Sangīta have been quoted profusely¹ by Abhinavagupta,² Kuṇṭaka,³ Bahurūpamiśra, Śāradāṭṭhanaya and in the commentaries by Vāṇudeva (on Karpūramanjari), by Ranganāṭha (on Vīkramorvasīya), by Sarvānanda (on Nāmalingānuśāsana) and his verses by Kṣemendra⁴ and Vallabhadeva

952 Kīrtidhara is mentioned by Śārngadeva as a commentator on Bharāṭa. There are references to Kīrtidhara's views in Abhinavabhārati

(i) एतदुक्तम्— 'प्राहमेककल साम द्विकल वह्निज तथा ।
चन्तन्तु (?) विकल शुष्क पूर्वयो सार्थक * * ॥'

इति कीर्तिधराचार्य ।

(ii) 'ननु चत्वारि यथा कीर्तिधरोऽन्यथा इति ।'

The reading of the last quotation is doubtful. Is it possible that the original work of Nandikesvara was not available to Abhinavagupta? The latter quotes Nandimaṭa largely in Chapter XXVIII, or instance

यत्तत् कीर्तिधरेण नन्दिकेश्वरतन्मात्रगामित्वेन (?) दर्शितं तदन्यामि (तदस्माभिः) न
'धम्, तत्प्रत्ययास्तु लिख्यते ।

1 See T. R. Chintamani, FRAGMENTS OF MĀTRGUPTĀCĀRYA, JOR, II 118

2 यथोक्तं भट्टमातृगुप्तेन—

पुष्पं च जनयत्येको भूयोऽनुस्पर्धनान्वित ।

3 अनुसरणदिक्प्रदर्शनं पुनः क्रियते । यथा मातृगुप्तः—मञ्जीरप्रभृतीनां सौकुमार्य-
विचित्र्यसबलितपरिस्पन्दस्वन्दीनि काव्यानि सम्भवन्ति ।

4 नाय निशामुखसररोरुहराजहंसं कौरीकपोलतलकान्ततनुश्चक्षुः ।

आभाति नाथ तदिदं दिवि दुग्धसिन्धुषिण्डीरपिण्डपिपाण्डु यश्चस्त्वदीयम् ॥

Amṛtyaśaradāraṇḍī, 142.

953. Udbhata is mentioned by Śārngadeva as a commentator on Nāṭyasāstra, next to Lollata and Aghinavagupta contrasts the views of Udbhata and Lollata. These commentaries are not available.

954 Sakaligarbha came after Udbhata and before Lollata. Unlike Udbhata who rejected four vṛttis of Bharata and substituted two of his own, Śakaligarbha added one to Bharata's four. Abhinavagupta thus criticises it:

शकलीगर्भमतानुसारिणो मूर्खदौ आत्मसवितिलक्षणां पञ्चमीं वृत्तिम् .

आत्मव्यापाररूपां मन्यन्ते । तन्मतं भावानां बाह्यग्रहणसमावृत्तपपादयद्भिः मद्दुल्लेख्यप्रवृत्तिभिः ।
पराकृतमिति न फलवृत्तिर्वा(आत्मसवितिर्वा)काचिदिति चतस्र एव वृत्तयः ।

955 Abhinavagupta's Abhinavabharatī is a commentary on Bharata's Nāṭyasāstra of Bharata, and an extensive and erudite treatise on dancing and histrionics. The manuscripts now available cover the first thirty-two chapters except the seventh and the eighth. Abhinava recites and criticises the views of Śrīharsa (the Vartikakara of Bharata-sūtra), Rāhulaka, Śankūka, Bhatta Nāyaka, Lollata, Ghantaka etc. He refers to the following rare authors and works in the course of the commentary — In Chapter I to Bhatta Tota (his preceptor) Kāvyaakauṭuka, Svapnavāsavadattā (by Bhāsa), in Ch IV to Cūḍāmaṇi Dombika (a lyrical play), Rāghavavijaya, Guṇamāla (a lyrical play), Mārīcavadha (a lyrical poem), Rāṇaka (a poet, probably the author of the Marīcavadha), Viśākhila (a writer on music), Ḍaṭṭila (music), Paramesvaracaṇṭha (Paramesvara), Battayantra and Lollata (commentators on Nāṭyasāstra), Kīrtidhara (a writer on music), Śankuka, in Ch V to Hejjala (author of Rādhāvipralambha), Kāśyapa (a writer on music), in Ch. VI to Tāpasavaṭṣarāja (of Māyurāja), Draupadisvayamvara (probably a drama), Bhāsa, Rāmāyana-nāṭaka, in Ch IX to Udbhata (as a writer on Nāṭya), Bhīma (author of Prañjñacāṇakya), in Ch XIII to Māyāpuṣpaka (a drama), in Ch XIV to Jayadeva (as a writer on music, also on metrics), Bhatta Nāyaka, Pāḍaṭṭaṭṭaka, in Ch XVIII to Kṛtyārāvaṇa, Vāsavadattānāṭyadhāra by Subandhu, Samudradattacesṭha, Puṣpabhūṣiṭaka, Mudrārākṣasa, Devicandragupta (a drama), in Ch. XIX to Pāṇḍavānanda (a drama), Rāmābhyudaya (a drama), Ḍandracarudattā, Prañmānruddha by Bhīma, Uḍāṭṭarāghava (by Mayurāja), Candraka (a playwright), and in Ch XXI to Abhisārikāvaṇciṭaka (a drama).¹

“Abhinavagupta under the sublime teachings of his master, Bhatta Tota, has fixed the limits of Nāṭya and rejected such matter as strictly

1. Ed. GOS, Baroda by M. R. Kavi with introduction [Vol. III is in press]

belongs to the province of music and dancing arts. He criticises his previous commentators in the light of his own theory whenever they had overstepped the boundaries of natya and fallen into the allied grounds. His conception of natya is very liberal and æsthetic, but it rejects all musical dramas. For Bharata in his opinion has recognised only ten kinds of dramatic compositions. In accordance with his theory such passages which were said to possess wider significance to include graces and flourishes in gita and nritya by authors like Matanga and earlier commentators, are explained by Abhinava to apply only to Natya. Thus his text slightly differs from that of the others which he points out or criticises. It is the difference in interpretation that gave rise to various recensions. Variants in the text are also created by various other causes, viz., wrong deciphering, scholars filling up the omissions if letters are lost, scholars correcting the clerical errors, etc. Though every copy of Bharata's text abounds in errors of this description, interpretative differences alone constitute the difference in recension. Besides the two above influences the readers or commentators have added a number of slokas from Kohala and other writers wherever they are explanatory to Bharata's cryptic and terse expression. Such additions are plenty in the Taladhyaya (Ch, 31) and Avanaddha (Ch 34) "1

956 About Bhattasumanas, Bhatta Vṛddhi, Bhattayantra and Bhatta Gopāla who are quoted in Abhinavabhārata, nothing more is known except that they were writers on music. Vṛddhi's verses are quoted profusely in Subhāṣitāvalī. For instance

अस्थिरमनेकराग गुणरहित नित्यवक्रदुष्प्रापम् ।
प्रावृषि मुरेन्द्रचाप विभाव्यते युवतिचित्तमिव ॥—1734

उपलक्षवर्णसंकरमपगतगुणयोगमुज्झितस्यैर्यम् ।
पथिकास्समुद्रिजन्ते कुदेशमिव वीक्ष्य शक्रधनुः ॥
आविरलधारानिकर जलदैर्जलमुत्सृजद्भिरतिमात्रम् ।
मानिवधूहृदयेभ्यः कालुष्यमशेषतो मृष्टम् ॥

दयितपुजगेन सम्प्रति नृत्यञ्चलचारुचन्द्रकिरणेन ।
वल्लभशुहेन काम प्रदीपितो नलिकण्ठेन ॥
अपगतरजौविकारा घनपटलाक्रान्ततारकालोका ।
लम्बपयोधरमारा प्रावृषिय वृद्धवनितेव ॥—1734-8

Bhattayantra is quoted by Abhinavagupṭa for his definition of Nr̥tṭa (p 208)

शिक्षार्हास्तेऽन्यनृत्तकतिपयनाट्याङ्गकृत नृत्तमभ्यासफलम्, इति मध्यन्त

Bhattachagopāla wrote Tāladīpikā and was different from the author of the same name of a commentary on Kāvyaaprakāśa and from the father of Śārādātānaya of the same name This is the reference.

अत एवैतदनुसारेण मट्टोल्लङ्घनगोपालादिभङ्गिसर्वमङ्ग . तालदीपिकादौ चिरन्तन-
मतो ध्रुवताळानां विनियोगः प्रपञ्चतो दूषित ।

957 Dattila Among the immediate disciples of Bharata, of whom hundred are mentioned in the Nāṭyasāstra, Daṭṭila¹ and Kohala have written separate treatises Daṭṭila was a devout follower of Bharata and never differed from him in his expositions, so that, when later writers wanted anything to support Bharata, they invariably invoked Daṭṭila Daṭṭila's work embraced music and dancing,² and its merit is seen from the existence of a commentary on it called Prayogaṣṭabaka.³

958 Kohala was the immediate disciple of Bharata and comes next to Bharata himself in merit of composition While the Nāṭya sāstra of Bharata comprised 11 subjects, Kohala enlarged them into 13 Even according to Nāṭyasāstra, Kohala was to write a treatise on Prastāraṇantram⁴ He is frequently cited by later writers, and largely by Abhinavagupta and commentators on Śārngadeva But Kohala's work is lost, but for a fragment that is available, Tāladhyāya⁵ A study of the citations⁶ there indicates that Kohala, though he followed Bharata in the main, improved upon Nāṭyasāstra in details of classification.⁷

1. The name appears also in the form of Daṭṭila.

2. Ed. TSS, Trivandrum

3. Sumharāja quotes from Prayogaṣṭabaka in his commentary on Śārngadeva.—

विवृतं चैतत् प्रयोगस्तबकाख्यायां दक्षिणीकायाम् ।

4. आत्मोपदशसिद्धिं हि नाट्यं प्रोक्तं स्वयम्भुवा ।

शेषं प्रस्तारतन्त्रेण कोहलः कथयिष्यते ॥ XXVIII 18

5. CC, I 180, IOC, 8025, 8089; DC, XXII 8785 (with Telugu commentary)

6. For quotations from Kohala, see PR, IV 48 and Cat. Bod., 199, 201

7. For instance in the case of Cārī (dance). See Kallināṭha's commentary on Śārngadeva, pages 770-3.

Abhinayasāstram attributed to [Kohala may be a part of Kohala's work or any later abridgment of it² Datṭila-Kohaliyam purports to be a narration by Kohala to Datṭila³ and Kohalarahasya by Kohala to Matanga⁴ and these are epitomes of Kohala's work

Kohala's work appears also to have been a narration by Kohala to Śārdūla, and this is seen from Kallinātha's long quotation⁵

959 Matanga wrote Brihaddesi⁶ Though apparently meant to deal primarily with Deśī music, the extant portion in six chapters embraces Śrutis and Svaras. He mentions Bharata⁷ but differs from him in several places and particularly in the introduction of 12 Svaras in Murchana. Maṭanga is referred to by later writers as the originator of a new school and Maṭangamaṭa is quoted profusely, for instance, by Abhinavagupta and Śārngadhara. Among Prabandhas he is said to have introduced the form Harivilāsa⁸ and among dances, a species called Zakkini, and when speaking of the latter Kālī is described as

1 DC, XXII 8724, 8725 (with Telugu commentary), IOC, 320

2 BTC, 60 I am informed that the book is now missing from the library

3 TC, I 1089 This manuscript contains only 18th chapter, but I am told the whole book is available in Vadakkutirumaligum in Alvantharunagarī, Tinnevely District.

4 In commentary on Śārngadeva, pp. 675-69. A similar mention is made by Raghunātha in his Sangītasudhā

5 Ed TSS, Trivandrum. The manuscript so far available and printed contains chapters on Nāḍotpaṭhi, Śrutiṁmāya, Svaraṁmāya, Murchana, Tāna, Varṇa, 32 Alankāras, Jāṭi, Rāga-lakṣana, Bhāṣā-lakṣana, Prabandha and ends with the line.

इदानीं कथयिष्यामि वाद्यस्य निर्णयो यथा ।

The name Brihaddesi suggests the existence of a smaller work called Laghubdesi. S. K. De (SP, 246) speaks of a work called Maṭangabhārata by Lakṣmaṇa-Bhāskara but does not give any reference. In a manuscript (BTC, No 11526), the manuscript though labelled Maṭangabhārataṁ, is really Lakṣmaṇabhārataṁ by Bhāskara Lakṣmaṇa of which there is a good copy there No 11546. Lakṣmaṇabhārataṁ, consisting of Abhinaya only, was composed by some later writer and had nothing to do with Maṭanga.

6 यथाह मतङ्ग, नन्वेते रागा, ग्रामविशेषसम्बन्धात्, कृतोयं विशेषलाभः ? उच्यते, भरतवचनादेव । तथा चाह भरतः, जातिसम्बन्धाद्वागाणामिति । यत्किञ्चिद्गीयते लोके तत्सर्वं जातिषु स्थितमिति वचनाच्च, इति ।

(Kallinātha's commentary on Sangītaratnākara, p 860),

7 It is so stated in Yāṣṭikamaṭam, Manuscript No 12 of 745 Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras.

मतङ्गमुनिना प्रोक्तो नाम्ना हरिविलासः ।

having requested her Maṅgamuni to create the new device¹ In the Tamil epic *Siḷappadhikaram*² now generally assigned not later than 4th century B C, Matanga as a writer on music and dancing is mentioned and the commentary frequently quotes from his work. Considering that Matanga was thus mentioned as a Muni and father of Kālī (and so called Matangi) and that his views are quoted with reverence, we may say that his work could not have been composed far later than Bharata's *Nāṭyasāstra*³ Matanga quotes passages from Kohala and Śārdūla

960 There is a noteworthy tradition that Matanga's sons were Ḍaṭṭila and Kohala, that they married Suklā and Kṛṣṇā, daughters of Jhṛīkākā and that these damsels transformed themselves into rivers so as to be of incessant service to Yajnavalkya of Śrīmusnam In the *Sphalapurāṇa* of Śrīmusnam (in South Arcot District), a shrine where Śrī Viṣṇu is worshipped in his Varāhāvatāra, there is this passage (VIII 17-20)

शुक्ला कुण्ठेति नद्यौ द्वे विमानादुत्तरे शुभे ।
 शिक्षिकातनये पुण्ये मतङ्गस्य स्तुषे उभे ॥
 तयो पती च विख्यातौ दक्षिण कोहलोऽपि च ।
 मतङ्गस्य मुने पुत्रौ गीतशास्त्रविशारदौ ॥
 तयो पत्न्यौ च तौ नद्यौ शिक्षिकातनये उभे ।
 कोलदेवस्य पूजार्थं नदीरूपमवापतु ॥

961 *Brahmabharatam*⁴ represents the work of Brahma of Piṭāmaha The small portion that is now available in six chapters deals with Abhinaya It embraces Mārga, Nāṭya and makes no reference to *Deśī* at all There is no mention in it of any earlier work and

1 पुरा देवी महाकाली लासितु श्चमुना सह
 जनक प्रेक्ष्य पप्रच्छ मतङ्ग दीप्ततेजसम् ।

... ..

कालिकाया. कृता पूर्व मतङ्गनैव शिक्षिणी ॥—B T. O No 11596.

2 Chapter V, line 184.

3. In Kallināṭha's commentary on *Saṅgītaratnākara* (p 82) there is the following passage यथा यात्स्यहजमेवतारगतिर्मध्यमस्याप्यत्र सवादित्वादनाशित्वाच्च तारगती रुद्रेण कृता मध्यमस्येति न दोष इति मतङ्गोक्तम्. This might mean that Matanga was later than Rudrata It is presumed that there is some error here in the reading and that the sentence ends at न दोष and a quotation from Matanga has then been missed

4. The manuscript is with M. Ramakrishna Kavi, Madras.

from the scantiness of the details, the book forms probably the earliest record of the science. In his *Kutunimata* Dāmodaragupta describes a character Bhattaputra as proficient in *Brahma-Nātyasastra*

ब्रह्मोक्तनाट्यशास्त्रे गीते मुरजादिवादने चैव ।
अभिभवति नारदादीन् प्रावीण्य भट्टपुत्रस्य ॥

Padmabhū's (Brahma) view is mentioned by Sārādātānaya (*Bhav.* 47)

परिणेतु न शक्नोति तस्माच्छान्तस्य नोद्भव ।
तस्मान्नाट्यरसा अष्टाविति पञ्चभुवो मतम् ॥

962 Sadasivabharatam,¹ ascribed to Sadasiva, deals, so far as it is now available, with *Nāṭya*. It may be placed on a line with *Brahmabharata* for its merit and antiquity

Saḍāsiva's views are quoted by Sārādātānaya thus

प्रोक्तस्सदाशिवेनास्य स्वरूपाश्रयनिर्णय ।
“रसस्स एव साधत्वादसिकस्यैव वर्तनात् ॥
नातुकार्यस्य वृत्तत्वात्काव्यस्यातत्परत्वात् ।
द्रष्टुं प्रमोदनीडेर्यारागद्वेषप्रसङ्गत ॥
लौकिकस्य स्वरमणीसयुक्तस्यैव दर्शनात् ।”

963 Nandikesvara, or Nandin shortly, was the first to receive initiation into the science of music from Śiva. With his name are associated works on *Kāmasāstra*² and *Saṅgīta*, and his views have been referred to by later writers as a school of musical thought alongside of Bharata. While Bharata confined himself to music in relation to drama, Nandikesvara interested himself in the music requisite for ceremonies and festivals

BHARATARNAVA,³ in 4000 verses, purports to be a narration of the principles by Nandin to Sumati, an actor of Indra's stage at Indra's recommendation. It is avowedly the work of Nandikesvara. The manuscript in Tanjore Library has 5 to 14 chapters, that on *Abhinaya* only and is entitled *Guheśabharatālakṣaṇa*. The colophon reads thus :

1 Mys 309, also Ms No 1298 noted at page 308 though catalogue as *Āṭībhara-*
ṭam

2 So says Vātsyāyana — महादेवानुचरन् नन्दी सहस्रेणाध्यायानां पृथक्कामसूत्रं प्रोवाच ।

3- DC, XXII, 8785, TC, III, No. 2485, II. 1860. The *Tālaḍhyāyam* is with M Ramakrishna Kavi, Madras. On Nandikesvara, see S K De, SP, 24-26 (He is referred to Dāmodaramitra in his *Kutunimata* (8th century A D) along with Bharata as an ancient writer)

इति श्रीनन्दिकेश्वरीवरचिते भरतार्णवे नाट्याण्डे सुमतिबोधके सप्तलास्यप्रकरणं नाम
चतुर्दशोऽध्यायः ॥

It is likely that the part of which this is a chapter is called Nātyārṇava¹

BHARATARTHACANDRIKA² is an epitome of Bharatārṇavam and is in the form of a dialogue between Nandin and Pārvaṭī and deals so far as it is available with Abhinaya

ABHINAYADARPAṆAM³ in 13 sections deals with gesticulation, and the colophon says it is a part of Nandikesvarabharaṭam Its commencement presumes that there was a prior portion of which it is but a continuation.⁴ It is also a narration by Nandin to Sumatī at Indra's instance, it is probable that it is a chapter in Bharatārṇavam and Nandibharaṭam is another name for Bharatārṇavam

But later writers have expressed that Nandikesvara differed widely from Bharata not only in his theories but also in the nomenclature Abhinavagupta for instance quotes a verse as Nandinmata in connection with Mṛṅgala⁵ Raghunāṭha is more explicit in that he says he referred to Nandīśvarasamhitā and that Aumāpātaṁ does differ from Bharata's Nātyasāstra Kallinātha contrasts the views of Bharata with those of Nandin and Maṅgala⁶

1 DC, XXII 8785, Tanj XVI. 7224 The manuscript of Tālaśāstraṇam (Ibid 7312) begins with नन्दिकेश्वराय नमः

2 DC, XXII 8787

3 Ibid 8717 Ed Madras. Ed Cambridge by A K Kumarasami.

4 अथेदानीं तु हस्तानां लक्षणं प्रोच्यते मया ।
असयुतास्सयुताश्च हस्ता द्वेधा प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

5 यथोक्तं नन्दीश्वरमते —

षोडशस्यपि वर्णेषु भेदा पञ्चदशोदिता ।

ताडने ग्रहसन्धानमोक्षे मुखचतुष्टयम् ॥ (Oṇap 84).

"The school of Nandikesvara seems to be older than Bharata's and from the available works bearing on Nandin, one is tempted to say that he has developed conventional side of natya, sangita and nritya to a remarkable degree Bharata seems to have rejected much of Nandin's technique and accepted only such forms as are really found in actual life or just to suit the theatrical conventions which he calls natya dharmi. Kohala and Maṅgala seem to follow Bharata at the same time bringing in extraneous forms that are in vogue on the conventional side, of course basing their authority on Bharata himself as having given sanction by his expression" M R Kavi, *Int to AB* See V Raghavan, *Nāṭyaḍharmas and Lokaḍharmi*, JOR. -VII. 359.

6 Poona Edn. p. 47.

We have now therefore two sets of works, both going under the name of Nandin, the one agreeing with and the other differing from Bharata. Until the Samhitā mentioned by Raghunātha is discovered, for which there is yet hope, we cannot say whether Bharatārnavam is really the composition of Nandikesvara.

964. Among Purāṇas, some have chapters on dancing and music, Vāyu (chap. 24-5), Mārkaṇḍeya (chap. 21) and Viṣṇuḍharmottara (chap 16-14).

There are several names of the Hindu Pantheon of gods and demi-gods that are quoted for their views on music and dancing, Mādhava (Viṣṇu), Gaṇeśa, Sanmukha, Vāyu, Durgāsakti by Maṭaṅga, Viśvāvasu, Ānjaneya and Vyāsa by Śāradāṭaṇaya Rāvana Rambhā, Kāmaḍeva, Ḍakṣa Prajāpati.

Nārada mentions Hari, Kamalāśya, Brahma, Candī, Sanmukha, Bhṛṅgī, Sarasvatī, Kubera, Bālī, Viśvakarman, Kuśika, Angada, Guna, Saṃuḍra and Vikrama.

KAMADEVĀ

चरणनृलक्षणं तु कामदेवेन—

उद्धता वाद्यवक्त्रेषु * * *
सरसान्दोलनानाप्रसादपदशुम्भनात् ।
* * * * *
करतालैरनुगत पादन्यासैस्समुद्यतम् ।
असौैरपि लौहिल शून्यं नृत्यं वितन्यते ॥

—Tāḷalakṣaṇa (DC, XXII, 8726)

VASUKI

नानाद्रव्यैषधैः पाकैर्यज्जनं भाव्यते यथा ।
एव भावा भावयन्ति रसानभिनयैस्सदा ॥
इति वासुकिनाप्युक्तो भावेभ्यो रससम्भवः ।

—Śāradāṭaṇaya (Bhav 37)

[The verse is quoted in Nāṭyaśāstra, but omitted in GOS Edn.]

ḌAKṢA PRAJĀPATI

दक्षप्रजापतिरपि—

अवधानानि गान्धर्वं पञ्चाक्षरपदादयः ।
अवधानातिरेकेण त्रिविधं नौपपद्यते ॥

इत्याह—Simhabhūpāla's commentary on Saṃgītaratnākara,

DHENUKA

कीदृक्षो नयमार्गे धेनुकरचिते च ताळके कीदृक् ।
 श्रेङ्गणकादावेव पृच्छति दृलोपदेशक यत्नात् ॥

—Kuttanīmata, 82.

DRAUHINI

सात्वती वृत्तिरत्नस्यादिति द्रौहिणिरब्रवीत् ।
 (on Prasāṅganātaka)—Śaradātanaya (*Bhāv* 239)

965 KAMBALA AND ASVATARA. According to Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa (Chap 21) Kambala and Asvatara propitiated Sarasvatī and learnt music and sang Śiva's praise .

नादविधां परां लब्ध्वा सरस्वत्याः प्रसादतः ।
 कम्बलाश्वतरौ नागौ शम्भो कुण्डलतां गतौ ॥

—Dāmodara's Saṅgīṭadarpana

SWATĪ played Bhāṇḍavādya in the first drama in Indradhvaja festival enacted by Bharata, while Nārada did the music. So says Bharata

सातिर्माण्डनियुक्तस्तु सह शिष्यैस्सयम्भुवा ।
 नारदाद्याश्च गन्धर्वा गानयोगे नियोजिताः ॥
 सातिनारदसयुक्तो वेदवेदाङ्गकारणम् ।
 उपस्थितोऽहं लोकेषं प्रयोगार्थं कृतान्जलि ॥

—Nātyasāstra I.

and Abhinavagupta's commentary thus summarises Swatī's discovery of Puṣkara :

साती ऋषिविशेषः येन जलधरसमयनिपतत्सलिलधारावैचित्र्यामिह्न्यमानपुष्करदल-
 विलसितरचितविचित्रवर्णानुहरणयोजनया यथासं वृत्तिनियमेन पुष्करवाद्यनिर्माणं कृतमित्यर्थः ।

as set out by Bharata in Nātyasāstra (XXXIII, 5-12)

VYASA

अस्याङ्गमेकं मरतः द्वावङ्गाविति कोहलः ।

व्यासान्जनेययुरवः प्राहुरङ्गत्रयं यथा ॥

—(on Uṣṛitīkāṅka) Śaradātanaya (*Bhāv*, 251)

966. KASYAPA, sage, is quoted by Abhinavagupta (and other writers) as an authority on Saṅgīta and he gives a long extract, on the tunes appropriate (vinīyoga) to each rasa and bhāva. He says

‘तत्तल्लक्ष्यप्रबन्धगाने प्रायोगिककश्यपादुद्दिष्टं (कश्यपाद्युद्दिष्टं) विनियोगजातं कथ्यते ।’
 इत्येष कश्यपाद्युक्तो विनियोगो निरूपितः ।

And *Hṛdayaṅgama*, commentary on *Ḍandin's Kāvyaḍarsa* (Madras Edn p 3), mentions *Kāśyapa* and *Vararuci* as ancient writers on *Alankāra*

पूर्वेषा काश्यपवररुचिप्रसूतीनामाचार्याणां लक्षणशास्त्राणि सहेत्य...

Nanyadeva often quotes from *Kāśyapa*, as also from a *Bṛhaṭ-Kāśyapa*

967 *Nārada*¹ is according to Hindu mythology the divine bard and he is represented as playing on the *Vinā*. So is *Sarasvatī*. *Nārada* was the son of *Brahma* and was naturally the first to be initiated into the musical art. Besides being cited as an authority in the *Tantras*, *Nāṭyasāstra* mentions that *Bharata* took *Nārada* and *Swātī* with him when he got leave of *Brahma* for his first performance at *Dhvajamaha*². *Nārada* was indebted for his views on music to *Nāradaopanīṣat*³ and the principles therein enunciated were developed by him in his *Śikṣā*. Among the works that go under the name of *Nārada* is *Nāradiyaśikṣa*.

968 *Naradasikṣa*⁴ deals with the music of the *Sāma Veda*. In the *Śikṣas* of *Saunaka*, *Āpiśali*, *Vyāsa*, *Vyādi* etc., *Nārada* is referred to as an authority. *Bharata* follows the views of *Nārada* on *Sāmasvara* and elsewhere quotes a verse from it⁵. *Abhinavagupta* refers to it in several places⁶. The whole of *Śikṣā* was reproduced in *Nāradiya-*

1 *Nāradaśataka* by *Vālmiki*, *Nāradaśloṭra*, *Nāradaṇḍanāṭra* and *Nāradaṇḍilāsa-kāvya* by *Tribhuvanālāla* are noted in *CO*, I, 287

2 स्तानिनारदसंयुक्तो वेदवेदाङ्गकारणम् ।

उपस्थितोऽयं ब्रह्माण प्रयोगार्थं कृताञ्जलिः ॥ I, 49-50.

ध्रुवासंज्ञानि तानि स्युर्नारदप्रमुखैर्द्विजैः ।

गीताङ्गानीह सर्वाणि विनियुक्तान्यनेकशः ॥ XXXII 1.

3. Ed. Bombay.

4. Ed. by S. Samasrami, Bombay.

5 आचार्यास्तममिच्छन्ति पदच्छेदस्तु पण्डिताः ।

क्षियो मधुरमिच्छन्ति विकृष्टमितरे जनाः ॥ XXXIY 119.

6 For instance

अत्र नारदाद्या नामनिर्वचनमकार्षुः । नासां कण्ठमुरस्ताल्लङ्घिणां दन्ताश्च य . . . त् ।
बह्व्यस्तञ्जायते बह्वजः—इत्यादि . . . XXVIII 18

अत एव सामवेदे ग्रामविभागाभावात् तदुपयोगिन्यां नारदाद्यशिक्षायां तदभिधान-
मौचराधर्ममात्रमेवतुक्तम् ।— XXVIII, 25.,

purānam These references are sufficient to show that Śikṣā is an ancient work entitled to priority over the extant Nāṭyasāstra. As a special feature of Śikṣā we may mention the recognition of Gāndhāragrāma, a stage that cannot be reached by the human voice, and this therefore was ignored by Bharata and his school¹ Though the definitions and particulars of Śrutiś agree in Bharata and Nārada, they differ in terminology The opinions of Nārada were gradually departed from, and while Bharata's differences were only limited, Maṭanga reached a very wide divergence

Nāṭyaśikṣā is in two parts, each consisting of Khandas or chapters It deals with the music of Sāman, generally and particularly as chanted at sacrifices It furnishes the link between vedic and post-vedic music and is the earliest extant record of musical divisions and terminology. There is a commentary on it by Śubhankarā,² who was the author of Saṅgīta-Dāmodara and lived before the 17th century A D

969 The other two works attributed to Nārada are Rāganīrūpaṇa³ and Pancamasārasamhita.⁴ Ḍaṭṭila-Nāṭyasaṁvāda⁵ in three chapters deals with Rāgaś, Śrutiś and Svaras Because there is a reference in it to the name of Śārngadeva, it must be said that it is a later compilation of Nārada's views, as expressed in earlier books, and many of the verses in it are quoted under Nārada's name by writers earlier than Śārngadeva

970 Sangitamakaranda of Nārada is a later work In two parts Saṅgīta and Nṛṭya, of four chapters each, the views of Nārada Rṣi

1 Some scholars have expressed the opinion that Śikṣā is a late work of the 10th or 12th century A D In Popley's *Music of India*, 14, it is said "It shows considerable development on the Nāṭyasāstra in its *raga* system and in a number of matters agrees with the Kudimiyāmalai inscription where that disagrees with the next important treatise, the Saṅgitaratnakara" The imaginary development in the rāgas is due to difference in views between Nārada and Bharata. The Kudimiyāmalai inscription has not yet been rightly interpreted

Aufrecht (CC, I, 287) gives the name as Bhaṭṭa Śobhākara.

2. The full manuscript is with M. Rāmakrishna Kavi, Madras and an incomplete copy in Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras

3 Ed. by D. K. Joshi, Poona It is a metrical description of 140 ragas. Quotations are given in Saṅgītanārāyaṇa of Nārāyaṇadeva e.g., नारदसहितार्या चत्वारिंशद्वतरागानिरूपणः,.....

4. CC, I, 287

5 The manuscript is in the Oriental Manuscript Library Madras

are followed here and there is a reference to him in the prefatory benediction. It mentions two divisions of rāgas, principals and their wives, and classifies musical sounds into five kinds according to the source of percussion.¹ It mentions Mahāmāhesvara,² that is, Abhinavagupta, in dealing with the faults of the singer and its definition of Gāndhāra is almost repeated by Sārṅgadeva. It may therefore be assigned to 11th century A D.

971 Veda's Sangitamakaranda³ is a large treatise on music and dancing and in it are mentioned the later forms of modern dancing as influenced by European and Mohamadan art. Veḍa was a poet of the Court of Shahjī, father of famous Śivājī, who was known as Makarandabhūpa and was tutor to the king's son Śambhu, elder brother of Śivājī, early in 17th century A D.

972, Ānjaneyabharaṭam⁴ is a revelation of the science of music by Ānjaneya to Yāstika. So says Raghupāṭha Yāstikamaṭam,⁵ as is now available, deals only with music and seems to be only an epitome of it. Later writers speak of Yāstikamaṭam synonymously with Ānjaneyamaṭam. According to Kallināṭha, Yāstika adopts the view of Maṭanga on rasas but with altered terminology.⁶ Śārādātanaya and Kallināṭha quote Ānjaneya's (Māruti) views

i ये मावा रागचिह्नानि स्त्रीणामुक्ता पृथक् पृथक् ।
साधाराणास्ते सर्वासां स्त्रीणामित्याह मारुतिः ॥

—Śārādātanaya (*Bhav* 251)

ii तथा वाह आज्ञनेयः—

येषां श्रुतिस्वरमामजात्यादिनियमो न हि ।
नानादेशगतिञ्छाया देशीरागास्तु ते स्मृताः ॥

—Kallināṭha

1. Ed. M R Telang (*GOŚ*) Baroda with a preface and an appendix of works on music

2. So does he call himself in the colonbens to his works, particularly a commentary on Nāṭyaśāstra and Śārādātanaya says that Bhoja and Abhinavagupta were the only two writers who well dealt with Gīṭadōṣa

3. *Tanj.* XVI 7268. The manuscript is dated 1650 A D

4. *Mys.* 809

5. Ms. 12 of 745 Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras. Some verses attributed to Maṭanga and Kohala are also found in this book.

6. Poona Edition, page 858. Ānjaneya is quoted in Sangitadarpana (*CG*, I 41)

CHAPTER XXVI.

Sangita

(MUSIC AND DANCING)

973 Sangita comprehends Gīta, Nāṭya and Nartana. So says Caṭura-Dāmodara

गीतं वाद्य नर्तन च त्रयं सङ्गीतमुच्यते ।
मार्गदेशीविभागेन सङ्गीतं द्विविधं स्मृतम् ।
यत्पुरा ब्रह्मणोद्दिष्टं प्रयुक्तं भरतादिभिः ।
महादेवस्य पुरतस्तन्मार्गाख्यं विदुर्बुधा ।
तत्तद्देशस्थया रीत्या यत्स्याल्लोकानुरञ्जनम् ।
देशे देशे तु सङ्गीतं यत्तद्देशीयं गीयते ॥

Śṛṅgārasekhara thus explains* भरत

मकारो भावनैर्युक्तो रेफो रागेण मिश्रितः ।
तकारन्तालमित्याहुर्मरतार्थविक्षणाः ॥

The divine origin of Sangita is often referred to with veneration by several authors. In Bharatalakṣaṇa of unknown authorship, it is said¹

आङ्गिकं भुवनं यस्य वाचिकं सर्ववाङ्मयम् ।
आहार्यं चन्द्रतारादि तन्मुमः सात्त्विकं शिवम् ॥
वागीशो भरताय नाट्यनिगमं सदिष्टवान्ममतो
गन्धर्वैः समर्पितश्चरस्य पुरतो नाट्यं ततानाशु सः ।
स्मृत्वा तण्डुमजिग्रहतदखिलं शम्भुर्मुनिभ्यः पुनः
सन्दिष्टं भरताय तेन भुवने प्रख्यापितं तैरिदम् ॥

Kohala in Tālalakṣaṇa says ;²

तकारश्चङ्करः प्रोक्तो लकारश्चक्तिरुच्यते ।
शिवशक्तिसमायोगात्तालनामाभिधीयते ॥

1 *Tanj.*, XL, 7247.

2 *Tanj.*, XL, 7245

3 *DC*, XXII 8726.

In dealing with different kinds of Rāgas, forms and attributes, Rāgasagara records a discourse between Daṭṭila and Nārada giving R̥ṣi, Chanḍas and Dhyāna of each rāga and predicating that Sangītasāstra conduces to bliss temporal and eternal ²

एतानि सर्वरागाणां ध्यानानि मुनिभिः पुरा ।
 कथ्यन्ते सर्वशास्त्रेषु निश्चितानीति सर्वदा ।
 एतत् सङ्गीतशास्त्रं तु सर्वकामफलप्रदम् ॥
 अनन्तहरिरूपाख्या रागमासिताम् ।
 तदाखा(ख्या)यनभावेण भुक्तिमुक्तिफलं लभेत् ॥
 पुत्रपौत्रकरं नृणां राज्ञां राज्यप्रदायकम् ।
 एतच्छास्त्रं सदा विष्णुहरयोः प्रीतिदं भवेत् ॥

974 SARNGADEVA commences his work thus

ब्रह्मप्रन्थिजमास्तानुगतिना चित्तेन हृत्पङ्कजे
 सूरीणामनुरज्जकं श्रुतिपदं योऽयं स्वयं राजते ।
 यस्मादग्रामविभागवर्णरचनालकारजातिक्रमो
 वन्दे नादतनु तमुद्भुरजगद्गीतं मुदे शकरम् ॥

In his commentary on Sangītaratnākara Gangārāma thus describes Sītā

जीयाद्वाघवसुन्दरी कुलपतिर्यां नादभूर्माश्वरी
 या सादिस्वरनुपुरारणितयुक्ता नोभूवालापकी (?) ।
 ग्रामादित्रिकसप्तकावधिमयी मूर्छासमुच्छ्रायगा
 सा श्रीचक्रमयीषितुः श्रुतिगुणीभूता विदेहात्मजा ॥

975 God Śiva in his well-known aspect of Natarāja is pre-eminently the Lord of Dances. Tradition attributes Nāṭyasāstra to its earliest form to his divine authorship. It was the rattle of the drum (Dhakkā) played at the end of Śiva's dance that once gave out 9 plus 5 sounds, which constituted the Māheśvarasūtras forming the basis of Pāṇini's grammatical aphorisms.²

1 DC, XXII 8748

2 Definitions and particulars of varieties of Śiva's dances are given in T. A. Gopinatha Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography*.

The Aphorisms¹ are

I अइउ ण्	VIII क्षम च्
II ऋल क्	IX धढय ष्
III एओ इ	X जवगडद श्
IV ऐऔ च्	XI खफलठथचटत व्
V हयवर ट्	XII कप य्
IV ल ण्	XIII शषस इ
VII वमळणन म्	XIV हल्

नृतावसाने नटराजराजो ननाद ढक्कां नवपञ्चवारम् ।

उद्धर्तुकामस्तनकादिसिद्धानेतद्विमर्शे शिवसूत्रजालम् ॥

Thus Nandikeśvara begins his Kārikas of 27 Ślokas on Māhesvara-sūtras, and expounds their mystical significance. Nāgesa extracts this first verse in his Śabdendusekhara as from *Nandikeśvarakūrītū*. There are some commentaries on the Kārikas, one of which is by Abhimanyu.²

Thus Śiva is the father of all that relates to *nāda* or sound, and so of the sciences of grammar and music. In *Ruḍra-damarūdbhava sūtra-vivarana*,³ there is an elaboration of this tradition that those sounds are the origin of music. The Nepal Library has another work *Bharaṇanāma-dīpakanāda-sāstra*.⁴

"The dance represents Siva's five activities (*Panchakriya*), namely, *Sṛṣṭi* (creation), *Sṭhiti* (preservation), *Samhara* (destruction), *Tirobhava* (illusion) and *Anugraha* (salvation), symbolised in the iconographic equivalents of the sounding drum, the hand of hope, the hand holding fire, the foot trampling on the demon *Muyalaga*, and the uplifted left foot. Its deepest significance is felt when it is realised that this dance takes place within the heart and the self. Everywhere is God and Everywhere is the heart. The essential significance of Siva's Dance is threefold: first, it is the image of Rhythmic Activity as the Source of all movement within the Cosmos which is represented by the Arch (or the *prabhamandala*), secondly, the purpose of his dance is to release the countless souls of men from the snare of illusion; thirdly, the place of the Dance, *Chidambaram*, the centre of the Universe, is within the

1 On the linguistic aspect of these aphorisms see Introduction.

1 *CO*, I 277, *BTC*, 41, *Oudh*, XIX 54

1 *Bh* 519.

2 *Nepal*, 281

heart¹ Of all the impressions which the pilgrims to the sacred shrines along the Western Ghats carried home with them, the most vivid must have been the gorgeous spectacle of the sun in its descent towards the ocean, illuminating tier after tier of the rocky precipices and the forest-clad ravines with its slanting rays of crimson and burnished gold, until at the time of evening prayer (*sandhya*) it touched the far off sea horizon and began the sacred Dance in response to the ceaseless time-beat of the waves—the Dance of the Cosmic Rhythm which all the Rishis and all the Devas knew In fair weather, it was only a gentle swaying moment like the fluttering of the falling leaves in the forest on a still autumn evening, for Siva then only manifested his benign aspect But even the setting sun flashed fierce red rays through banks of purple cloud and Siva's mighty drum began its thundering beat along the shore, while the long snake-like rollers sowed their glittering teeth, the Great God revealed himself in his tremendous world-shaking dance, the *Tandavam* which summed up the threefold processes of Nature, creation, preservation and destruction, and woe betide the the unhappy mariner who was whirled within the ambit of that awful Dance, The corpses strewn along the shore next day increased the unrelenting toll, which the Lord of Death always demands from his worshippers Such was the constant mental stimulus which the brahman at his evening meditation on the Western Ghats received from the wonderful nature he saw around him, until the Sacred Dance of the Cedric ritual with which he responded to the prompting of his spiritual self became interwoven with his philosophy and took a permanent place among the temple icons of the Deccan and Southern India, the natural imagery being translated into metaphysical concepts, for the brahman like the Platonic philosopher, used the beauties of earth as steps by which he climbed upwards to the higher planes of thought ”

976. MRDANGAI AKSANA, an anonymous work in Purāṇic style, thus gives a legendary origin to the musical drum, *mṛaya* ,

पुरा मुरासुरो नाम देवानामन्तको बली ।
 वृत्रासुरस्तु बलवानितावु (मायु) तबलौ तथा ॥
 सत्रयागप्रवृत्ते त गङ्गातीरे मनोहरे ।
 हिमवत्प्रान्तकान्तारे मुनिभिः कलिते पले ॥

1 'A K Coomaraswami's article in *Siddhantaśāpiṭha* quoted by T A Gopinatha Rao, l. c. II 281.

2 E Havell's Monograph on *The Himalayas in Indian Art*

पुरोडाशनिमित्तेषु देवैस्साकं नियोध्यत ।
 तत्काले तु महाविष्णुस्सर्वलोकैकरक्षकः ॥
 मुराम्मुरं प्रगृह्णाद्य हृत्त्वसादौ (हृत्वा पादौ) (तथा शिरः) ॥
 चर्मणा तच्छिरस्थेन वामपार्श्वद्वय मिथ ॥
 तत्पादचर्मणो बभूव चतुर्विंशतिसङ्ख्यया ।
 तत्कुक्षिस्थेन पिण्डेन

* * * *

मुरस्य देहं हे नन्दिन् दिग्मुखे कण्ठविष्टरे ।
 मुखध्वनिर्महानासात् पृष्ठे धिमिधिमिमा इति ॥
 एव कृतं मया चाद्य तकादत्तं महारवम् ।

* * * *

तन्यतां मरतोक्तेन शास्त्रमार्गेण सदध्वनिः ।
 महाप्रलयकालस्य ताण्डवस्य च सन्निधौ ।
 मृदङ्गं वादयामास महानन्दी लयालुगम् ॥

977. Vedas are eternal and at the beginning of every cycle of creation after a deluge are only revealed. Such is the belief of the Hindu. Vedās are self-contained in any branch of knowledge and to Vedas therefore the Hindu looks to the original source of any science or art.¹

“The first public use of music by every nation has been in religious rites and ceremonies. The ancient Egyptians celebrated their festival with hymns. The classic Greeks used music in rhapsodising the Iliad. The Chinese, the Tartars and even the Negroes solemnised their worship with songs and dances. The reason is obvious. By music alone such rites and ceremonies and such worship could be amplified and prolonged and by music alone some state of feeling could be raised and sustained in a great crowd of people. Even in Italy, music—when it revived in 33 A.D.—was used only in connection with the

1 “MUSIC IS ETERNAL. In Greece, Pythagoras is said to have brought music under arithmetical rule and found that the seven planets were ever related to one another as the seven notes and as such, produced in their movements ‘the Music of the Spheres’ which in India, the Siva’s Dance or rather the mystic dance of Nataraja was perhaps intended to symbolise. One thing is certain that in both, Greece and India, music has come down from the beginning of the world and is deemed to be as eternal as God. Indeed in India music is ever associated with Saraswati.” Extract from *Hind* (19—9—1922) of lecture by M. S. Ramaswamia Aiyar

church The Aryans of India did not form an exception to the rule but chanted Vedas—Rik, Yajur and Sama, on all occasions of festivals ”

978 The literature of the Vedas reveals a good knowledge of music and musical instruments Besides Sāmaveda, of which the mode of expression is musical chant, we have in the rituals of the Yajus and Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras following Vedas mention of occasions in all sacrifices and many household ceremonies (such as Seemanṭonnayanam)¹ when Vīṭāgānam, and particular tunes too, are prescribed Passāges in Yajus indicate the existence of professional singers and it is stated in one place that women are enamoured of musicians —

1. तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मणे, III-9.

अपवा एतस्मच्छ्रीराष्ट्र कामति ।
 योश्चमेधेन यजते ब्राह्मणौ वीणागाधिनौ गायत ।
 श्रिया वा एतद्वृत्तम् । यद्वीणा ।
 श्रियमेवास्मिन् तद्वत् ।
 यदा खलु वै पुरुष श्रियमश्नुते ।
 वीणास्मै वाधते ।
 तदाहु , यदुमौ ब्राह्मणौ गायेताम् ।
 प्रभ्रग्शुकास्माच्छ्रीस्तथात् ।
 न वै ब्राह्मणे श्रीरमत इति । ब्राह्मणोन्यो गायेत् । राजन्योऽन्य ।
 ब्रह्म वै ब्राह्मण क्षत्रग्रजान्य ॥

II. यजुस्संहितायां, VII-5.

उदकुमानधिनिधाय दास्यो मार्जालीय परिद्वत्यन्ति पथो निघ्नतीरिद मधु गायन्त्योमधु वै देवानां परममन्नाद्य परममेवाक्षायमवरुधे पथोनिघ्नन्ति महीयामेवैषु दधति ॥

III. यजुस्संहितायां, VI-1.

अगायन्देवास्स देवाग् गायत उपावतंत तस्माद्गायन्तग् क्षिय. कामयन्ते कामुका पुनर्ग-
 क्षियो भवन्ति ॥

979. “ The Vedic Index shows a very wide variety of musical instruments in use in Vedic times Instruments of percussion are represented by the *dundubhi*, an ordinary drum, the *adambara*, another kind of drum, *Bhumi-dundubhi*, an earthen drum made by digging a hole in the ground and covering it with hide, *vanaspathi*, a wooden drum, *aghati*, a

1 Āpastamba prescribes in the ceremony, of *Simantam* शाश्वतमिति वीणागाधिवै सरशास्ति—*Grhyasūtra*, 14-4

cymbal used to accompany dancing Stringed instruments are represented by the *kanda-vina*, a kind of lute, *vana*, a lute of 100 strings, and the *vina*, the present instrument of that name in India This one instrument alone is sufficient evidence of the development to which the art had attained even in those early days There are also a number of wind instruments of the flute variety, such as the *tunava*, a wooden flute, the *nadi*, a reed flute, *bakurt*, whose exact shape is unknown”¹

980 “The SAMAN CHANT pivoted on two notes called *udatta*—‘raised’—the higher one and the *anudatta*—‘not raised’—the lower tone In course of time the interval between these was established as a fourth Then, later, the notes of this tetrachord received distinct names The highest was *prathama*—‘first’—then *dwithya*, *trithya*, *chaturtha*, down the scale These names are found first in the *Rikpratisakhya* Later, a note called *svarita* is also mentioned, this seems to be graded *udatta*, thus indicating a note higher than the *prathama* Later still we find this note definitely established and called *krushia*—‘high’ (*Taittiriya-pratisakhya*, 400) About the same time two other notes lower than *chaturtha* appear These are called *mandra*—‘low,’ and *atisvara*—‘extremity’ This last was an extra note and was usually sung only in the cadence of the Saman chant So we find the whole series of the seven notes, or *svaras* as they were called, of the octave”²

981 *Naradiyāsikṣā* thus connects the seven *svaras* of *Sāmāgāna* with the seven *svaras* of classical music

यस्सामगानां प्रथमस्स वेणोर्मध्यमस्समृत ।

योऽसौ द्वितीयो गान्धारस्तृतीयस्त्वृषभस्समृत ।

चतुर्थेष्वङ्ग इत्याहुः पञ्चमो धैवतो भवेत् ।

षष्ठो निषादो विज्ञेयस्सप्तम पञ्चमस्समृत ॥

1 Popley, *Indian Music*, 8

2 ‘Sama was the really musical portion of the Vedas and was indeed a *mélodie* melody for which words were found in the *Rik* or *Yajur* It was mainly vocal and its scale—like its Greek prototype—was conceived downwards as a descending series, namely, G R S N Indeed this scale was a primal tetrachord* of *Samagamanam* to the notes whereof the following names were respectively appended in those days, viz., *Prathama*, *Dwithya*, *Thrithya* and *Chathurthi* Later on, a higher note M was added to which name of *Krushia* was given and two lower notes D and P called *Mandra* and *Atisvara* completed the scale of *Samagamanam* *Rikprathisekya* however makes mention of three voice Registers or *Sthayees* as we call them, the *Ramayana* of *Jathis* and the *Mahabharata* of *Gandharagrama*”

* Tetrachord means group of four notes

<i>Saman.</i>	<i>Classical</i>
Swara 1	Madhyama (म)
„ 2	Gāndhāra (ग)
„ 3	R̥abha (रि)
„ 4	Sadja (स)
„ 5	Dhaivata (ध)
„ 6	Niṣāda (नि)
„ 7	Pancama (प)

Thus the first hymn of Sāmasambhita may be sung thus

ओग्न इ । आयाहि इवो इतो या आयि । तोया आ इ ।
सासास । गागागरिमासमागाग । मामागाग ॥

Nāradyasikṣa thus describes the svaras

षड्ज मयूरो वदति गावो रस्मन्ति चर्षमम् ।
अजाविके तु गान्धार क्रौञ्चो वदति मध्यमम् ॥
पुष्पसाधारणे काले कोकिलो वक्ति पञ्चमम् ।
अश्वस्तु धैवतं वक्ति निषाद वक्ति कुञ्जर ॥

Pāniniyasikṣā thus describes the sources of svaras

उदात्तश्चानुदात्तश्च स्वरितश्च खरास्त्रय ।
ह्रस्वो दीर्घः प्लुत इति कालतो नियमा अचि ।
उदात्ते निषादगान्धारावनुदात्त ऋषभदैवतौ ।
स्वरितप्रमवा द्वेते षड्जमध्यमपञ्चमा ॥

982 “The velocity of slowness of sound” observed Sir W Jones, “must depend, in a certain ratio, upon the rarification and condensation of the air, so that their motion must be quicker in summer than in spring or autumn and much quicker than in winter Hence the primary Ragas of the Hindus were arranged according to the number of Indian seasons This restriction of the six Ragas to the six seasons, added on to the fact that the subject-matter of the songs sung therein were nothing else than that of the Vedas, kept the running water of music crystal and pure It was however, when the Raginis and Puthras were introduced, that foreign elements, for the first time, mixed themselves into the original system and the strict discipline of the Indian music became not a little relaxed, just as the Italian music deteriorated immediately after the introduction of Madrigals into it Thenceforward the Indian music carried with

and to this ritual must be referred the institution of Devadāsīs, that is, unmarried damsels devoted to the service of God. During these worships the gods are invoked, particularly the guardians of the quarters, the Dīk-pālas, and during such invocation the times and tunes adopted are those dedicated to or liked by the particular God. Among the instruments used in these festivals are the pipes and drums and all available genius is displayed at the closing ceremonial of the day, when the deity returns to rest. It is in these Tantras that much of the old musical literature is preserved. Among them Yāmālāṣṭakatantras is valuable for the purpose of literary history. It is as it were an elaborate index of contents of Sanskrit works on all branches of knowledge.

Of the 32 Yāmalatantras, some treat of music and the passages are worth quotation. Among the Śākṭeyatantras, Uddisāmahoḍayam is valuable and in it we find a succinct description of 16 musical instruments. These tantras mention the names of various early views of Umāmaheśvara, Bharata, Nandi, Vāsuki, Nārada, Vyāsa, Durgā, Yāstuka, Daṭṭila and this mention conclusively determines the age of those writers as of a very remote antiquity.

Yāmālāṣṭakatantra says

गान्धर्ववेद. षट्त्रिंशत्सहस्रग्रन्थसम्भितः ।
 यत्र सप्तस्वरोत्पतिकथनं परिकीर्त्यते ।
 वीणातन्त्रं कलातन्त्रं रागतन्त्रं मनुजभम् ।
 भिष्वतन्त्रं ताळतन्त्रं गीतिकातन्त्रमेव च ।
 लासिकोल्लासिकातन्त्रं मेळतन्त्रं महत्तरम् ।
 जातिप्रहलयस्थानं मार्गाङ्गप्रक्रिया क्रिया ।
 कालज्ञानं वाद्यवल्लीविभिन्नाध्याय एव च ।
 तुरङ्गगतिसारङ्गसिद्धलीलाविजुम्भणम् ।
 अङ्गहारप्रविक्षेपाध्यायस्सक्षोभणक्रिया ।
 एवमादीनि गान्धर्ववेदे सन्ति सहस्रशः ॥

Of the 32 Yāmalatantras, the 9th, Kalātantra, treats of Rasa, Bhāva, Nāṭya and Kāmasāstra, and the 19th, Viṇāṭatantra, embraces the whole field of music.

एकोनविंश वीणाख्यतन्त्रं लक्षप्रमाणकम् ।
 नन्दमहाप्रणवसिद्धिर्न सिद्ध्यति वै नृणाम् ।
 विषादादिस्वरोत्पत्तिगतिर्विषोर्हि लक्षणम् ।
 रागाणां भेदकथनं रागकालानुकीर्तनम् ।

ध्वनिप्रमेदकथन मिश्रामिश्रावबर्हणम् ।
 ताळध्रुतिलयादीनामुद्भवश्चोपवर्णनम् ।
 चतुर्विधानां वीणानां लक्षण तान्त्रिलक्षणम् ।
 किन्नरस्वरयन्त्रादिलक्षण मेळलक्षणम् ।
 षड्गीतादिप्रकथनमुत्पत्तिस्थानवर्णनम् ।
 एवमादीनि कर्त्तव्यन्ते यस्मिन् तन्त्रे सहस्रश ॥

Troṭāḷaṭanṭra, the 28th, deals with Tāla

तोताळनामक तन्त्रमष्टाविंश सलक्षकम् ।
 यस्मिन् भरतसर्वस्व साक्षाच्छिवमुखोद्गतम् ।
 लक्षण ताळमेदानामङ्गुलीन्मानलक्षणम् ।
 मार्गक्रियाङ्गजातीनां कलाग्रहल्लयोद्भव ।
 ुवादिसप्तताळानां तद्भेदानां च लक्षणम् ।
 वैनायिकानामैशानां वाग्मवानां च लक्षणम् ।
 अन्येषां ताळकोटीनां शिवाग्रममुवां तथा ।
 विधानिमिश्रलीलानां यस्मिन् तन्त्रे प्रकीर्त्यते ॥

985. Uddisamahamantrodaya¹ appears to have been a work devoted to the rituals of worship of Siva under the name of Uddīśa. As usual with such works there are chapters in it, dealing elaborately with musical instruments, 16 in number in 16 separate chapters. The verse is fine and is in various metres.²

Kāsyapaṭanṭra has similar chapters on the subject

986 Indian and Western Music Popley sums up the main differences thus

1 "The dominant factor in Indian music is melody, while that of western music is harmony. In the one case notes are related to definite notes of a *rage*, and in the other case to varying chords. Indian melody is produced by the regulated succession of concordant notes, while western harmony arises from the agreeable concord of various related notes. As a result of this differentiation, Indian music has developed solely along the lines of melody, while the greatest development of western music has taken place in the region of harmony. Does

1 TC, III 3987 The name Tālavaiḍhāna there given does not seem to be correct

2 The instruments are all named, Tālanilayam, Sallari, Patana, Maḍḍala, Bherivigna, Himula, Thuthuka, Mithakkatha, Damaru, Murava, Angullisphota, Vina, Ālamanī, Rāvaṇahastaka, Uḍyanṭa, Ghoṣavaṭi, Brahmaka and each instrument has different kinds.

the fact that western music has developed a second dimension, so to speak, make it more advanced than Indian music? Can we call Indian Music has taken one line of development, that of melody, and in order to add to its charm and variety, has developed every phase of it, including time measure in ways that have never occurred to the western mind. These are two lines of development, and perhaps one has travelled as far along its line, as the other upon its line.

2. Then again, Indian melody is cast in one definite mood throughout, and both time and tune are wrought into one homogeneous whole. Variations are not allowed to alter that mood, which persists with the *rage*. The balance of the music is obtained partly by time variations and partly by grace. In western music mood is used to articulate the balance of the whole piece. The particular times for singing the different *ragas*, the *rage* pictures and the emotions associated with them all fit into this idea of the Indian melody.

3. Then again and perhaps most important of all, in Indian music the salient notes are fixed by long association and tradition, and any alteration of such saliency is not as a rule possible in a melody. The relation of the individual notes to one another is settled by ancient tradition. In western music, on the other hand, the salient notes are made by the momentary impulse of the harmony or of the counterpoint, and it is the cluster of notes rather than the individual note which has special value.

4. Further in Indian composition the melody is dependent upon the relation to certain fixed notes which vary according to the *rage*. It sets no store by any progress through notes which suggest harmony, whereas western melodies tend to circle round the notes which are harmonically related to the tonic. As a result imitation at different levels, so common in western music, is very rarely found in Indian music, and the two tetrachords are seldom identical in the character of their constituents.

5. Indian music lays great stress on grace, *gamaka*—‘curves of sound’. These are not mere accidental ornaments as in western music, but essential parts of the melodic structure.

6. The use of microtones in Indian music and the general absence of the tempered scale gives a very distinct flavour to it. To those whose ears have always been tuned to certain fixed intervals, this occurrence of quite different intervals, some of them most strange to

western ears, alters the whole feeling of the music Mrs Mann says 'Western music is music without microtones, as Indian music is music without harmony'

7 Another difference, that has a great deal to do with our appreciation or otherwise of music, is the matter of emphasis upon certain external qualities Western music rightly has come to lay very great emphasis upon tone and timbre, whereas Indian music passes these by on the other side and gives all attention to execution and accuracy The melody is not determined by canons of charm or pleasure, but by adherence to certain fixed standards, and the quality of tone in which the melody is sung or played does not have the importance it does in the west

987. RABINDRANATH TAGORE goes down to the fundamental causes of the difference between music of East and West

"It seems to me that Indian music concerns itself more with human experience as interpreted by religion, than with experience in an everyday sense For us, music has above all a transcendental significance It disengages the spiritual from the happenings of life, it sings of the relationship of the human soul with the soul of things beyond The world by day is like European music a flowing concourse of vast harmony, composed of concord and discord and many disconnected fragments And the night world is our Indian music, one pure, deep and tender *raga* They both stir us, yet the two are contradictory in spirit But that cannot be helped. At the very root nature is divided into two, day and night, unity and variety, finite and infinite We men of India live in the realm of night, we are overpowered by the sense of the One and Infinite Our music draws the listener away beyond the limits of everyday human joys and sorrows, and takes us to that lonely region of renunciation which lies at the root of the universe, while European music leads us a variegated dance through the endless rise and fall of human grief and joy"

988. In the earliest literature on Gāndharva there were several schools of thought propounded by Nandikesvara, Umāmaheśvara, Vāsuki, Sarasvatī, Nārada, Agastya and Vyāsa etc, Sārādātānaya mentions thus the names

सदाशिव. शिवा ब्रह्मा भरत काश्यपो मुनि. ।

मत्तङ्गो पाण्डिको दुर्गा षक्ति शार्दूलकोट्टकौ ॥

विद्याखिलो दत्तिलश्च कम्बलोऽश्वतरस्तथा ।
 वायुर्विश्वावसू रम्भासुनो नारदतुम्बुरू ॥
 आजनेयो मातृगुप्तो रावणो नन्दिकेश्वर ।
 स्वातिशुणो देवराज क्षेत्रराजश्च राहल ॥
 उद्भ्र(रुद्र)टोऽन्भिभूपालो भोजभूवङ्गमस्तथा ।
 परमर्दी च सोभेशो जगदेकमहोपति ॥
 व्याख्यातारो भारतीये लोलटोद्भटशङ्कुका ।
 मट्टोऽमिनवगुप्तश्च श्रीमत्कीर्तिधरोऽपर ॥
 अन्ये च बहव पूर्वे ये संगीतविशारदा ।
 अगाध बोधमन्थेन तेषां मतपयोनिधिम् ।
 निर्मध्य श्रीशङ्कदेव सारोद्धारमिम व्यधात् ॥

In Sangītamuktāvalī Devendra sums up the names of earlier writers on music

दुर्गाशक्तिदशास्यदत्तिलयुत. श्रीकाश्यपो याष्टिक
 प्रोक्त कम्बलकोहलावपि मुनि श्रीमातृगुप्तासुनौ ।
 देव क्षेत्रसमाह्वनावपि च तौ राजा तथा राहल
 प्रोक्त सोऽपि विद्याखिलश्च मुनय सङ्गीतविशेश्वरा ॥
 भोजराजो रुद्रसेन प्राज्ञ साभेश्वरोऽपि च ।
 सङ्गीतविद्याकर्तार कीर्तिता. सन्ति चापरे ॥
 व्याख्यातार इमे शङ्कुकोद्भटलोलटा ।
 मट्टाभिनवगुप्तश्च प्रोक्त कीर्तिधरोऽपि च ॥

989 Nandīśvarasamhitā was available about 350 years ago, but we now have the bare mention of it by King Raghunātha of Tanjore in his Sangītasudhā¹ Yāska's views are found summarised in 200 verses Nāradasamhitā is not available, but Nārada's views are found in Bṛhannāradaḍīyapurāṇa and Nāradopaniṣat Rāgasāgara is in the form of a dialogue between Daṭṭila and Nārada²

- 1 समीक्ष्य नन्दीश्वरसहितां तामालोक्य शास्त्र भरतप्रणीतम्
ग्रन्थ बृहद्देश्यमिध मत्तङ्गमुनिप्रणीत निपुण विलोक्य ।
विचार्य तां यष्टिकसहितां च ज्ञात्वा जनानन्दनसहिता च
उमापतेराधुनिकस्य तन्त्रमुद्गीक्ष्य नन्दीश्वरमतादुसारि ॥

2 See para 963 *supra*.

990 Aumapatam is an ancient but incomplete treatise on music, time, dancing and musical instruments, treated under 38 chapters. It purports to be a narration of Siva to Pārvatī, and begins ¹ with the origin of sounds (*nāda*) and the development of sounds into musical harmony. It differs in every respect from the works of Bharata, Matanga and Kohala ². That it was a modern epitome of Nandīśvara Samhitā is mentioned by Raghunātha in his Sangītasudhā ³. It was probably composed by Umāpaṭisivārya of Cidambaram, the well-known writer on the Saivite worship, who must have flourished earlier than the 12th century A D ⁴.

991 Bharata's work is the most renowned. Having learnt the science from the Creator, Bharata wrote two works, one the bigger in 12,000 verses and the other small in 6,000 verses. Thus says Śārādātanaya ⁵.

नाट्यवेदाच्च भरतास्सारमुदधृत्य सर्वतः ।

सङ्ग्रहं सप्रयोगार्हं मनुना प्रार्तितं व्यधुः ।

एक द्वादशसाहस्रश्लोकैरेक तदर्धेन ॥

1 TC, III 3515 The treatment of dancing is incomplete

2 प्रणिपत्य महेशानी शम्भुमासीनमन्तिके ।

पप्रच्छ तत्त्वतो ब्रूहि नादास्त्वद्रूपसमवान् ॥

3 For instance he gives 126 minor divisions of svaras while Matanga mentions only 66 and Bharata 22.

4. The whole of the 5th chapter is quoted by Caṭurakallinātha (p 228) in his commentary on Sangītaratnākara who lived in the days of king Devarāja II of Vijayanagar (1423-1446 A D)

5 See S Clement's Introduction to the *Study of Indian Music*, London. Here is an extract from a review of it in *JRAS*, (1914)

"An important chapter is that on the interpretation of the ancient textbooks, that is, the translation of relevant passages from the *Nāṭyāstra* of Bharata and the *Sangītaratnākara* of Śārāgadeva, with the author's comments. It embraces conclusions as to the ancient system of tuning, propounds the theory that the ancient system required twenty-five *śrutis* (not twenty two as the textbooks say), and offers a theory as to the origin of the Indian scales. In the commentary on v 25 of Bharata's ch xxviii an interesting experiment is described, showing the relation of the *śrutis* by taking two *śrutis* tuned in unison, and re-tuning one of them in successive stages. The experiment works out on the theory that the *śrutis* are equal. As Mr Clements says, they are not so, and the experiment is probably a merely theoretical one. But it has been the subject of great misinterpretation, and it would have been interesting to know the author's views on it. Unfortunately he breaks off his translation at this point. He has even been reproved by a critic for saying that Bharata thought the *śrutis* were equal in size, and the critic adduced this passage to prove that Bharata taught the very opposite. The text, it is true, is slightly corrupt, but it is in such a case where an interpreter, or at least a sound translator, is most wanted."

षड्मिश्रलोकसहस्रैर्यो नाव्यवेदस्य सम्भव ।
मरतैर्नामतस्तेषां प्रख्यातो भरताह्वय ॥

“Bharata attached more importance to rhythm than to time and devoted only 3 out of 27 chapters to music. He recognised the existence of 7 notes, of the four kinds thereof according to the number of sruthis between them and made mention of Grāmas, Mūrchanās and Jāthis. But it was significantly silent on those aspects, which had prior in its time degraded music, viz, the Raginis and the Puthras.”

992 Sanmukha, also mentioned as Guha was an old writer on music, but the original work of Saṃmukha is lost. Sangrahacūdāmaṇi¹ is said to form part of Skandapurāṇa, composed by Sanmukha. In three chapters, it deals with the origin of music, and musical tones. There are verses in it referring to Sadānanda and Śārngadeva,² clearly showing that it must have been written far later than 14th century A.D. and could not have formed part of Skandapurāṇa. At best this must be a reproduction of the lost views of Saṃmukha.

Sangīṭacintāmaṇi is written in the Purāṇic style, as taught by Śiva to Pārvaṭī, Nārada and others and apparently deals with the principles of Sāman chant.³

993. Arjunabharatam is the name borne by several works. The name indicates that the author was Arjuna. A work of that name composed by Nāgārjuna⁴ is now available only in fragments and treats of music only. Nāgārjuna⁵ was a Buddhist priest and lived in the reign of king So-to-po-ha-na. So says I Tsing.

994 ARJUNADIMATASARAM is an epitome on music by Madabhūṣi Venkātācārya, son of Anantācārya of Naiḍhruvakasyapagoṭra. He lived at Samalkot in East Godavari Dist. about 1880 A.D. He also wrote an allegorical play, Śuddhasaṭvām, after which name he was known later.⁶

1 The manuscript is found in Andhra Sahitya Parishat Library (Madras). Cyavana is mentioned as a writer on music.

2 मन कल्पितमार्गेण शास्त्रमुत्सृज्य दूरत ।
गायन्ति शार्ङ्गदेवाद्या ।

3. *Tanj*, XVI, 7265

4. *Tanj*, XVI, 7229.

5. Virabhadra Row (*Andhrula Caritam* I. 152) gives date 184-200 A.D. Tarana, the (*Annals of Tibet*) assigns him to 180-220 A.D. See his *History of Buddhism*.

6 Or. Ms. Library, Madras

995 Vālmīki has a fierce metaphor on Vīṇa play with Rāvana's prowess thus

मम चापमयीं वीणा शरकोणै प्रवादिताम् ।
 व्याशब्दतुमुला बोरामार्तभीतमहास्वनाम् ॥
 नाराचतलसन्नादां ता ममाहितवाहिनीम् ।
 अवगाह्य महारङ्ग वादयिष्याम्यहं रणे ॥

In *Syāmīlaka's Pādātāḍitaka*, there is a fine reference to Vīṇa play

इयमनुयति प्रियं कुद्धमेवा प्रियेणाहुनीता प्रसीदत्यसौ ।
 सप्ततन्त्रीर्नखैर्घट्टयन्ती कल काकळीपञ्चमप्रायमुत्कण्ठिता वल्यु गीतापदेशेन विक्रोशति ॥
 (Mad Edn) IV 24 43-44

996 **Rudra** or *Rudrācārya* is the author of a musical treatise, engraved on a rock at *Kudimiyāmalai* in *Pudukkota State*. His identity with *Rudrata*, the rhetorical writer is not probable. *Matanga* mentions a *Rudrata* as a writer on music and *Kallinātha* says so ¹

“यथा यावत् षड्जमेव तारगति मध्यमस्यायत्र सवादित्वात् अनाशित्वात् तारगती रुद्रटेन कृता मध्यमस्येति मतगोक्तम् ।”

So does *Sārṅgadeva*

रुद्रो नान्यभूपालो भोजभूवल्लभस्तथा ।

Abhinavagupta probably criticises *Rudrata* as having misunderstood *Bharata*.

रुद्रटादिमिस्तु एतमर्थमबुध्यमानै उक्तानां श्लोकपाठविप्रलब्धै सर्वत्रैव अष्टकस्य उक्त. (?)

It is quite likely that this *Rudra* was a far earlier writer and lived at the beginning of the Christian era ²

“The tradition is that his full name was *Rudrabhatta*, and that on one occasion the King extorted from the poet the promise that he should remove the letter *bha* from his name and should be known as *Rudrata*, his famous namesake and predecessor”

1 *MI, XII* 281, *Pudukkota State Inscriptions*, No 9 It is not established that he was the priest of King *Mahēndravikrama*, author of *Mataviḷasa*

2 Can he be the same as *Medhavi Rudra*?

In an inscription dated Śāka 1151 (*JBRAS*, XXIX 260) the following Canarese verse refers to Rudrata

Adarol nija namekshara vide sasira
Ponge kottadan Bidi panitu dinam
Padedam Rudratanembu padematam
Rudrabhattanurviyanadim

This shows that among the letters of his name he pledged one *bha* for a thousand gold coins, so the world called him by the awkward name of Rudrata

997 Madanapala was the son of Candradeva and king of Kanouj (whose inscriptions are dated 1104–1109 A D)¹ of Gahadavala dynasty. He was a patron of letters and after his name go a lexicon and a work on *Dharmasāstra*. His *Ānandasanjivana*² is a work on music

Vīrabhattadesika lived in the court of *Kākaṭiṣya* king Rudradeva and wrote *Nāṭyaśekhara* in 1160 A D

998 Jayadeva's *GITAGOVINDA* has been noticed. It is akin to the Song of Songs of Solomon in the Old Testament and has been translated with inimitable grace by Sir Edwin Arnold.

"It was only a lyrical composition to celebrate the triumph of true love between Radha and Krishna. It is true that Jayadeva assigned a definite Raga and a definite Thala to each of his 24 songs or prabandhas. Jayadeva's Ragas were Malava, Gurjari, Vasantha, Ramakari, Malavagowda, Karnata, Desakya, Desivaradi, Gowdakari, Bhairavi and Vibhasa, and his Thalas were Yathi, Roopaka, Eka, Nissara and Ashta. But can any one of the modern singers, either in North or South India, sing at least one of the 24 prabandhas in the Raga and Thala assigned by him? There was neither the notation to record the songs and transmit them to successive generations nor any scientific treatment in it whereby to teach or suggest the methods of singing them."

Besides commentaries already noted, there are others by *Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita*, *Rūpādeva* and one anonymous³

1 *IA*, XVIII 11; *BZ*, V App 18

2, *Bk* 509. The manuscript is dated Sam 1585.

3 *Tanj*, XVI 7386 40. See para 296 *supra*

999 **Kṛṣṇadatta** (Maṇḍala) interprets Gītagovinda as referring to Śiva instead of Viṣṇu and compares his feat with the work of Madhusūdana who wrested Mahimnastuṭi to the service of Viṣṇu

विशदितशिवपक्षां गीतगोविन्दटीका रचयति शशिलेखां मैथिल कृष्णदत्त ।

इह न विविधटीकाव्यजित कृष्णपक्षो विवृत उभयपक्षैकामिधेय पद वा ॥

शैव नाद्रियते सुधीरपि मत प्रायोऽधुना वैष्णवः

शैवो नैव च वैष्णव निजनिजासद्वासनावासित ।

मत्वेत्य मधुसूदनोऽपि मुरजितपक्षे महिम्नस्तुतिं

व्याचख्यौ जयदेवस्त्विमपि ता शैवे नयाम्यध्वनि ॥

1000 **Viṣvanāthasimha**, Chief of Rewah, of the Vaghela race (1833-1854 A D) wrote a poem Rāmācandrāhnikā in praise of Rāma on the style of Gītagovinda with commentary on it and under his patronage Priyadāsa, a poet of his Court, wrote a similar work Sangīṭa-Raghunandana in 16 cantos The latter work has also been by courtesy attributed to Viṣvanāthasimha¹

1001 **Candrasekhara Sarasvatī** the 63rd Ācārya of Kāmakotupīṭha of Kancī (1729-1789 A.D) wrote Śivagītāmālikā in 12 cantos² Cīna Bommabhūpāla wrote Sangīṭa-Rāghava in 6 cantos on the story of Rāmāyana³

Besides works mentioned in para 298 supra there are the following works are in the style of Gītagovinda Sāhajivīlāsagītam by Dhundhirāja, Sāharājastapaḍī, Sangīṭasundara by Sadāśiva Dīkṣita,⁴

1 *HPR*, Cat Nos 5055, 5259 Viṣvanāthasimha's ancestor was Bhavasimha (1660-1690 A D) Bhavasimha brought a copy of Somadeva's Kothasariṇṣāgara from Kashmir, had it revised and transcribed by pandits of his Court Among these pandits was one Rupanumśra who added 99 verses describing the genealogy of Bhavasimha and mentioning therein the names of the learned men of his Court, Balakṛṣṇa, Kīrti, Govardhana Vājaṇeyin, Lālamāṇi, Vallabha, Kamalanayana and Lakṣmaṇabhatta

"The Vaghela Rajaputs trace their descent from Virādhavala's son Vyaghadeva who migrated to Northern India from Gujarat in about 1238-4 A D His son Kama-deva got the fort of Bandhogarh from his father in law and Bandhogarh became the capital of the Vaghela Rulers After its destruction by Akbar in 1597 the town of Bewah was established at the capital (Rewah State Gazette, Vol IV, Lucknow, 1907). Since then the State is known by the name of Rewah State"—See Dr Har Datt Sharma's article on "*Some Vaghela Rulers and the Sanskrit poets patronised by them*"—published in Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's Comm Volume

2. *Tanj.* XVI. 7848-5.

3. *Tanj.* XVI. 7288

4. *Tanj.* XVI. 7839-49

Gīta-Gangādhara by Nanjarājasekhara,¹ Kṛṣṇagīta by Mānaveda² [Kṛṣṇahilāvīlāsa, Rāmāstapadī, Sankarasangīta of Jayanārāyaṇa,³ Sankarīgīta of Śārngadeva, Sangīta-Raghunandana of Viṣvanāṭha,⁴ Gīta-śānkara of Anantanārāyaṇa, son of Mṛṭyunjaya⁵

Nārāyaṇatīrtha's Kṛṣṇahilātaranginī has been noticed Vijaya-gopāla was almost his contemporary and composed many stray songs of devotion Bhadrādrivāsa's name is found in his Kīrtanas, but his real name is not known, his songs are simple and touching and are very popular These are included and printed in Bhajanotsavakaumuḍī published in Kumbakonam

1002 Nanyadeva (or Rājanārāyaṇa) was a king of Tīrhaut (Mīthila). He was subjugated by Vijayasena of Bengal in 1160 A.D. and probably (according to Levi) ruled in 1097-1147 A.D. He founded the Karnāṭaka dynasty in the valley of Nepal Besides a commentary on Bhavabhūṭi's Maṭaṇḍadhavam, he wrote a Bhāṣya on Bharata-nāṭya-śāstra, also called Bharatavārtika, Sarasvatī-hṛdaya-bhūṣaṇa or SARASVATĪ-HRDAYA-ALANKARA-HARA, in 17 chapters of about 10,000 granthas The manuscript is in the library of Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona

"Every step in the advancement of music was closely traced to the rites of the Vēdic Epoch, and every instrument was brought face to face with that used in the sacrificial rites by sacred *Rshis* He gives full information on every subject except on flute, where he is eclipsed by a voracious royal scholar, Kumbhakarna Some chapters treat of *sapta-gītis*, *deśi-gītis* and the ancient *tāla* system which are now obsolete The first of these topics was elaborately dealt with by Bharata, while the *deśi-gītis* the source of later *prabandhas* took a prominent place in the grand work of Matanga Dattila and Abhinava seem to have bestowed greater attention upon the *sapta-gītis*, knowledge of which was indispensable to the right understanding of the Vēdic rites in *Aśvamedha* and *Rājasya* Those seven sacred chants were first sung by Dakṣa-brahmā to propitiate gods *Ekatantrī*, *Pinākī* and *Kinnarī vinas* were introduced to produce all the graces of the seven songs when sung by

1 He was Nanjarāja, brother of Dalavoy Devarāja and son of Kalave Vīrarāja See para 938 *supra* and summary of *Papers* read at 8th Indian Oriental Conference Mysore (p. 80), that by A. N. Narasimha.

2 *Trav*, 84

3. Printed JSSP, Calcutta

4 *Āgāra*, II 45 *Oudh*, V 18

5 He was also called Pancaratnakavi, see para 153 *supra*

the *rśhu* Nānyadeva gives details for about 140 *āgas*. He is always careful to quote his authorities and thus on *āgas* his chief masters are Kāśyapa and Matanga. Sārṅgadēva covered a wider range of 260 *rāgas*, many of which were abandoned long before his day. Nandin also discussed about the same number. But Sārṅgadēva was not much indebted to Nandin for his materials which were directly taken from Nānyadēva for *rāgas* and from Abhinava for all critical matter, though he never mentions his creditors anywhere. A close comparison of Sārṅga's work with the production of Abhinava will reveal the astonishing insight with which he studied the psychology of the great philosopher Abhinava.¹

1003. Sārṅgadeva (Svastighṛī) belonged to an affluent family of Kāśmīr. His grand-father Bhāskara migrated to the Deccan. By the worship of Bhūllama his father Soddhala attained fame and established the sovereignty of King Singhana of the Yādava dynasty of Daulatabad (Deogiri) who ruled between 1132 and 1169 A.D.² Sārṅgadeva was the Auditor-General under that king. He was great not merely in music, but in medicine and philosophy. His literary attainments were of a high order and in him, he says, Sarasvatī had sought repose.³ He calls himself often as "Nissanka" and under that name he invented a Vīṇa.

His SANGITARATNAKARA is a well known treatise on music which embraces in it the views of all ancient writers, and has by its comprehensive treatment attained almost the first place in musical literature. It

1 He quotes two sages Āstika and Chāṭra not mentioned elsewhere. M. R. Kavi, "Literary Gleanings" *AHQ*, III. See R. C. Majumdar, *IBQ* VII 379, K. P. Jayaswal, *JBORS*, IX 310, X 87.

2 See Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Deccan*, Wilson, *Theatre*, gives the date between 9th and 12th centuries A.D.

3 So he writes

नानास्थानेषु सन्नान्ता परिश्रान्ता सरसती ।
 सहवासप्रिया शश्वद्विश्राम्यति यदालये ॥
 स विनोदैकरसिको माग्यवैदेग्ध्यभाजनम् ।
 धनदानेन विप्राणामार्तो सहस्रं शाश्वती. ॥
 जिज्ञासूनां च विद्याभिर्गदार्तानां रसायनै ।
 अधुनाखिललोकानां तापत्रयजिह्विषया ॥
 शाश्वताय च धर्माय कीर्तिनि श्रेयसाप्तये ।
 आविष्करोति सगीतरत्नाकरमुदारधी ॥

is not a mere epitome of the older works, but proceeds on an original definition and discussion. But the lapse of centuries since Śārngadeva's time has wrought a change in the modes and practices of singing, so that his description of Rāgas and Ṭālas differs from the actualities of this century. Śārngadeva recorded the art of his time and therefore gives us a glimpse of the progress of music in India.

1004 Sangītaratnākara is in seven parts and each part is divided into Prakaraṇas. The first, Swarādhyāya, treats of musical notes, scales etc. The second, Rāgādhyāya, contains definitions and examples of the different classes of melodies etc. The third called, Prakīrṇādhyāya, explains some technical terms etc. The fourth, Prabandhādhyāya, furnishes rules of composition etc. The fifth, Ṭālādhyāya, treats of measures of time. The sixth, Vādyādhyāya, deals with musical instruments and their use. The seventh, Nṛṭyādhyāya, explains dancing and acting.

There are commentaries on it by Simhabhūpāla,¹ Kesava,² Kallināṭha,³ Hamsabhūpāla, and Kumbhakarna and one anonymous.⁴ Gangārāma has written an elaborate commentary in Hindi.⁵

1005 Jagadekamalla Praṭāpacakravartīn was a Calukya king of Kalyān (1138-1150 A.D.)⁶ Śārngadeva mentions him with respect. He was a follower of Abhinavagupta. In five chapters, he composed SANGITACUDAMANI⁷ on music and dancing.

1006 **Somesvara or Bhulokamalla**, who ruled in 1116-1127 A.D.⁸ "devoted his entire attention to song and dance, so much so that models of South Indian music took the appellation of *Karnāṭa*, the land over which he ruled"⁹. He even condescended to get down from

1. Ed. by Kalivara Vedantavagisa, Calcutta (Swarādhyāya only). He is not the same as the author of the *Rasārnavaśaṅkhākara*.

2. The commentary is called *Kauṣṭubha* (Oriental Manus. Library). This and the commentary of Kallināṭha are said not to be satisfactory by Raghunāṭha.

3. *Tanj*, XVI 7270. Ed. (Anandāsrama series) by M. R. Telang, Bombay.

4. Named Candikā.

5. *Tanj*, XVI 7279.

6. See para 89 note.

7. The manuscript is in Andhra Sahitya Parishat Library (Madras).

8. *Mys. Ins.* Nos. 82, 84, 42, 44, *JBRAS*, XI 258, dated 1044 to 1149 A.D. See *IA*, VII app. 42, XII 212.

9. Henceforward South Indian music began to develop into distinct schools in the Karnāṭa and Andhra countries and became often blended almost unconsciously by

his throne to teach a certain grace in posture in a dance called Kundalī to a Mahratta dancer and henceforward it was called *gondm*

कल्याणकटके पूर्वं भूतमातृमहोत्सवे ।
सोमेश कौतुकी काचिद् मिश्रवेषपुपेयुषी ।
नृत्तन्तीमथ गायन्तीं स्वयं पेय मनोहरम् ।
प्रीतो निर्मितवान् चित्रगौण्डिनीविधिमिलयम् ।
स्वतोभिह्वी महाराष्ट्रगौण्डिनीलाभिधीयते ।

Prabandhas of pleasing combinations were productions of his Court In his *Mānasollāsa*² he has devoted 2500 verses to music and instruments and touched on new phases of music specially Prabandhas

One *Somesvara* is mentioned by Śaṅgadeva and Śāradātanaya along with Bhoja The identity of this *Somesvara* is uncertain

*Sangītaratnāvalī*³ described in the catalogues as *Ṣomarājadeva's* may not be the work of the king *Somesvara*. Probably he is "a *Pratibhāri* of the *Cālukya* king *Ajayapāla* of *Gujarat* (1174-1177 A.D.)"⁴

1007 Natankusam⁴ contains an able discussion of *rasa* and *abhinaya* and their mutual relations It deplores the misapplication of *abhinaya* in its days and illustrates the criticism by instancing a verse from *Saktibhadra's Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi*⁵ From a word *Mahima* in the first verse, it has been suggested that *Mahimabhaṭṭa* was probably its author and in any view it cannot be assigned to a date later than 14th century A.D. It refers to the drama *Pratīpnyāyugandharāyana* and to the heroine *Kurangī* (of the play *Avimāraka*) and the incident of *Yaugandharāyana's* fictitious self-immolation in fire (described in *Vīpavāsavadattā*)

vernacular adoption Thus says Venkatanāṭha in *Harasamudra* (of the 18th century A.D.)

इच्छुच्छये किसलयमथ तत्पमातरशुषणिं
सङ्घापैस्तैर्मुदितमनसां शालिसराक्षिकाणाम् ।
कर्णोदान्प्रव्यतिकरुभिदाकर्तुरे गीतिमेवे
मुद्यन्तीनां मदनकलुष मौग्ध्यमास्वादयेथा ॥

1 Ed *GOS*, Baroda.

2 See list of authors on music in *Saṅgīṭamakaranda*, *GOS*, Baroda, p. 56

3 On this, see Int. to *Bhāva-prakāśa*, *GOS*, Baroda, pp. 72-5

4. Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras.

5. Here the author refers to the tradition that *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi* was the work of *Sanhara*.

1008 Jayasenapati wrote *Nṛttaratnāvalī* in eight chapters, and deals with *mūṅga* and *ḍḍi* kinds of music. In the former he followed Bharata and in the latter, chiefly Someśvara, but all the latest improvements in dancing were also incorporated. It was composed in the year Ānanda, 1254 A D.¹ Jāyasenapati was the commander of elephant forces under Kākatiya Ganapati, king of Warrangal (1200-1265 A D).²

1009, Ragasagaram is a work in 3 chapters in Purāṇic style narrated in a dialogue between Nārada and Daṭṭa on the different kinds of rāgas, their forms and attributes. Seeing that later theories are adopted in it, and Sārnagaḍeva is mentioned by name, it could not be earlier than 14th century A D.³

1010. Parsvadeva was the son of Ādideva and Gaurī of the race of Śrīkantha and disciple of Mahādevarāya. He was a Jain and his belief is that music is a way to salvation, while Darsanas are not. He calls himself Sangitāsakara and Śrutynānacakravarṇin,⁴ Abhinava-Bharatācārya etc. He refers to kings Bhoja, Someśvara and Paramardīn and is quoted by Singabhūpāla and must therefore have lived in the 13th century. His SANGĪTASAMAYASARA is 9 aḍhikaraṇas, on nāḍa and dhvani, on sthāyis, on rāgas, on dhokki etc., on Vādyā, on abhinaya, on tāla, on vādyā, and on prastāra etc., and ends with ādhvayoga.⁵ He mentions writers king Pratāpa, ḍigambara and Śankara thus.⁶

i पञ्चतालेश्वरो यद्वा ह्यथ गद्यमथापि वा ।

आलोकमोक्षमेवोक्तं प्रतापपृथिवीमुजा ॥

1. *Tanj.* XVI, 7286

2. For Jāyasenapati's inscriptions, dated Saka 1185, 1188, 1187, see *RI*, III 84, V. 148, VI 39

For Ganapati's inscription, see *IA*, XXI 200, and some unpublished ones from Vaddamānu in Nizām's dominions are with M. Rāmakrishnakavi, *Mādhas*.

3. *DC*, XXII. 8742.

4. श्रीमद्यमयचन्द्रमुनीन्द्रचरणकमलमधुकरायिससस्तक - महादेवार्चिष्य - सरविमल-विद्यापुत्र सन्यस, वचूडामणि - भरतभाण्डीकभाषाप्रवीण - श्रुतिज्ञानचक्रवर्ति - सङ्गीताकरनाथधेय-पाथेदेवविरचिते सङ्गीतसमयसारे ॥

5. Ed. *GOS*, Baroda. But really the 1st chapter and 40 verses in 2nd chapter are left out and as it is printed it is only the 2nd chapter and not the 1st. *DC*, XXII. 8751; *Mys.* 809 (called *Sangitāsāra-saṅgraha*). He mentions Tumburu, Maṭṅga, Kāṭyaga, Daṭṭa, Kohala and Hanuman as writers on music

6. There is one Vikrama quoted in *Sangitāmakaraṇa*. Are these identical?

- II. केशवबन्धकरौ प्रौक्तौ तौ दिगम्बरसूरिणा ।
उत्तानावाञ्जितौ किञ्चित् पाश्वगौ त्रिपताकरौ ॥
- III. सकल निष्कल चेति वाद्यमेतत् द्विधा भवेत् ।
कथित शक्रेणेद एकतन्त्रीसमाश्रयम् ॥

1011. Śrī Vidyācakravartin. Vidyācakravartin II (Kālakalābha) was the son of Vaidyanāṭha and grandson of Vidyācakravartin I. He wrote Gadyakarṇāmaṇṭha, which true to its name, is an illustration of melody in prose. For instance, there is this description of an evening walk of Śiva and Pārvaṭī in the celestial gardens on mount Kailāsa accompanied by Vijayā, the hand-maid of Pārvaṭī

अत्रान्तरे वनलतान्तरितविग्रहा देवीपरिचारिकासु काचित्प्राश्रुतिका नाम कलमपुरा-
मिमां गाथासगाथयत् ।

तमसि सखि यूथिके लज गौरीनिश्वसितसौरभस्पर्धाम् ।
किमकृत समुच्चवसन्ती सासूय मालतीलतिका ॥

अथ श्रुत्वा निशीथसूचिनीमिमामार्यामुमापतिरुमया सह नमोस्तलाद्बुद्धिद्वित् । उत्थाय
च निजमिकेतनामिमुखं वृषभकेतनं कान्तया सह परिणतहिमकराकेसलयितेम कैलाससानुवर्तन-
जगाम । गौरी गच्छन्ती कचित्कुतूहलात् स्थलकमलदलशयनतलनिषण्णमितरेतराङ्गसंस्पर्श-
मुल्लनिमीलितलोचनमिव निद्रायमाणं हसमिथुनमाशिञ्जितनूपुरेण पदेन पस्पृष्टत् । ततस्तत्त्वर-
चालितमपि मुहुर्निशीथनिद्रा-तरमन्थरे कथमपि कृतकलगद्गदरवमुन्मील्य लोचने पुनरपि निमिमील
हंसयुगलम् । अत्र क्वचित्तरस्तीरसीम्नि विरहविधुरामधीरताहितारवामालिजनेन ग्राहयित्वा
चक्रवाकौ प्रियसमीपमानिनाय सा । पुनरानीता प्रियतममन्तिकगतमप्यजानती विधिषशादन्यतो
यान्ती करुणतरभाचक्रन्द चक्रवाकी । कुत्रचित्कान्तमनुसरतीमन्तरा कौमुदीमदविधूर्ण-
मानलोचनामपथप्रस्थितां निवार्य वर्त्मनि चकार चकोरीं चकोराक्षी । क्वचिद्गहिरवस्थितमधु-
करासुषोचितां विरहकृतविविधविलापां स्वरुचिपङ्कजोदरबन्धनस्थां मधुरीं विमिश्र मुकुलं
विजया करेण विमोचयामास ।

इत्थं विविधविहारव्यापृतां विनोदयन् दयितां मदचपलचकोरलोचनपुटपाटलिमपङ्कवित-
चर्चिकाप्रसरणं मन्दमासतादोलितशेफालिकापरिमल्लहरीपरिलम्बमानवटपदेन पदेन चन्द्र-
कान्तदृषाभिन्यन्दश्चेतश्चिरचैलेयसुरमिश्रिलतलेन (?) निशीथयूथिका मोदवासितवनदेवताकुन्त-
लेन निरन्तरविस्मरकैतकपरागधूसरचकोरकामिनीचरणेन रजताचलभेखलापथेन सविलास-
मालयमाजगाम ॥

1012. Vasudeva was the son of Vidyācakravartin II. He had two sons Mahādeva and VIDYĀCAKRAVARTIN III. Mahādeva was a

1. See artholes by M. R. Kavi and M. Doraisamayya in *Thrupati Śrī Venkateswara* (Journal now defunct), and paras 100 and 480 *supra*.

pious Brahmin who performed various sacrifices Thus his brother describes him —

श्रीवल्हमो यस्य सुतोऽतिरात्रयज्वा महादेवसमाह्वयोऽभूत् ।
बल्लालवृध्वीपतिरभ्यगच्छत् यस्माच्चतस्रोऽपि नृपालविधाः ॥
यस्तोत्रशस्त्रातुगतैरतन्त्रमावर्तमानैरतिरात्रयज्वा ।
इज्यातृषा सोमसवै पशूनां सारं समस्त तिसृणामचूषत् ॥
दौर्भाग्यमक्ष्णोर्मिषता हराद्भिः प्रमाप्ररोहैः शरणे यदीये ।
त्रीण्युद्धृताभिच्छलतोऽनुसन्ध्य त्रीणिधानान्यमिसज्ज्वलन्ति ॥

In his commentaries on Kāvya-prakāśa and Alankārasarvasva, he immortalised kings of Hoysāla dynasty and the martial glory of his patron Ballāla III (1191-1342 A D) Thus he says

बल्लालभूपस्य मनोमिरामैर्वाचां विलासैरतिवल्हमोऽभूत् ।
उन्मूलितस्थापितभूमिपालदेशेषु पथैरुपवर्ण्य गीता ।
उद्धृक्ता येन महाशिलासु बल्लालभूपस्य भुजप्रतापाः ॥
उदाहृतित्वेन नयैर्निबन्ध्य काव्यप्रकाशादिषु लक्षणेषु ।
निवेक्षिता येन जगत्समक्ष ख्यातिं गता होसलराजगाथाः ॥
वेदान्तयोगागमसङ्ग्रहीत्रा प्रकीर्णकस्यापि तदर्पणेन ।
व्याख्याय येनोपचितानि लोकैः काव्यप्रकाशादिनिबन्धनानि ॥
काष्ठा प्राप्तिरियं परा खलु परीपाकस्य माग्योन्नतेः
श्रीबल्लालनृपाल ! यदवयमिमौ पादौ तवोपास्महे ।
यस्तिष्ठेत् प्रतिहारसीम्नि भवतो रुद्धप्रवेशश्चिर
किं नासावपि चोल्पाण्यपृथिवीपालैः सम गण्यते ॥

(Kāvya-prakāśa-vyākhyā, page 144)

His life was spent in the royal courts He grew old He had sons who were as good and great as himself In his old age in order to purify himself of any वाक् कालुष्य (sins of the tongue) he wrote the glorious deeds of Lord Kṛṣṇa in his marriage with Rukmiṇī,

In his own words —

यश्चन्द्रमसमन्त्रासनामराधे स्फूर्तिर्महाराजपदैर्मुनक्ति ।
समासु राक्षां च विपश्चितां च साहित्यराज्यं कविचक्रवर्ती ॥
सोऽहं प्रवृद्धासुपभुज्य लक्ष्मीं प्रसूय पुत्राननुरूपशीलान् ।
विचार्य चात्मानमब्राह्मकामो विष्णु मजे बाह्वुषापनुजैः ॥
पराशरव्यासशुकोपदिष्ट यथाबदालम्भं कषाशरीरम् ।
ध्यावर्ण्यते भीष्मसुताविबाहः कलान्तमारभ्य हरेः प्रसूतिम् ॥

He has not altered the purāṇic story but by various descriptions he has heightened the poetic effect

दिव्ये कथावस्तुनि नात्र किंचिदुत्पादितं नापि विमिश्रितं वा ।

निलोपमेया रससारभूम्ना कृतौ वरं वर्णनसृष्टिरस्याम् ॥

Vidyācakravartīn II wrote commentaries on Virūpākṣaśāpan-cāsika, Kāvyaaprakāśa, Alankārasarvasva and Dasasloki. In Rūkmī-kalyāṇa the descriptions and tropes are fine and natural. The fifth canto excels in giving a beautiful and vivid picture of Kṛṣṇa's rāsakṛidā.

महीक्षजो मुकुलपाकपरार्थ्यगन्धा गोपस्य गोपसुदृशां च विलेपनाद्रा ।

इन्दो करावुपगता कबरीमरेषु पद्मावलीविदलनैर्गणयांबभूवु ॥

आन्दोलितस्फुरितकम्पितलीनमुख्यान्याकर्ण्य गीतगमकानि मुकुन्दवेणौ ।

रि च चमत्कृतिवथेन नमश्चराणामान्दोलितस्फुरितकम्पितलीनमासीत् ॥

श्लिष्टोमयद्रुतविनिस्सरणोत्तराणि व्यग्रापचङ्क्रमणवन्त्यविकीर्णरेषु ।

अर्धक्रमस्खलदनुल्बणलङ्घितानि रेखु पदानि सुदृशां चलनपूराणि ॥

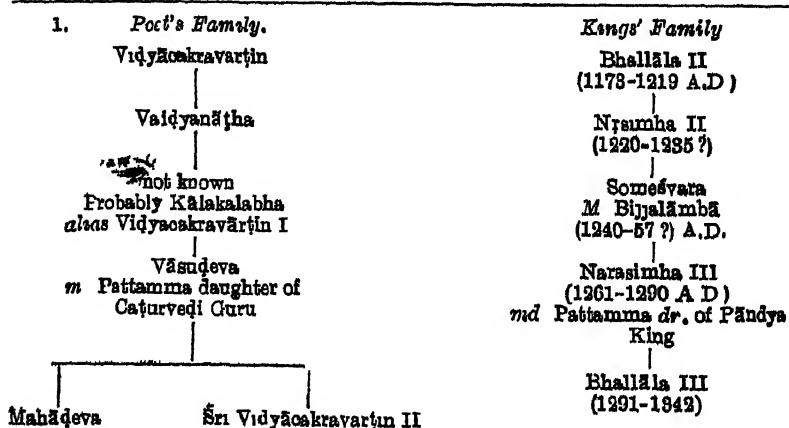
यो नायकोऽजनि स एव रसातिपाकाद्गोपीजनैः सह भवन्तुपनाथकोऽपि ।

एकाश्रया युगपदेव विद्वद्रूपा मुख्योपसर्जनदशां पतिराससाद ॥

खे खे सहाभिनयसीमि निरभ्यसूय प्रेमद्रुतान्तरतया परनिर्व्यपेक्षः ।

रूपेषु पार्श्वेयुगसाभिहितेषु विष्णोर्गोपीजनस्य बवृधे मदनोपचारः ॥²

Vidyācakravartīn quotes from his BHARATASANGRAHA in his commentary on Kāvyaaprakāśa. Thus he refers to dance-eye or Nṛtyadyakṣi³



1. See para 100 *supra*, also article on Mallikāṛjunasukṭisudhāṇṇavam (*Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1981, p. 81).

बुद्धिकारिता चक्षुर्विकारा इक्षित । उक्त हि मया भरतसग्रहे—

तारकापुटदृष्ट्यादे विकारानिक्षित विदु ।

आकारा सात्त्विका भावा पूर्वे बुद्ध्या परेऽन्यथा ॥

उक्त हि मया भरतसग्रहे—

सा न्यञ्चित न्यञ्चदपाङ्गमाव इति ।

1013 Haripala or Haripāladeva or Hari was the son of Kumari (?) and grandson of Somanātha. He was probably king Haripāla of the Yādava dynasty of Devagiri (1312-1318) who was killed by Mubarak in 1318 A.D. and not king Haripāla of the Calukya dynasty of Anhilvid (1145-1155 A.D.) He calls himself Vicāracaṭurmukha and Vipātantaṭraṭvīśārada and says he wrote 100 works of enchanting sentiments. He describes his own learning thus

बह्मभाषारचितास्पदा रसगुणालङ्कारिणी निस्तुषा

वक्त्री यस्य पर विहाररसिका जाता गिरां देवता ॥

When on a visit to the shrine of Śrīrangam, he stayed there for some time and at the request of the dancers and musicians there he composed his Sangiṭasudbhākara¹. In 6 chapters, it deals with nāṭya, tal, vādyā, rasa, and prahandha, with an appendix on Gāyakalakṣaṇa².

In Sangiṭasudbhākara he is mentioned as an author on music along with Sārngadeva among Ādhanikas (moderns)³. In an anonymous work Abhinayasāstram⁴, there is a reference to him

आदावन्ते दोदिगाथा मध्ये पाठाक्षरैर्युताम् ।

मेहनारेदिसङ्क्षौः कथितो हरिभूजः ॥

1014 Hammira⁵ was probably the King of Mewar and the

1. TC, I 1025, IV 4570, Tanf, XVI 7293

2. R. Sewell, *Arch. Sur. of India*, II 254

3. M. Duff (*Chronology*, 215) and Bhandarkar (*Hist. of D. van*, III. 187) call him Haripāla. He was 6th in succession from Aparāṇṭha (990-1010 A.D.). The genealogy is: Aparāṇṭha—his sons Vijaya (1010-1015) and Arikasari (1015-1025)—Arikasari's sons, Ohtarāja (1025-1045), Nāgarāja (1045-1055), Mammādirāja (1055-1085)—Nāgarāja's son Anantaḍeḍa Konkana Cakravartin (1085-1125)—his son Aparāṇṭha I (1125-1145)—his son Haripāla (1145-1155)—his son Mallikarjuna (1155-1175)—his son Aparāṇṭha II (1175-1200).

4. *Adyar*, II. 280, TC, IV 4558, Trav. 73, Tanf. XVI. 7293

5. DC, XXII. 8720-1.

6. On several Hammīras, see para 118. A Chohan King Hammira, hero of Nayanars's poem, is mentioned by his son Allarāja or Mallarāja in his rhetorical work Rasaraṇadīpikā.

fifth ancestor of King Kumbhakarṇa who commented on Sangīṭarāṭṇākara etc Hammīra died in 1394 A.D.¹ In his Sangīṭasṅgārahāra,² he mentions an earlier writer Jaiṭrasīmha (King)

1015. Lakshmana Bhaskara wrote a work called Matangabharāṭa based on Maṭaṅga, dealing mostly with dancing in about a thousand verses. He was earlier than the Naik King of Janjore and may have lived about 14th century A.D.³

1016. Sudhakalasa was a Jain and pupil of Rājasekharasūri. In six chapters on music and dancing, he wrote Sangītopaniṣad with commentary calling the whole Sangītopaniṣad⁴ in Sam 1380 (1323 A.D.) and in Sam 1406 (1349 A.D.)

1017. Trilocanaditya's Nāṭyalocana⁵ is widely cited by commentators such as Dīvākara and Cāritravardhana, Dīvākara lived about 1385 A.D. and this work must have been composed in 14th century A.D. He also wrote Locanavyākhyāṇjana.⁶

1018. ASTAVADHANI SOMANĀRYA wrote Svararāgasudhārasam or Nāṭyacūdāmaṇi, a learned treatise in 7 chapters on music and dancing.⁷ Among original writers he quotes as Rāvana. He was a follower of Nārada's school and differs frequently from Bharāṭa. Somanārya was probably the great Telugu poet Nācana Somana the author of Uṭṭara-Harivamsa, who was the donee under a grant dated 1344 A.D. of king Bukka I of Vijayanagar.⁸

1 See Rajputana Gazetteer, II A, Mewar Residency. The genealogies give them thus: Hammīra-Khetung—sons, Lakka (1852-97) and Mokai (1897-1488)—latter's son Kumbha (1488-1468)

2 S. B. Bhandarkar's *Rep. of Raj* and *C. I. Mss.*, 54, 92-3

3 *Tanj.* XVI, 7281.

4 *Bh.* 528

5 *CC*, I 284, III 81.

6 *Opp* 2695

7 *DC*, XXII, 8728, 8729, *TC*, I, B. No. 366 in the controversy over Ṭyāgarāja's mention of svararāgasudhārasa, if it refers to three works, Svārāṇava, Rāgāṇava and Sudhāṇava. See Hindu, Dec 1982, 20th, 26th etc. Literary supplements; and V. Raghavan's paper read at Music Conference, Madras, 1982

8 *EO*, X 185. There seems to be some difficulty about the grant. In 1344 A.D. Bukka is mentioned here as sitting on the throne of Vijayanagar whereas a grant dated 1346 A.D. was made Harihara I (*EO*, VI 190) Sewell (*For Empire*) says Harihara died in 1348 A.D. but he himself (in *SLA*, II 348) as well as Rice (*Mysore Gaz.* I. 346) say that Harihara ruled till 1350 A.D. For a discussion on this, see B. Suryanarayana Rao, *NFE*, 144 et. seq. It seems a fair suggestion that soon after Harihara consolidated his empire in 1348 A.D. he retired from the throne and Bukka took up the reins of Government

1019, Viḍyāranya's Sangītasāra¹ is quoted by name by Cikkade-varāya of Mysore in his Bharatasārasaṅgraha and by Nārāyaṇaḍeva in his Sangītanārāyaṇa. Among the quotations by the former a reference to the number of *tūnas* reads as follows —

इलेकाशीतिसयुक्त सहस्राणां चतुष्टयम् ।
तानानां पुनरुक्तानां पूर्णापूर्णे सह क्रमै ॥
लक्षत्रयं सप्तदशसहस्राणि शतानि च ।
नवत्रिंशद्युतानीति हानोपायोऽत्र कथ्यते ॥

and bears agreement with the enumeration given by Abhinavagupta,

King Raghunāṭhā of Tanjore while summarising his authorities for the composition of his Sangītasuḍhā respectfully says —

संगीतसार समवेक्ष्य विचारण्यामिधश्रीचरणप्रणीतम् ।

aan again when analysing the *rūgas* has the following

निरूपिता लक्षणतो विविच्य रागाश्चतुष्पष्टयधिके श्वे द्वे ।
कर्णाटसिंहासनभाग्यविचारण्यामिधश्रीचरणप्रणीम्य ॥

and closely follows the sage's method.

Gauranārya Lakṣanaḍipikā is a general treatise on poetics, music and dancing². He was the son of Ayamaprabhu, who was the brother of Poṭana. Poṭana was the minister of Śingaya Mādhava, king of Rācakonda of Recerla dynasty, who ruled about 1427 A.D.³

1020 Gopendra Tippa Bhupala was a scion of the Sālva Dynasty of Vizianagar of the 15th century A.D. He wrote a commentary on Vāmana's Kāvyaḷankārasūtra and Tālaḍipikā in three chapters on Mārga and Deśi tālas⁴.

1. See para 126 *supra*

"There is a manuscript in the Maharaja's Library at Bikanir called Sangītasāra which consists of about 160 slokas without its author's name. The work maintains the theory of Nandikeśvara, who, we know from Aumāpaṭa, enumerates 264 rāgas. Whether the work is a summary or a fragment of Viḍyāranya's production has yet to be decided. But some of the points dealt with in it appear to be developments in music attained in the 16th or the 17th century and lacks in the grandeur that we usually find in Viḍyāranya's works."

2. Part relating to poetics is found in *DO*, XXII, 3692-5. Part relating to music is found in *Mys*, 399 and part relating to dancing is with M. Ramakrishna Kavi, Madras.

3. *Velugotivārs Vamīacarītam*, 69-71.

4. *TC*, I 1015, *Tanj*. XVI 7807. See para 819 *supra*, S. K. De, *SP*, II, 84.

1021 Kumbhakarna (or Kumbha or Kumbha Rānā) was the son of Mokala and belonged to the Vijayagotra and to the race of Gubilas (Brahmin kings) of Medapata (Mewar)¹ Apūrvadevi was his wife Rājamalla was his son He ruled at Citrakūta in 1433-1468 A D Mira Bai the great saint was his wife He was a devotee of Bhavānī and Ekalinga and he was favoured with their grace He recites his conquests over the kings of Malwa, Yavanas and Guzarat and the destruction of Sāranganagara This brought him a number of titles² His poetry is charming and his proficiency in arts is versatile³ His commentary, Rasikapriyā, on Gītagovinda displays his æsthetic taste and there he quotes from his Sangītarāja

1022 SANGITARAJA, known also as Sangīṭamīmāṃsa, embraces 16000 verses and consists of five Raṭṇakośas (chapters) The first deals with dramaturgy and dramatic expression, the second with vocal music, the third with musical instruments, the fourth with dressing, dancing and gesticulation, the fifth with heroes, heroines and sentiments

One of the quotations in his commentary on Gītagovinda shows there was a chapter there on metres

शिखरिणी छन्द । तद्वक्ष्ये सगीतराजे—
'रसै रद्वैदिज्ञा यमनसमलगा शिखरिणी' ।

1. This is the geneology of the family as given in his work and in *BI*, VIII app. 18, *Raj Gaz* II-A, Mewar Residency —

Bappa (d in 1864 A D)

Hamra

Ksetrasimha (Khetangh)

Lakṣasimha (1382-97 A D)

Mokala (defeated Sultan Firoz Shah A D 1428)

Kumbhakarna (1438, 1439, 1458 A D)

Rājamalla (1489, 1498, 1501, 1504 A D.)

Sangrāmasimha

Ratnasimha (1530 A D.)

2 So he says in his commentary on Gītagovinda.

पदवाक्यप्रमाणख्यत्रिसरित्सङ्गमाश्रिया ।

कुम्भकर्णगिरां याग न स्यादिष्टार्थद कथम् ॥

3. Such as अमिनवसरताचार्य, and मूर्तिमन्नाद

From the last verses in the Cantos in his *Rasikapriyā* it is seen that Kumbhakarna wrote works called *Sangīṭakramadīpikā*, *Ekalingāśraya* and *Kumbhasvāmimandāra* and there is his commentary on *Sangīta-raṭnākara* ¹²

"About 1440 Kumbhakarna king of Mēwad completed his *sangita-mīmāṃsa* alias *Sangītarāja* in five sections of *pāṭhya*, *gīta*, *vādyā*, *nṛtya* and *rasa*. The whole work is not available to us. Each of the five sections is further classified into four chapters of minor divisions. The work extends over 16,000 *ślokas*. His treatment is thorough in *gīta* and *vādyā*. He sifts all the material then available to him and possessing high sastric proficiency, discusses theories very intelligently. For example we cite the theory of *rasa* and use of the word *sattva*, etc. He did not quote from Kāhala or Kāśyāpa though he says he studied them. He mentions Dattila rarely. He had with him Rāhula's and Kīrtidhara's *Vṛttikas* on Bharata's *Nāṭyasūtra*. He examined the treatises of Kṣhētrārāja. Modern research cannot be complete without a thorough study of this grand work. The author was a profound scholar in *Mīmamsa* and vedic rites and thus scarcely misunderstands the arguments of Matanga, Dattila and Abhinavagupta whom he closely follows. His section on musical prosody was borrowed from the later writers of North India. In the construction of *vinas* and *vamsas* he gives all possible details. He touches upon chiefly *Nakula*, *Penaki*, *Svaramandala*, *Mattakokila*, *Kinnari*, of medium and higher sorts. Sōmēsvara treats of only *Ekatantri*, *Alavani*, and *Kinnari* of two kinds. Nānyadēva elaborates *Rudravina*, and *Kinnari*. He accidentally mentions that Nārada used *Vina* of 21 strings and Matanga practised upon *Chautrika* and *Svāti* on a lute of 9 strings."

1023. Jagaddhara was son of Ratnadhara and lived somewhere about the 15th century A.D.,. He commented on *Sarasvaṭīkanthābharana* and on *Malaṭī-Mādhava* and other plays and wrote *Sivastotra* and *SANGITASARVASVA*.³

1024. Catura Kallinatha was the son of Lakṣmīdhara and Nārāyaṇī of Śāndilyagoṭra. His grand-father was Tūttālesvaraḍeva.

1. List of Bhandankar's *ORI*.

2. See V. Baghavan, *Miscellaneous in Annals*, XVI, parts iii and iv.

3. This is quoted profusely by Bucoṭṭī and Rāghavabhatta.

He was in the Court of Immadi Devarāya, alias Mallikārjuna, son of Praudha Devarāja, or Devarāya II of Vijayanagar (1446-1485 A.D.)¹

1025 Devanacarya was *probably* the same as Devanabhatta who wrote Smṛticandrikā in the Court of King Praudha Devarāja of Vijayanagar (1406-1422 A.D.) His SANGĪTAMUKTĀVALI deals mainly with dancing and has a chapter on music. Besides older authors, he mentions Rudrasena and Someśvara.²

1026 Devendra alias Devanācārya wrote another work Sangītamuktāvali.³ He was pupil of one Rudra who was said to have been honoured by the scholars of different countries. He calls himself Ṭauryaṭrikacintāmaṇi. He mentions Rudrata as an author on Sangīta and Nṛtya. He probably lived in 15th or 16th century A.D.

1027 Rama Amatya was son of Ṭimmāmāṭya of the family of Todarmal. His Svaramelakalānidhi contains in five chapters a detailed description of the rāgas of the Carnāta system, and their distribution into 72 melakārṇas. He flourished in the Court of Aliya Rāmārāja of Vijayanagar, who was killed in the battle of Talikota in 1565 A.D.⁴ He was the daughter's son of Catura Kallinātha.⁵

Kṣemakarna's Rāgamālā was composed in 1570 A.D. at the instance of Jaṭava Bhūpati,⁶ and another Rāgamālā was the work of Jīvarāja.⁷

1. See para 124 *supra*. For Immadi Devarāja's inscription, see *SII*, 110 (dated Śāka 1371-1449 A.D.), *IA*, xxii, 132, *I A*, xxv 346, note 6; *BC*, III, 18. Kallinātha gives long extracts from Kohala's Sangītameru.

2. Kallinātha's commentary though extensive is defective in several places. Śārangaśastry closely follows Abhinava and adopts all his criticisms by a rearrangement of the matter. Kallinātha without reading that original attempts to explain those passages and consequently he is meagre if not very wrong. That is why Raghunātha has trenchantly put thus —

श्रीधर्मेदेवेन कृतां च सप्तम्यायौ तथा लक्ष्मविरोधिलक्ष्याम् ।

अनौघकात्यल्पतरप्रयोगाद्बुद्धिरागानुदितस्वरूपम् ।

एनां स्फुटिकर्तुमिह प्रवृत्तौ तौ ब्राह्मणौ कैशवकल्लिनाथौ ।

येकाद्वयेनापि कृतेन ताभ्यामनौधितास्पष्टपदार्थमेवम् ॥

2. *Bh.* 521.

3. *Tanj*, XVI 7272

4. *Tanj*, XVI. 7234. Ed. Pudukottai, Bombay. Ed. by Bhatkande, Ed. by M. S. Ramasami Iyer for Annamalai University, Chidambaram. See Popley, *Mus. of India*, 18.

5. See *SVH*, 192

6. *IO*, II. 819, *Bh.* 516

7. *Mīra*, VII 261, *CO*, I, 499. There is a Dakṣiṇāṛāgamālā (*BRI*, Ms. No. 384, 1895 8) describing 6 rāgas only.

1028 Pundarika Vitthala belonged to the village Satanurva in Khandesh and was a karnata brahmin of Jāmadagyagotra. At the instance of King Burhankhan of Pharata dynasty¹ he began to reduce the music of Northern India into order and wrote Vitthalīya,² Rāgamālā, Naṭṭananirnaya, Rāgamanjarī and Sadragacandrodaya.³ After Khandesh was annexed by Akbar about 1599 A.D., he went to his Court at Delhi and there wrote Rāganārāyaṇa at the instance of chief Mādhvasimha. His expositions evidence a comprehensive scholarship of northern and southern systems of music. He was probably the same as Vitthala who wrote Sangītavṛttaraṇākara.⁴

1029 Subhankara's Sangīṭadāmodara in seven chapters treats of music and dancing in their various aspects in relation to heroines and sentiments and being quoted in Sangīṭa Nārāyaṇa must be earlier than 17th century A.D.⁵ It is dedicated to King Ḍāmoḍara and so followed the name.⁶ Subhankara wrote a commentary on Nāradiyasikṣā.

1030 Lakṣminarayana (Bhandāru) was the son of Bhandaru Vitthalesvara and Rukminī of Bhāradvājagotra. He was the musician (Vaggeyakāra)⁷ of State under Emperor Kṛṣṇaḍavarāya of Vijayanagar (1509-1529 A.D.). He had the titles Abhinavabharatācārya, Ṭodaramalla, Sūkṣmabharatācārya etc. The emperor presented him with golden palanquin, elephants, pearl-fans etc. He was pupil of Viṣṇubhattāraka. He wrote his SANGITASURYODAYA⁸ in 5 Adhyāyas on Tāla, Vṛtta, Svaragīta, Jāti and Prabandha. The prologue gives an account of the Emperor of Vidyāpura and is of great historical value.

Govinda's Rāgaṭālapānjāṭaparakāśa describes music tones and time.

1. This dynasty ruled at Anandavalli in Khandesh in 1870-1600 A.D.

2. *Tanṭi*, XVI 7245.

3. *Tanṭi*, XVI, 7242, 7245, *Bh.* 575. **Rāgamālā** and **Sadrāgacandrikā** have been printed in Bombay. See Popley, *Music of India*, 17-15. There is a work of the name of Rāgamālīkā by Kalānkura of Orissa (*TC*, IV 4705).

4. *Tanṭi*, XVI 7244.

5. *IO*, II, 818. *Mitra's Notices*, I, 219. There is a fragment in Or. Ms. Library, Madras and a complete copy with M. Ramakrishna Kavi, Madras.

6. In Sangītanārāyaṇa (Chapter III) the author's name is given सङ्गीतदामोदरे तु भिषमाह शुभकर ।

7. Ḍāmoḍara son of Lakṣmīdhara is the author of Sangīṭadarpaṇa, *IO*, II, 818.

7. वाच च गेय च करोति यस्मात् वागेयकार. कथितस्ततोऽसौ ।

—*Sangītasuḍhā*.

8. M. R. Kavi, *Bharati*, (1925), 64.

He mentions Śārngadeva and must have lived later than 13th century A D.¹

1031 Lakshmidhara flourished in the Court of King Tirumalaroya of Vijayanagar (1570-73 A.D)² and lived at Cerukuru in Guntur District. In his commentary on Gītagovinda³ he mentions Rāgadīpikā, Rāgalakṣmīvilāsa and Vāmadevīya and King Pratāpa's Sangītacūdāmaṇi and he himself wrote Bharatasāstra-granṭha⁴ in which his work on sports of seasons called Rtukrīdāvivēka is quoted

1032 King Hardayanarayana was a King of Garh or Gata-durga (Jubbulpore) and ruled about 1667 A D. He wrote Hṛdaya-prakāśa and Hṛdayakautuka and used Locanakavi's Rāgataranginī,⁵ for elaboration

1033 Somanatha was probably an Āndhra of Godavari district. His Rāgavibodha composed in 1609 A D. displays fine poetry in Āryā metre and speaks of rāgas and srutis, more with a view to their use on the Viṭa, of which all varieties are described.⁶

1034 Catura Damodara⁷ was son of Lakṣmīdhara. His Sangīṭadarpana treats of music and dancing. His descriptions of rāgas are pictorial and are mostly based on Somanātha's Rāgavibodha. He was probably a descendant of Catura Kallināṭha, the commentator on Śārngadeva and was attached to the Court of Emperor Jehangir (1605-1627 A D)⁸

1. The manuscript is found in the Andhra Sahitya Parishad Library (Madras), under the name Sangīṭarāṭṇakara. He mentions among others Samīraṇa, Nandīn Guha, Maṭaṅgaṇa, Nārāḍa, Śārngin as writers on music

2. See para 124 *supra*

3. *Tanj* XVI. 7393

4. *BRI*, (1916-18) No 40

5. Printed in part. He quotes Vidyapati's Maithilī songs. Here he referred to his work Rāgasangīṭasāṅgahā

6. Ed. Bombay. Ed. by M. S. Ramasami Iyer with introduction and translation. There is a gloss on it Rāgavibodhāviveka in Bhandarkar's Deccan Collage Mss. (XIX, I, 430). See Popley, *The Music of India*, 18, K. B. Dewal, *Theory of Indian Music as expounded by Somanātha*, Poona. For English Translation in part, see *Indian Musical Journal*, Mysore (1912-13)

7. Ed. Bombay with the commentary of Ratansi Lilāḍhara, *DO*, XXII, 8742; *Tanj* XVI. 7366.

8. In another manuscript (I c No 18017), the author's name is given as Haribhatta (or Harivallabha).

There are Haribhatta's Sangīṭadarpaṇa,¹ Sangīṭasāroddhāra² and Sangīṭakalāṇḍhi³

1035 Veda was probably the son of Ananta, who was the son of Caṭura Dāmodara, the author of Sangīṭadarpaṇa. Shahājī, father of Śivājī, the Great, was his patron. At his instance he wrote the works Sangītamakaranda and Sangītapuṣpāñjalī. The former treats of Rasadṛṣṭi, Gaṭi, cāri, Hastā, nṛtiya and rasa.⁴

1036 Srirangarāja was a prince of the Vijayanagar ruling family and lived about the beginning of the 17th century A.D. His Nāṭakakaparibhāṣa is a small work on dramatic conventions.⁵

1037. Sangitasudha known as the work of King Raghunātha of Tanjore was composed by Govinda Dikṛiṭa. It contains a historical introduction on the Kings of Tanjore and a description of the greatness of King Raghunātha, particularly of his proficiency in music.

"Raghunātha treats at length of only 50 *ragas* which he says were in use. Older writers simply gave *amsa*, *nyasa* and *graha* to each of the *ragas*, but Raghunātha gives in detail the number of the *sruti* in each *svara* with *alaptika*. He arranged 50 *ragas* under 15 *melakartas*, the details given against each of them are full and useful for *vina*. The third and fourth chapters of the work are devoted to musical compositions known as *prabandhas* then in vogue and to minor trophies in music."⁶

1038 Venkatesa or Venkata Makhin was the son of Govinda-makhin and brother of Yagnanārāyaṇa and was in the Court of King Vijayarāghava who ruled till 1672 A.D. at Tanjore.⁷ He was a

1. *Tanj* XVI, 7266. That is another name for Caṭura Dāmodara as mentioned in introductory verses.

2. *Bk.* 527. There is another work of this name by Kikarāja, *PR*, IV, 82, *Ex.* 42. Kikarāja was known as Śāradānandana (*BRI* 1880 92, No. 832).

3. *CC*, I, 685.

4. See S. R. Bhandonkar's *cat* of *Mss. Raj* and *CI*, (1904-6) page 54. *Bk.*, 520, *Tan*, XVI, 7268, see para 157 *supra*.

5. The manuscript is with P. V. Subrahmanya Sastri of Razole, East Godavari District.

6. *TC*, IV, 4568. See paras 146, 148 *supra*. See S. Subrahmanya Sastri *Venkatamakhin and his twelve Notes*, *Jl* of Madras Music Academy II.

7. Ed. by B. S. Sukthankar, Bombay. There is a reference to one Gopālandak, as having appreciated him, as an expert in Śruti and to Tānapārya, his teacher's teacher. See S. Subrahmanya Sastri. *Venkatamakhin and his twelve notes*, (*Jl* *Mad. Music Academy*, II Part I) 'Caṭurṇḍī' means four parts of *rāga*, *sthāyi*, *Arohi*, *Avarohi* and *Samoḥri*.

pupil of King Raghunāṭha. He was proficient in music and rhetoric, In mīmāṃsā he wrote Vārtikābharana, a commentary on Tantravārtika, and performed Vājapeya sacrifice. In general he follows Bharata. He introduced a system of notation in the expression of Śruti, discovered a type of vīpa, a mela in Simharavarāga and called Madhyamela, and asserted that the old Vīna Śuddhamela (Raghunāṭha's vīpa) was unfit for illustrating Śruti. He criticised the views of Sārṅgadeva and Rāmāmātya rather with too much severity, but these criticisms are considered groundless by Ahobila. His Laksanagītas are printed in Sangītasampradāyapradarsinī. His CATURDANDIPRAKASIKĀ in 6 chapters is mainly intended as a treatise on music with special reference to the instrument Vīpa.

“The work is critical and the author introduced many novel ideas and suggested new methods. It is said that he was the first to introduce 72 *melakartas* now in use in South India. This introduction is mnemonic rather than logical which is the characteristic of the older classification. How far Venkatamakhin is the author of this introduction is still doubtful. One may be inclined to attribute it to some innovator in the court of Vijayanagar. Venkatamakhin is hard upon great writers especially on Bāyakāra Rāmāmātya of the court of Rāmarāya. Rāmāmātya is not a negligible writer and his Svaramela-kalanidhi gave impetus to Venkatamakhin whose offensive trait in criticism is seen for instance here ¹

अयेदानीं विचार्यन्ते रामामात्येन लक्षिता । मेलप्रकरणे मेलः स्वरमेलकलानिधौ ।
न हि तान्यत्र शक्यन्ते दूषणानि स्वयेरिते । ग्रन्थे गणयितु * * * ॥
कान्मोजीरागमेलस्य कैशि वपारन्धनिषादक (?) । इति नो वेत्ति किं वीणावादिना गृहदास्यपि ।
तद्वैकाररामोक्तान् मेलान् विश्वस्य वैणिकैः । कान्तारकूपे वेष्टव्या उद्धृत्य भुजं मुच्यते (?) ॥

Venkatamakhin's system is taken up and enlarged in Melāḍhi-kāralakṣana of about 18th Century A.D.²

As authority on Caṭurṇandī, Gopālanāyaka is mentioned thus in Caṭurṇandīprakāśikā

अहमेव श्रुतिवेदीत्याह गोपालनायकः ।

अद्यप्रभृति ते सर्वे श्रुतिज्ञा न तु पण्डिता ॥

1. The System of *melakartas* is elaborated in *Sangrahaśhudamani* purported to have been composed by Shanmukha in Śāṇḍapurana. The existence was doubted by Subbarama Dikshita of Ettiṭṭapuram in his *Sangita* work. Happily an old manuscript is available with me and Venkatamakhin's originality can be disproved.—*M. B. Kav.*

2. *Tanj.* XVI. 7813.

गीतप्रबन्धयोरेव भेदो यदि न कल्प्यते ।
कुतस्सिद्धेच्चतुर्दण्डी कुतो गोपालनायक ॥

Gopālanāyaka is quoted by Kallināṭha also and is said to have been a friend of Amir Khusru and respected by Allauddin Khilji (1295-1315 A D)²

1039 Jagajjyotirmalla, son of Tribhuvanamalla, was the ruler of Bhakṭapura (Bhatagamva), a tributary of the King of Nepal. He was a great musician and finding no suitable work on music in the north he brought Abhilāṣa's Sangītacandra into Nepal and had a commentary Sangīṭabhāskāra³ written on it by another scholar Vangamaṇi of Miṭhila, while he himself composed a treatise Sangītasārasaṅgraha⁴ in Nepal Era 799. He ruled in 1617-1633 A D. He wrote a commentary on Paṇḍarī's Nāgarasarvasva and an opera play Hara-Gaurīvivāha in Nepalese dialect.

Among his other works are Svarodayadīpikā, Gīṭāpancāsikā, and Sangītabhāskara (?) His Ślokaṅgraha is a collection of verses on 33 subjects

His son Praṭāpamalla was also a poet and his son Jagatprakāśamalla made an anthology Padyasamuccaya. At the instance of his daughter's son Ananta, one Ghanasyāma wrote a commentary on Haṣṭamukṭāvalī, a work on dancing⁵

1. For a critical review of its contents by T. L. Venkatarama Iyer, see JI Mad Music Academy, Vol. I.

2. Isvari-prasāda's *Mad India*, 542.

3. *Nepal*, 260.

सन्ति यद्यपि भूर्यास. ग्रन्था सङ्गीतगोचरा ।
तथापीड्यमन्यन्तु नास्तीति परिचिन्तयन् ॥
पीयूषहरण ताक्ष्यो यत्नात् विहितवान् यथा ।
तथैतत् पुस्तकं श्लाघ्यं दूरादक्षिणदेशतः ॥
आजहार नृपश्रेष्ठ श्रीजगज्ज्योतिरीशिता ।—*Sangītacandra*

That *Abhilāṣa* wrote it appears from the introductory verse

एव परम्पराप्राप्तनाट्यवेदार्थसंग्रह ।
क्रियते क्षामिलोषेण विद्वच्चरणसेविना ॥

4. *Nepal*, 261.

5. For all this account, see Int. to *Nāgarasarvasva* edited by Tausukharama-sarma, Bombay

1040 Dhundhuraja, son of Laksmāna of Vyāsagotra, was a Paurāṇika under King Shahajī of Janjore (1687-1711 A D) and wrote Sāhaviḷāsa in 8 cantos and probably Sāharājāṣṭapadī¹

Mummidi Cikkadevarāya's² (III) Bharatasaṁgraha is an elaborate but incomplete Work in 2500 verses, and embodies the views of Bharata, Maṅga and Vidyāraṇya Cikkadevarāya III was a ruler of Mysore (1672-1704 A D)

1041 Ahobila's Sangitaparījata was written in the 17th century A D and was translated into Persian in 1724 A D. He mentions ancient writers and it is based particularly on Hanumān's work. He refers to Rāgataranginī and Rāgavibodha and defends the views of Rāmāmāya. He was the first to describe the twelve svaras in terms of the length of the string of the Vīṇa³

1042 Bhavabhatta was son of Sangitārāya Janārdana⁴ Bhatta and was grandson of the musician Tāna Bhatia⁵. In the Court of King Anūpasimha of Bikanir (1674-1709 A D)⁶ he wrote Anūpasangitaviḷāsa,⁷ Anūpasangītaratnākara and Anūpasangitāṅkusa (now in print) and Sangītavinoda, Muralīprakāśa and Nastoddīṣṭapraboḥhaka, Dhruvapadatikā⁸

1043 Gopinatha Kavibhusana was son of Vāsudeva Pāṭro of Karaṇa family. Vāsudeva was priest and physician of King Gajapaṭa Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa of Khimindi of Ganga race, who probably ruled in 1766-1806 A D⁹. Besides a music poem Rāmacaṇḍravibhāra, he wrote an extensive work on poetics Kavacintāmaṇi in 24 chapters the last of which embraces music¹⁰

1044. Balaramavarman or simply Rāmavarman was the nephew of Bālmārtāṇḍa Varman. He was born in 1724 A D and

1 Tanj, XVI 7347-9 See para 168 *supra*

2 Mys., 808

3 Ed. Madras or Nellore See Popley, *Music of India*, 19

4 He was a musician of the Court of Emperor Shah Jahan

5 One Tānappācārya is mentioned by Venkatamakhin see *Jl. Maḍ Mus. Acy* II 159

6 At his instance a commentary was written on Gītagovindā (*SKC*, 67)

7 Rāgamanjarī, Rāgaṅgahala and Rāgaṅguka are quoted here

8 *Bik*, 513, 514, 517

9 See Sewell's *Arch S SI*, II 186, where one of his ancestors and one of his successors bore the names Sarvagana Jagannātha Nārāyaṇadeva (1686-1702) and Jagannātha Gajapaṭi Nārāyaṇadeva (1843-1860 A D)

10 *TC*, IV 4225.

succeeded in the throne of Travancore in 1753 A D and passed away in 1798 A D He was a valiant conqueror and kind ruler and his name is still fresh in the memory of his people He was known by the names Dharmarāja and Kīlavanrāja He was a Vikramāditya to the poets of his period He was a linguist and was the author of several dramatic pieces in Malayalam, called Kaṭhakalis Sadāsivamakhin, a poet of his court, wrote Rāmavarmayasobhūṣanam in his praise on the plan of Pratāparudrayasobhūṣanam Venkatasubrahmanyādhvarin, a descendant of Appayyadīkṣita, wrote the drama Vasumatīkalyānam in which this king was made the hero¹

The king was particularly interested in drama. His Bālarāmabhaṭam is a treatise on music and dancing in 18 chapters After an introductory essay in prose on the interdependence of bhāva, rāga and ṭāla, he describes music, vocal and instrumental, and the development of the sentiments by gesticulation.²

1045 Bhaskaracarya was a descendant of Varadaguru of Śrīvātsagotra and lived at Śrīperumbudur (Chingleput Dist) probably in the 18th century His Sāhityakallolīni embraces the whole topic of poetics and dancing and cites Rāsārnavasudhākara³

1046 Tulajaraja (Tukkoji) King of Tanjore (1729-1735 A.D.), wrote an extensive work in prose Sangītasārāmṛta on all topics dealt with by Śārngadeva⁴ Thus he praises Śiva, as the embodiment of nāṭya

स्वरानन्त्यावप्लै सकलजनशुष्ट बहुविध-
श्रुतिव्यक्त शम्भु कृतविकृततानास्पदमहम् ।
हृदादिभ्यानेषु प्रकटितविलासं श्रवणतो
धुताचेपेक्ष्य मनसि कलये नादवपुषम् ॥

His Nātyavedāgama deals with dancing.⁵

1 See article on this book by A S Ramanatha Iyer in *Shama's*, IV 171

2 In the Travancore State manual (I 417,) the name Bālarāmavarman is given to the king who came to rule in 1798-1810 A D, (See also *ibid*, II 485) But it is ascertained from this work, and an inscription published in *Trav Arch Series* (IV 106) that Rāmavarman, the predecessor of Bālarāmavarman (*Trav State Manual*, I. 369) was also known as Bālarāmavarman and was the author of this work See also *Trav State Manuscripts*, II. 484.

3 DC, XXII 8706

4. *Tanj* XVI. 7288 where the author's genealogy is given A part of it was published by Sukthankar under the name Sangītasārāmṛtodghāra.

5. *Tanj*, XVI, 7285.

1047, Purusottama Kaviratna lived at Parlakimidi, Ganjam in about 1790 A D Besides prabandhas, Rāmacandrodaya and Rāmābhyudaya, and Bālarāmāyana, he probably wrote Kalānkuranibandha or Rāgāmālikā,¹ His son Narāyana Mīra Kaviratna wrote Sangīṭa-sarāṇi, and prabandhas, Balabhadravijaya, Śankaravīhāra, Uśābhūlāsa, Kṛṣṇavīlāsa and Gundīcāvijaya,² Navanāgalalīta

Nārāyaṇamīrā classifies prabandhas as *śuddha* and *sūtra* The former has several songs in it set to different rāgas e.g. Gītagovindā, the latter has all through only one rāga While he wrote Rāmābhyudaya, *sūtraprabandha*,³ his father wrote Rāmābhyudaya *Śuddhaprabandha*

1048 King Gajapati Virasī Narayanadeva, son of Padmanābha, ruled at Parlakimidi about 1700 A D⁴ He belongs to the race of Uttungaganga He learnt music under Kaviratna Puruṣottama and the result of his study is embodied in his work, Sangīṭa nārāyaṇa In four chapters it deals with music, dancing, musical instruments and musical compositions The illustrations glorify the author himself⁵ He refers to his work Alankāracandra, Among other works and authors quoted by him, some of which are now scarce, are Sangīṭa-siromaṇi, Sangītasāra (probably of Vidyāraṇya), Sangīṭaraṭnamālā (by Mammata), Gītaprakāsa, Sangītacandrikā, Kṛṣṇadattī, Sangītacūdāmanī, Sangīṭakalpataru, and Harināyaka

1049 Śadasiva Dikṣita was a poet of the Court or King Tulaja of Tanjore (1729-1735 A D) He became Avadhūta sanyāsī of whom miracles are told He was a friend of Śrīdhara Venkatesa (Ayyāval) of Tiruvaṇanallur He lived at Pudukkōta The State of Pudukkōta is believed to be under his spiritual protection and the state conducts

1 TO IV 4705 Rājamālik Composed by Kaviratna Kalāṅkudī

2 Gundīcā is a festival of a deity at Nolaḡiri

3. "The *Sūtraprabandha* which is a composition to be sung in a single *rāga* throughout is the *Rāga Kāvya* of old, which is a variety of *Uparūpaka* or semi-dramatic, operatic composition described by *Kohala*. It is described by *Abhinavagupta* in his commentary on the *Nāṭya Śāstra*. He gives two instances of this *Rāga Kāvya*. *Abhinava* says that the *Rāga Kāvya* called *Rūghavavijaya* is sung throughout only in *Thakka Rāga* and the *Rāga Kāvya* called *Mārōhavadha*, only in *Kalubha grama rāga*."

"तथा हि राघवविजयस्य हि उक्तरागेणैव विचित्रवर्णनीयत्वेऽपि निर्वाहः, मारीच-वधस्य ककुमप्रामरागेणैव । अत एव रागकाव्यानीत्युच्यन्ते ।" p 184 Gnek. edn

4 TO, V. 6227 There his Alankāracandrikā is quoted See B/4 527

5 e.g. अमरलोकशोकहरण मण्डित तवरणपदम् ।

गजपतिपद्मनामचपतितनुज एष मवपदम् ॥

a festival at his Samādhi at Nerur near Karur, S India Besides a philosophical poem, *Ātmavidyāvilāsa* he composed many songs of devotion His *Gītasundara* in 6 cantos is devoted to the deity *Soma-sundara* (Śiva) ¹

Sadāsiva appears have gone to Travancore and there honored by King Rāma Varma Kārtika Tirunal (1755-1798) he composed *Rāmavarmayasobhāsana* for his glorification

1050 Tyagaraja was born at Tiruvārur in 1758 A D and his parents soon settled themselves at Tiruvayyar (Tiruvadi) on the Kāverī, a seat of Sanskrit learning. He was the son of Rāmabrahmam of munkinādu Vaidiki Brahmin sect

"He lost his parents early in his teens and became the victim of harsh treatment of his wicked brother, Japyesan, who went to the length of throwing the Swami's beloved idols of worship once into the street and later into the Cauvery itself, for the one reason that these *vigrahams* were the sole cause of the Swami's neglect of domestic welfare and his spurning of wealth The most popular *kritis* of Sri Tyagaraja like 'Tndudaginado' in Thodi, 'Nenenduvudukudura' in Karnataka Behag were composed *ex tempore* in this period which marked the struggle of his intense *Bhakti* with the base passions of the world, represented by his brother The *Bhagavatar* then related how the saint in despair with tears in his eyes, dug in the sands of the Cauvery to get back his lost Rama and how one day as the result of a dream in which He appeared to the saint, he was able to locate the place where the idols lay imbedded, hugged them to his breast and shed tears of joy singing 'kanugontini' and other delightful songs on the spur of the moment The saint's meeting with Narada in the guise of an old *sanyasin*, who presented him with *Swararnava*, written on palmyra leaves, his refusal to yield to the lure of gold offered by the Tanjore Raja, the latter's anger thereupon and the sudden unbearable colic with which he was attacked and the equally quick disappearance of the pain on the Raja's promise not to interfere with the Swami's liberty were all related in a touching and impressive manner by the *Bhagavathar* whose rendering of the *kritis* was particularly appreciated For want of time he had to finish his discourse after very briefly dealing with the saint's visit to Tirupati, Srirangam and other holy places, the attack of robbers in the forest

1. *Tanj XVI*. 7840 Printed, Madras. See para 298 *supra* His life is described in a Tamil work published at Puḍukkota.

and the defence by Rama and Lakshmana who were always watching his welfare, the saint's attaining Samadhi on Pushya Bahula Panchami in the year Parabhava (1846) after taking Sanyasa Asramam to avoid another re-birth in this world "

Tyāgarāja "was a musical star whose influence extended far beyond the limits of India, to many other countries and continents His music had been recorded in western system of notation also The basis of his music, in fact the motive power behind his inimitable compositions, was his intense love and Bhakti for Sri Rama whom he regarded as the One Parabrahmam, the embodiment of Nada That Rama was the saint's guardian angel was evident from many incidents of his life, one of which was that Rama is said to have appeared to a devotee in Maharashtra in his dream and directed him to pay a visit to His bhakta, Thyagaraja, in Tiruvayar in the South In obedience to this Divine command, the Mahratta devotee visited the Swami and was so impressed with the character of the saint that he remained there permanently as his disciple It was on this occasion that he sang the Thodi kriti, 'Dasaratha Nirunamu' It was due to this contact that they found Thyagaraja appreciating the beauties of Northern music and incorporating them in some of his kritis like 'Marugelara' and 'Manamuleda' His compositions present an extraordinary variety of musical form, from the slow-timed 'Naminavarini' to the quick trot of 'Sobhillu', and afford as much scope for the trained musical acrobat to exhibit his skill, as for the woman in the home and the man in the street to sing with facility and delight"¹

His early songs were mostly in Sanskrit and his Raga Nata was the first of the garland of five gems, Pancaraṅga

1051 Govinda's Sangitasāstrasamkṣepa is said to represent later day music and to have superseded Venkatamakhin's views In two colophons of two chapters, it is mentioned that it is part of Skandapurāna and composed by Sapmukha इति स्कान्दपुराणे सङ्ग्रहचूडामणौ षण्मुखविरचिते ग्रन्थोऽस्ययः ।

Govinda supports Tyāgarāja and opponents of Govinda give out that Govinda was probably Tyāgarāja's friend and composed this work under the guise of an extract of Purāna to put down the popular

1. Taken for 'Hindu', Extract of Lecture by Muthua Bhagavathar. N Sanjiva rao's *Sri Tyagaraja*, Pudukkotta

nty of Venkamakhin Govinda refers to Acyutaraya's vīṇa and Acyutarāya ruled at Tanjore in 1572-1614 A D ¹

1052 Venkata Vaidyanatha Diksita lived at Tiruvadamarudur He was the grandson of the paternal uncle of Venkatamakhin and inherited his musical talents He was proficient in the Vīṇa and expounded Venkatamakhin's Caṭurdandīprakāśikā Rāmaswāmi Dīkṣita became his disciple and under his tuition he blossomed forth as Vainikasikhāmapī Rāmaswāmi was the son of Venkatesvāra and belonged to Govindapuram near Madhyārjuna (Tiruvadamarudur) He found his place of fame at Tanjore under the auspices of his teacher, Vīrabhadrayya, the master-musician of his age He lived in 1735-1817 A D and wrote Ṭālamālikā

Rāmaswāmi's younger son Balaswāmi (Bālakṣṇa) Dīkṣita was born in 1780 He was a boy prodigy He could handle with facility a number of musical instruments and with the patronage of Manali Chinaya Mudaliar of Madras studied western music also It is said that he had the magical power of reproducing any natural sound on his Vīṇa

The Rulers of Ettiyapuram were patrons of music for over a century and during the period of three of them Jagadīśvara Venkatesvara Ettappa (1816-1839) and his successors Jagadīśvara Rāmakumāra Ettappa and Jagadīśvara Rāma Venkatesvara he was poet laureate. "He was a prince among poets and a poet among princes and composed many kīrṭan and curnikas in honour of Hindu deities Kārtikeya was his signature" Among his friends in music were Minakṣisundarayya, Subbakutti Ayyar, Subbayya ananavi, Vengu Bhagavatar, and Madura Ramayyar ²

1053 Rāmāswāmi's eldest son MUTUSWAMI DĪKSITA was born at Tiruvālur in 1775 A D After some travel in the north along with a Sanyāsi, he settled down in his place During the last years life, he lived at Ettiyapuram under the patronage of its ruler

Wherever he went, whatever shrine he visited and whichever deity he saw, he worshipped with the gift of his songs The following

1 "Ramakrishnakavi says that Govinda was an *Andhra*, that he wrote a work called रागतालचिन्तामणि, that he followed Ramamatya and his 20 *melas* and that the Adayar Ms contains a few sheets in the beginning of this work which had got mixed up with an anonymous work called *Sangrahaachudamani*, described as a part of the *Skandapurana* "

2 On this author, see article by C R. Srinivasa Ayyangar in *Hindu*, Feb. 1908.

are the more important of these songs the Pancha Linga Kirtanas, his five songs on the Gods representing the five elements of Earth Water, Fire Air and Ether, at the shrines Kanchi, Jambukesvara, Arunachala, Kalahasti and Chidambaram. These songs are 'Chintaya makanda mula landam' in Bhairavi, 'Jamboo pale' in Yamuna Kalyani, 'Arunachalanatham' in Saranga, 'Sri Kalahastisam' in Useni and 'Ananda natana prakasam' in Kedara, another series of songs is that on the Navagrahas, the nine planets, excluding Rahu and Ketu he composed a series of Navavarana Kirtanas on the Goddess at Mayavaram, the most important songs are those he composed on the many deities at Tiruvarur itself, on the chief deity Tyagaraja he has sung many pieces of which 'Tyagaraja yoga vaibhavam' in Ananda bhairavi and 'Tyagarajaya namaste' in Byagadri deserve special mention; the Goddess Kamalamba at Tiruvarur was a favourite of Dikshitar and on her especially he has composed a Navavarana series, he has sung her eleven times, Tyagaraja's consort, Nilotpalambika, is sung in one song and the renowned Vinayaka on the north eastern corner of the tank has been praised in the songs 'Vatapi ganapatim' in Hamsadhvani and 'Sri Maha Ganapati' in Goula, in a Kirtana in Sriraga, 'Srimuladhara chakra Vinayaka', a form of Ganapati as presiding over the Muladharachakra found in front of Tyagaraja's principal shrine has been sung, besides almost all the deities at Tiruvarur, Achaleswara, Anandesvara, Siddhesvara and others have been sung, of the deities at other famous shrines, mention may be made of 'Sri Rajagopala' in Saveri, 'Bala Gopala' in Bhairavi."¹

Dikshitar had left the imprint of his personality all his songs. Material considerations did not enter his scheme of life. He led a pious life and believed in Advaita philosophy. He embodied the essence of Vedic teachings and mantras in his songs and showed the way for even those who could not be initiated in mantras to commune with the Supreme. His Navagraha Kritis are a masterpiece in this respect both from the point of view of music and of devotion.

1 A diligent search all over South India for the compositions of Dikshitar, a recording of all those Dikshita kirtanas known to such premier musicians as Veena Dhanam, who especially has a large stock of them as a consequence of her having come in the direct Sishya lineage of Dikshitar through Sattanur Panju, a good Devanagari edition of such collected compositions of his,—these and many more lines of work I think, will be pursued by lovers of music, ere 1935 ushers in the first Dikshitar centenary which must be celebrated not only in Madras but also in his own native place Tiruvarur in a grand manner"—*Sound and Shadow*, 11 November, 1933.

His end came suddenly At Ettayapuram, he was one day sitting, listening to the music of his pupils who were singing his Gamakakriya Kirtana, 'Minakshi' He asked them to sing it once more, they were singing the Anupallavi—Minalochani Pasamochani' when he felt that the Goddess had really released him from bondage (Pasa), he was accordingly released from mortal bondage He passed away in 1835 A D ¹

1054 Syamasastri was Tyāgaraja's contemporary and is the third of the musical trinity of South India He wrote mostly in Telugu, but there is an excellent piece in Sanskrit opening with Śankarī in Rāga Sāveri

"Thrice holy is Tiruvarur to the lover of our music, for it is this small place that gave birth to the Carnatic music trinity—the Trimurtis Sri Tyagaraja, Sri Syama Sastriar and Sri Muthuswamy Dikshitar All the three celebrated composers were contemporaries Tyagayya was the eldest and he blessed this earth with his life for the longest period, while the two others left it earlier Of the three, Muthuswamy Dikshitar was the youngest and he alone stuck to Tiruvarur for the longest time, while Tyagayya left for Tiruvayar or the Panchanada Kshetra and Syama Sastriar for Tanjore proper "

1055 Pratapasimha Deva, Maharaja of Jaipur (1779-1804 A D), produced a musical encyclopaedia SANGITASAGARA with the help of an assembly of musicians ²

1056 Sri Swati Ramavarma Kulasekhara was Mahārāja of Travancore (1812-1847 A D) ³ Besides prabandhas such as Yayāñicariṭa and 13 musical narratives Kucelopākhyāna and Ajāmīlopākhyāna ⁴ he composed sanskrit Kīrtanas like the kīrtis of Tyāgarāja, devoted to Śrī Padmanābha ⁵ He deplores the fallen musicians of his day thus

आकन्ता कलिनेव हन्त जगती पापीयसा गायक-
व्यूहेन क्षितिपालसदसिद्विलाकान्ता समन्तादपि ।
नृत्यत्पङ्कजसम्भवप्रणयिनीलीलारविन्दोदरा-
मन्दस्यन्दिमरन्दसुन्दरगिरां कुन्तावकाशोऽस्तु न ॥

1 See T Srinivasaraghavachariar's article in *Hindu*, 5th Nov 1935

2 There is a work of this name in *CO*, I 686

3. See para 178 *supra*

4. Ed by TSS Trivandrum

5 Ed by TSS. Trivandrum

The following verse in his praise by a feudatory Chief of Malabar is fine

षष्ठी तत्पुरुषाङ्गयो नृपतिषु प्रायेण विद्वत्प्रभू-
 शब्दस्सम्प्रति कर्मधारयतयाप्यामाति वच्चीश्वरे ।
 इत्यालोच्य विलोक्य सम्प्रति बहुव्रीहिव्रमेतत्पदे
 किं शोकादिव न स्थिति क्वचिदपि द्वन्द्वाव्ययीभावयो ॥

1057 Ramavarma Maharaja (Ayyilham Tirunal) of Travancore (1860-1880 A D) was a great patron of music Besides a commentary of Śrīkr̥ṣṇavilāsakāvya and Jalandharāsuraavadha (Kathakali) he wrote Vṛttaratnākara on prosody

1058 Kokkonda Venkataratnam Pantulu (1842-1916) was one of the greatest pandits of the Āndhra country in the last century, and was conferred the title of Mahamahopādhyāya in 1908 by the Government of India in recognition of his scholarship Though he remained as a Telugu Pandit throughout his service in the Presidency College, Madras and Government Arts College, Rajahmundry, he was a profound and critical Samskrit scholar and poet and wrote some works in Samskrit His Bilvanāṭhasatakam, Tanumadhya-Āryāsatakam, Tanumadhya-Gītaratnam were all printed in the early seventies of the last century, and he was the author of nearly fifty stavas, like, Varadarājasṭuti, Tārāvalistuti, Brahmadevīstuti, Śrī Kālahastīsvārāstuti, which were published in his paper called Āndhrabhāṣāsānjivini or 'Telugu Tongue Reviver,' and which are examples of the author's devotion and learning His Gīṭamahānata गीतमहानट was written in imitation of Jayadeva's Gītagovinda In the field of philosophy Venkataratnam Pantulu claims the discovery of the 'Akṣara Sāṅkhya' system of philosophy, and wrote a work in Samskrit called Mārgadāyini enunciating the principles of the system His knowledge of Tamil and Kanarese was commendable and his famous Telugu work Bilvesvariyaṁ is a translation from the Tamil classic of the name

Venkataratnam wrote more than 25 works in Telugu, and his service to that literature covers a period of nearly half a century He was held in high esteem by his contemporaries and was greatly patronized by the late Vidyavinoda Panappākam Ānanācāriar, the famous advocate of Madras, who used to call him as 'Andhra Johnson,' the literary dictator of his day

1059 Sri Vikrama Deo Varma, D Litt, Sāhitya Samrāt Mahārāja of Jeypore Samasthanam, South India, Kṣatriya (Solar Race) of Bhāradvājagoṭra, is the son of Śrī Kṛṣṇacandra Deo Mahārāja and Śrī Rekhā Devī. He was born on 28th June 1869 and ascended the Gadī on 6th June 1931. His literary patronage is visible in a recurring annual donation of Rs. One lakh to the Andhra University and various other donations amounting to fifty thousand a year. A great scholar in Sanskrit, Telugu, Oriya and English and a renowned poet in Sanskrit, Telugu and Oriya, a great astrologer and an Abhinava-Bhoja, he has composed many śrutis in Sanskrit and some in the form of songs with his name woven in accretions.

1060 Durvasula Suryanarayana Sastri, Vīṇa-Gāna-Kalānidhi, (1843-1896), was the chief Palace Vidwan and musician during the reign of Mahārāja Śrī Ananda Gajapati Raja of Vizianagaram Samasthanam. Sastri composed several musical pieces in Sanskrit and Telugu such as *Paramānanda samudravācālayam* in Kambhoji and *Devī dehi śaṭaṭūm* in Kalyāṇī. Viṇa Venkataramanadāsa is his disciple. Sastri was the disciple of Dāsa's father Peda Gurācāryulu.

ŚIVARAMA YATI lived in 1830-1900 and composed a book of songs of devotion called *Njabhājanasukhapaddhaṭi*.

MARGADARSI ŚEṢA AIYANGAR was so called as he was the light (or path-finder) of South Indian music. He mostly lived at Ayodhya and in the latter part of his life settled at Śrirangam in the service of Lord Ranganātha. He signs himself Kosalapuri in his songs. His songs (some of which are said to have been accepted by the Deity) are graceful.

MAHA VAIDYANATHA ŚIVA of the "golden voice" was at the top of the musicians of South India in living memory. His *Melārāgamāhikā* is now available.

Aṣṭāvadhānam Anantācārya's *extempore* composition of Samasyas and enigmas was a wonder. In some of his verses he artistically wove the names of rāgas, e.g.

चिकुराली तु बराली वदन तव भाति छङ्करामरणम् ।

Under the patronage of the Zamindar of Ullipālayam near Bezwaḍa, Kāndurī Rāmānujācārya and Narasiṃhācārya composed songs in Sanskrit.

Sangītayāyātam and Abhinavagopālapulindinīcarīṭa are opera plays interspersed with songs.¹

1061 Śrī Martand Manik Prabhu Maharaj (1860-1936 A D) occupied the gadi of Śrī Mānikprabhu who founded the Sakalamāṭa-sampradāya at Māniknagar, Nizam's dominions. He was well-versed in all the sāsṭyas and in music he wrote songs in several languages. His masterpiece in Sanskrit is Gnāna-marṭāṇḍa (son of knowledge). He bore the title Abhinava Śankarācārya.

1062, KIRTANACARYA C R SRINIVASACARYA (1867-1936) was born in Tanjore District. He was a profound scholar and critic in music. During the last decade of his life he took an active interest in resuscitating South Indian music and with the help of musical academies and conferences accomplished the colossal task of settling disputed points of interest in the technique of several ragas, in which for some centuries past musicians had their own ways. He was proficient in the compositions of Ṭyāgarāja and his edition of his songs is erudite, he was thence known as Abhinava Ṭyāga Brahmam. He is the pioneer of musical criticism in modern India. Speaking of Indian and Western music he wrote "Instrument predominates in the West and voice in the East. This is the true meaning of the crude, yet popular statement that harmony pervades the music of the West and melody that of the East. That this is so is shown by the absence of harmony in the vocal music of the West. The East has very much to give to the West. Only three modes or so of the seventy-two melakarṭhas of South Indian Music are used in the West. And the thirty-six melakarṭhas that take a sharp Ma are practically non-existent in the West, though men like Scriabine have, greatly daring, made the experiment of introducing it. On the other hand, the change of keys in one and the same piece that characterises the compositions in the West is not allowed in the Indian system, though we have it in "The Ramayana" that the music of those times included seven jātis that were amplified largely later on. And these took each note in turn as the drone, if we read the Ratnakara aright. It must be noted, too, that the voice and the instrument began to take in more and more of melody in modern times in the West. In the matter of thālas the West has very little to show in number and variety, though it must be said that the practical music of the present day in India lays under contribution chiefly three or four main thālas."

1. *Tanj.* XVI. 7852.

1063 Among living musical composers of South India are Rājagopāla Aiyar of Mannārgudi, Śrīrangācārya of Cidambaram, Srinivāsācārya of Nerur, Venkata Bhāgavatar of Kalladakurici, Bhairavamūrti and Harinagabhusanam of Masulipatam, Ariyakudi Rāmānuja Aiyangar of Kārakudi, Sangamesvara Sāstrin of Pittāpur, Venkataramadasa and Nārāyaṇadasa of Vizianagaram

1064 Miscellaneous The following are other treatises on music

Gopendra Tippa's Tālaprabandha illustrates each Tāla by a song on Śiva¹ So is Govinda's Tāladasāprāṇadīpikā otherwise called Mahābhārataḷakṣṇakāvya, where the songs are in praise of Rāma.

Gītaprakāsa is quoted in Sangītanārāyaṇa It gives songs of Kṛṣṇadāsa, contemporary of Caitanya Nārāyaṇakavi in Sangītasāra quotes a song from Rāmānandakavīrāya's Kṣudragītaprabandha called Cītrapada, as found in Gītaprakāsa which ends thus²

जयतु रुद्रगजेशमुदितारामानन्दकविरायकविगीतम् ।

referring to King Vīra Rudra Gajapati This Rāmācanda is the author of the play of Jagannāthavallabha

Kīrtanāpadasṭoma, Ḍolāgīta, Śivabhajanakīrtana, Vedāntagurudarśanakīrtana, Śrī Rāmācandradolā, and Sangītakāmaḍā, Unjalgīti by Śāṅkaranārāyaṇa, Sangīta-Rāghunandana by Viśvanāthasimha, Sangītasāstrasamkṣepa by Govinda and Sangītasangrahaśāntāmanī by Appalācārya [*Adyar*, 45-46], Abhinayamukura, Sangītalakṣaṇa and Bhāratasārasangraha by Candrasekhara [*Mys* 307], Sandesahasāḍilakṣaṇa, and Sangītasvaralakṣaṇa [*Mys* 641], Sangītasāstraḍugdhāvārdhi [*Mys Sup* 51]

Sangītasāstra (*Tanj*, XVI 7306), Ragārohaḥvarohaṇapattikā (*ibid.* 7349), Rāgalakṣaṇa (*ibid* 7304), Lāsyapuṣpāñjali (*ibid* 7268), Tānanighantu (*ibid* 7329), Varāpaḍa (*ibid* 7328), Taddhīṭtonnam (*ibid.* 7314), Melādhikāralakṣaṇa (*ibid* 7313), Tālaprastāra (*ibid* 7310) and Kīrtanas and Gītas (*ibid* 7317-27)

Abhinayāḍivīcāra, Abhinayalakṣaṇa, and Nāṭyaprasāmsā (*Tanj*, XVI 7249-62), Devendra's Sangītamuktāvalī (*Ibid* 7272), Haripāladēva's Sangītasudbhākara (*Ibid* 7293), Rāgapradīpā (*TC*, II 244),

1. प्रबन्ध तालानां भवतुतिमिषेणातनुत य.

शिवान्कृत्ताकारा नटनकरणानामपि भिदा ।

2 JBORS, VI, 448.

Sangītasudhānidhi (quoted by Rāghavabhatta), Sangīṭakalpadrūma of Kṛṣṇānanda Vyāsa (CC, I 685), Sangīṭacandrodaya (quoted by Gangārāma), Varnalaghuvyākhyāna of Rāma

Saptasvaralakṣaṇa, Svaraṭālādīlakṣaṇa (*Trav* 73), Gītāvalī of Saṇāṭana [CSC, (1907) 38, (1917) 586], Navaratnarakṣasāvalī, Rāgaḍhyānādīkathanādhyāya (*Bik*, 515), Sangītasudhākara, Abhinavatālamānjari and Rāgakalpadrūmāṅkura of Appa Tulasi alias Kasīnāṭha (composed in 1914), Lakṣyasangīṭa of Batkande and Abhinavarāgamanjari of Viṣṇusarma (Printed, Poona)

Sangītasāraḥkalikā of Śuddhasvarnakāra Mosadeva (*S R. Bhan Rep* II 54), Sangītasiddhānta of Rāmānanda Tīrtha, Sangīṭarāja, Sangīṭakalikā,¹ Sangītasudhā of Bhīmanarendra (*Oudh*, X 12), Sangīṭamanīdarpaṇa (*BRZ*), Sangītasarvasva² and Svaracintāmāni (*Gough*, 185), Sangītasāroddhāra (or Rāga kautūhala) of Rāmākṣṇa Bhatta (*Bik*, 518), Rāgaṭūhala (quoted by Bhāvabhatta), Sangītasārasangraha (i) anonymous (*Rice*, 292, *Opp*, I 1052) and (ii) by Saurīndramohana (Printed, Calcutta), Bharatasāstra by Raghunātha Prasāda (*Tanj* XVI, 7232), Rāgaḍandikā and Catvāriṃsatsadrāganirūpaṇa (Printed, Bombay)

Nātyādhyāya by Asokamalla (*Bik* 514), Sarvasvaralakṣaṇa (CC, I 703), Ādibharataprastāra (*Opp* 4991), Sangītagangādhara by Kāsīpāṭi, (CC, I 105), Ānandasanjivana by Maḍanapāla, (*Bik*, 509), Sāroddhāra (CC, I 715)

Gāyakaṇṇirjāta by Śīgarācārya (Printed, Madras), Gṇānakīrtana, Mādhyamakālikīrtana, Muhanaprāsāntyaprasavyavaṣṭhā, and Śāhīṭyam by Aśvinī Mahārāja (*Trav* 176), Mālādhāra by Mīnappa Venkatappa (Printed, Mysore), Varāgyaṭarangīṇī (Astapādī) by Mānavikrama Kavirājakumāra (*Trav* 176), Śrī Harikīrtana by Subbarāyaḍāsa (Printed, Madras), Sangīṭarājaranga (Printed, Trivandrum), Sangīṭasarvārthasangraha by Kṛṣṇanarao (Printed, Madras), Angahāralakṣaṇa (*Trav* 73), [Anubhavarasa by Hīra Saravi, Anurāgarasa by S Nārāyaṇaswāmī, Abhinavatālamānjari, Abhinavarāgamanjari, Ādarsagītāvalī of Jīva-rāmopādhyāya, Ānandagāna, Kalyāṇakalpadrūma, Gaṇjālsangraha, Gānasṭavamanjari, Jogavihārakalpadrūma, Ḍoloṭṣavadīpikā, Dharma-sangīṭa of Radhākṣṇāji, Navaratnarakṣasāvalī, Rāgaṭaṭṭvabodha of Śrīnivāsa, Rāgatarangīṇī of Locana Pandīṭa, Gīṭasataka of Sundarācārya, Rāgalakṣaṇa of Rāgakavi].³

1. Quoted by Hemādri (1550 1800 A. D.) in his commentary on Raghuvamśa.

2. Quoted by Jagaḍdhara in his commentary on Venīsaṃhāra (CC, I.687)

3. All printed See Cat of Oriental Book Depot, Poona.

Sangitāmṛta and Sangīṭacintāmaṇi of Kamalalocana (CC, I 685, 686), Sangīṭaprakāśa Rāgādīśvaranirṇaya of Raghunāṭha (18th century A D)

Rāgaṇḍīpa (TC, II 2447), Rāgaratnākara of Gandharvarāja (Tanj, XVI 7302), Gītādoṣavicāra (TC, IV 4707)

Rāgavarnanirūpaṇa (DC, XXII 8742), Tālalakṣaṇa by Kohala (DC, XXII, 8725, see *Tanj* XVI, 7312), Tāladasāprāṇaprakaraṇa (DC, XXII, 8723), Tālakalāvilāsa, and Caturasabhāvilāsa (quoted in Nārāyaṇa Śivayogi's Nātyasarvasvadīpikā (BR (1916), No, 41), Mṛdangalakṣaṇa (DC, XXII, 874,) Śrūṭibhāskara of Bhīmadeva (Bk 530)

Rāgaṭattvavibodha of Srīnivāsa Pandita (Bk 517), Sangītakalpataru quoted by Ruciṇḍī and Ranganāṭha,¹ Sangītacandrikā of Mādhavabhaṭṭa² quoted in Sangītasūdhā, Sangītakeumudī quoted in Sangītanārāyaṇa³

On Indian music and dancing generally, see Kannoolmal, *Indian Music* (Ind Rev XVI 1054), K Bhairavamurti, *Music* (Dhṛti, 1925, 94), M E Cousins, *Eastern and Western Music*, (Paper read at All India Oriental Conference, 1924), Madura Ponnusami, *Svaras*, (ibid), K N Sitaram, *Place of Chidambaram in the Evolution of Dance in India* (ibid), K V Srinivasa ayangar, *Abhinaya* (ibid), M R Kavi, Nānyadeva on Music (ibid), A Wesharp, *Psychology of Indian Music* (JASB, IX vii) Schmidt's *Essays on Hindu Musical Scale and 22 Srutis*, G S Khare's *Some Thoughts on Hindu Music*, (Poona), Saurindra Mohan Tagore's *History of Music, Hindu Music, Hindu Drama, Seven Principal Musical Notes of the Hindus, Six Principal Ragas and Music and Musical Instruments of South India* (Calcutta), Pingley's *Indian Music*, Annie Wilson's *Hindu System of Music*, (Lahore), Chinnaśami Mudaliar's *Oriental Music in staff notation*, (Madras), Singarachari's works (Sasilekha Office, Madras), Ananda Comaramasami's *Indian Music* (London), Shahindra's *Indian Music*, (London), Krishnarao's *First Step in Hindu Music*, (London), K B Deval's *Musical Scale* (Poona), Gangadhar's *Theory and Practice of Hindu Music*, (Madras), Clement's *Indian Music*, (London), Mrs Mani's

1 There is a commentary on it by Rōya Gaṇeśa (Bk 512) Ranganāṭha commented on Śakuntalā in 1655 A D

2 TC, IV 4801 A work of this name is quoted in Sangītanārāyaṇa (TC, V. 6227, TC, IV 4804)

3, TC, V. 6127.

Kamasastra

(EROTICS)

1065 **Kamasastra** treats of **EROTICS** in its most comprehensive signification. For purposes of literature, erotics are on the same level as poetics and may, not improperly, be called a branch of *Sāhitya*. The classification of heroes and heroines, the description of their qualities, the progress of their loves and the means of their union are all stated in works on poetics or erotics and these precepts are adopted and elaborated in the poetical and particularly the dramatic literature. Bhavabhūti, in his *Mālātīmādhava*, expressly says that his play is an illustration of *Kāmasūtra*. Without a study of erotics, Sanskrit poetry cannot be appreciated.

Kāma or love is the third 'Puruṣārtha, that is, the third object of a man's life. From the remotest ages the idea that enjoyment of pleasures is as much necessary for a man's salvation as *Dharma* and *Artha*, virtue and wealth, has been prevalent in India, and tradition attributes the first treatise on these three objects of life to the Creator himself in 100,000 chapters. It is out of this first source, Manu and Bṛhaspati formulated distinct works on *Dharma* and *Artha*. Nandin it was that related the principles of *Kāmasāstra* in 1,000 chapters and of these summaries were made by Sveṭaketu and Bābhavya. Bābhavya's summary was itself a large work in 150 chapters and in seven parts dealt with seven subjects, *Sādhārana*, *Sāmprayogika*, *Kanyāsāmprayogika*, *Bhāryādāhikārika*, *Tārādārika*, *Vaisika* and *Aupanīṣadika*. The first deals with the merit of *Kāmasāstra*, the nature of education and the regulation of life, the second with sensual enjoyment and copulation, the third with wooing, training and company of girls, the fourth with relations between husband and wife, the fifth with dealings with the wives of others, the sixth with public women, and the seventh with charms and medicines in relation to enjoyment of sensual pleasures.

From this vast volume of Bābhavya, the various topics were separated and related respectively by *Cārāyana*, *Suvarnanābha*, *Ghotakamukha*, *Gonardiya*, *Gonikāputra*, *Daṭṭaka* and *Kucimāra*. Of these all but the last are now lost. It was *Vātsyayana* who made an epitome of these writings in his *Kāmasūtra* of 36 chapters, with the object of

comprehending the whole subject of erotics in an easy and readable form. This is the resume of early literature with which Vātsyāyana begins his Kāmasūtra ¹

It is the view of Vātsyāyana that all these three Puruṣārthas, Dharma, Artha and Kāma are equally serviceable and conducive to bliss here and in the other world. He begins by saying धर्मार्थकामेभ्यो नमः and traces the source of Kāmasāstra to the Creator himself thus —

प्रजापतिर्हि प्रजासृष्ट्वा तासां स्थितिनिबन्धनं त्रिवर्गसाधनमध्यायानां शतसहस्रेणाग्रे प्रोवाच ।

He advocates Kāma, the enjoyment of sensual pleasures, without prejudice to Dharma and Artha, in the period of youth —

शतायुर्वै पुरुषो विभज्य कालमन्योन्यानुबद्धं परस्परस्यानुपघातकं त्रिवर्गं सेवेत ।

In answer to a deprecation of Kāma as undesirable expressed thus

न कामाश्चरेत् । धर्मार्थयो प्रधानयोरेवमन्येषां च सतां प्रत्यनीकत्वात् । अनर्थजनससर्गमसद्व्यवसायमशौचमनायति चेते पुरुषस्य जनयन्ति । तथा प्रमादलाघवमप्रत्ययमप्राज्ञतां च ।, he writes

शरीरस्थितिहेतुत्वादाहारसधर्माणो हि कामा फलभूताश्च धर्मार्थयो बोद्धव्यं तु दोषेष्विव । न हि मिथुका सन्तीति स्थाल्यो नाधिश्चीयन्ते, न हि मृगास्सतीति यवा नोप्यन्ते ।

and quotes an ancient verse

एवमर्थं च कामं च धर्मं चोपचरेन्नरः ।
इहामुत्र च निश्चल्यमत्यन्तं सुखमश्नुते ॥

The last verses embody a counsel of good conduct thus

तदेतत् ब्रह्मचर्येण परेण च समाधिना ।
विहितं लोकयात्रायै न रागोऽज्ञाहि सविधिः ॥
रक्षन् धर्मार्थकामानां स्थितिं स्वा लोकवर्तिनीम् ।
अस्य शास्त्रस्य तत्त्वज्ञो भवत्येव जितेन्द्रियः ॥
तदेतत्कुशलो विद्वान् धर्मार्थाविवलोकयन् ।
नातिरागात्मकं कामी प्रयुञ्जानः प्रसिध्यति ॥

and then the sage predicates salvation for a life devoted to pleasure consistent with Dharma and Artha

1 Ed. by S. R. Schmidt. Tr. into German. Ed. Bombay with Jayamangala commentary. Translated into English in 1883, and recently by K. Rangasami Iyengar (Lahore). See also CO, 215, 256. On Kālidāsa's quotations from Vātsyāyana, see Peterson, JBRAS XVIII, 110 and Mujumdar, IA, XLVII 195.

1066 Dattaka,¹ the son of a Brahmin of Mathurā, was born at Pātalīputra. Having lost his mother while yet an infant his father gave away the boy to a Brahmin woman and so he was known as Daṭṭaka. He wanted to study the ways of the world and thinking that the best means was a resort to the homes of dancing woman, got into their company and soon learnt their artful devices to a high degree so that he was requested by them to compose a work on the principles of Kāmasāstra relating to their profession. So says Vātsyāyana in his Kāmasūtras² and the commentary of Jayamangala gives the tradition.

The work, Daṭṭaka-sūtras, is not available, except two aphorisms quoted by Sāmīlaka and Isvaradaṭṭa³ in their plays and there is a parody of it by a character in Śūdraka's Padmaprabhāṭaka that it began with the letter ओम्⁴

Mādhavarman II, the king of the Ganga dynasty, wrote a ṛtti on Daṭṭaka-sūtras. He was the 5th ancestor of Durviniṭa and lived probably about 380 A.D.⁵ A fragment of the ṛtti which is in verse embraces two pādas only, dealing with rakta and virakṭa. Vesya and Śayanopacāra⁶. It is doubted if this is a summary of Daṭṭaka's original Tantra, for the first verse runs thus

यद्वत्तकेन प्रमदाहितार्थं कान्तानुवृत्तं कथितं स्वतन्त्रे ।

तस्मात्समाहृत्य समस्तमन्यं वेश्याङ्गानुवृत्तमहं प्रवक्ष्ये ॥

1 Is he identical with Daṭṭ? Their probable lines are the same.

2 तस्य षष्ठं वैशिकमधिकरणं पाटलीपुत्रिकाणां गणिकानां नियोगात् दत्तकं पृथक् चकार ।
—Kāmāsūtra, I

3 किं ब्रवीषि—वेश्याभ्यो यद्वीयते तन्नष्ट इति बहवो ब्रुवन्ति ।
तद्वत्तकेनाप्युक्तं, कामोऽर्थनाशः पुसामिति ॥—*Dharmasāstasambhāṣā*
सा हि तपस्विनी निवृत्तकामतन्त्रा रजोपरोधात् केवलकुटुम्बतन्त्रार्थं शब्दकाम-
मनुवर्तते । गम्यश्चायमस्या । अपुमान् शब्दकाम इति दातव्यः ॥
Pāṇini'saṅgraha

4 वेश्याङ्गणं प्रविष्टो मोहाद्विभ्रुयच्छ्रया वापि ।
न ब्राजते प्रयुक्तो दत्तकसूत्रेऽपि बोद्धार ॥—*Padmaprabhāṭaka*

5 See para 48 *supra*. *EC*, IX 7 and No *DB*, 68 दत्तकसूत्रवृत्ते प्रणेतुं श्रीमन्मा-
धवमहाधिराजस्य ।

6 *TC* IV 4785 Here are some verses

कान्तेन यत्नान्मुखवासपूर्वमोगांश्च गृहीतं सुखी नियोगात् ।
कृष्णा च कृष्णोत्तरमात्रमस्मै मन्द्रं प्रयच्छेत्प्रतिवाक्यमादौ ॥
भुजे प्रियस्य स्वशिरो निधाय तस्योत्तमाङ्गं खभुजेऽवसज्य ।
गात्राणि तदालवन्निवेश्य कान्तेन सार्धं कथयेच्छयाना ॥

1067 Kucimaratantra is not fully extant. A few sections in the Aupanishadam (medicine) chapter have been traced and published. It is avowedly a narration of Kucimāra's practices and his greatness has brought this work into repute, enough to call it an Upaniṣad. Thus it begins —

शङ्कराय नमस्कृत्य यत्पूर्वैस्समुदाहृतम् ।
 * * * तकर नृणा मन्त्रोपधितमन्वितम् ॥
 सयोगादिष्टसमारुदुपपन्न च तत्त्वत ।
 कुचिमारेण तपसा यत्कृत क्रीडन पुरा ॥
 तत्प्रवक्ष्यामि चित्रार्थं नानार्थपदनिश्चितम् ।
 श्रूयता नामतश्चैव कूचूपनिषद पुन ।
 बृहण लेपन चैव वश्य बन्धनवृष्यकम् ।
 पादलेपान्जन तैल रोमनाद्यनभेव च ॥

Even in its present form, the work is very old and can be assigned to a date earlier than the 10th century A. D.¹

1068 Vatsyayana Tradition accords to Vātsyāyana the repute of a Muni or Maharsi. His proper name was Mallanāga of the Vātsyāyana family but his identity with Pakṣilaswāmin, the author of Nyāyabhāṣya, is not substantiated. Obviously he flourished in the age when the sūtra form of literature was in vogue. His exact date is as usual a chronological speculation, but the uncertainty is a matter of relativity. Vātsyāyana instances the killing of his queen Malayavatī by Kuṇṭala Śātakarṇi Śātavāhana.² Kuṇṭala Śātakarṇi or Swātī Karna was the 13th Āndhra king, and son of Mr̥gendra Swātīkarṇa and according to Maṭṣyapurāṇa and Kalyugārājavṛttānta he ruled in Kali 2457-2481, that is B. C. 615-607.³ This date is of orthodox acceptance. Leaving an appreciable interval for the act of that king to become a story of notoriety and being instanced in literature, we may safely assign Vātsyāyana to the 4th or 3rd century B. C.

1 I noted Lahore, DC, VIII 2945 app 7908 (*Kucimārasamhitā*)

2 See Introduction, about Kings of Magadha

3 कर्तर्यो कुन्तलश्शातकर्णश्शातवाहन महादेवी मलयवती जघान । II vii The use of perfect tense shows that the story was already considered traditional

But V. Smith places Purikaseva (for variations of this name, see T. S. Narayana Sastri, *o c* 99 where he gives him the date 485-464 B. C.) in 59 A. D., from which K. G. Sankara Iyer (*JMy*, VIII 291) deduces the date 45 B. C. for Kuṇṭala Śātakarṇi and relying on the quotation of Lakṣṇavālāsūtra in the Nyāyasūtras he takes us through a labyrinth of cross references to Aśvaghoṣa and Nāgārjuna and concludes

Kamasūtra¹ is a valuable treatise on sociology and eugenics. The work, says H C Chakladar, (*JBORS*, V, part 11) "furnishes a beautiful picture of the Indian home, its interior and surroundings. It delineates the life and conduct of a devoted Indian wife, the mistress of the household and the controller of her husband's purse. It describes the daily life of a young man of fashion, his many-sided culture and refinement, his courtships and peccadillos, the sports and pastimes he revelled in, the parties and clubs he associated with. The wanton wiles of gay Lotharios and merry maidens, the abuses and intrigues prevailing among high officials and princes and the evils practised in their crowded harems, are described at great length and often with local details for the various provinces of India. The Kamasutra shows, moreover, that, as in the Athens of Pericles, the hetærae skilled in the arts, the artists, the actress and the danceuse, occupied a no very mean or insignificant position in society. The book thus throws light on Indian life from various sides."

Kāmasūtras composed in 350 A.D. If Vātsyāyana was regarded as a divine or a Rṣi by Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti, this date subverts all imagination.

"It can be shown that the book, as we have it now, was known to Bhavabhūti, who flourished at the end of the seventh century, and that he makes constant reference to it in his *Mālatīmadhava*. There is a statement to that effect at the beginning of the play itself, the point of which has been hitherto missed. I refer to the phrase "Auddhatyamayoṣṭakamasutram," which occurs in the enumeration by the actor of the qualities the audience expect to find in the play about to be represented before them. Jagaddhara sees no reference to a book here, and Bhandarkar, differing from Jagaddhara, translates, "bold or adventurous deed, intended to assist the progress of love (i.e. in which is introduced the thread of love)." Bhavabhūti doubtless means this too. But his words include a reference to this book of which he makes great use. When Kamandakī shyly suggests, while professing to put aside, the tales of how Sakuntala and others followed the dictates of their own hearts in love, he is following Vātsyāyana. When she tells Avalokita that the one auspicious omen of a happy marriage is that bride and bridegroom should love one another, and quotes the old saying that the happy husband is he who marries the girl who has bound to her his heart and his eye she is quoting Vātsyāyana, and so in many other parts of the play one of the most conspicuous passages is in his seventh act where Buddharakṣita breaks through her Prakṛit to quote the Sanskrit phrase, "Kusumasādharnano hi yositah sukumaropakramah"—"For women are like flowers, and should be approached gently." Buddharakṣita is quoting our book (p. 199), and the whole of the context refers to a matter which Vātsyāyana treats of at great length, and which is interwoven with the plot of the *Mālatīmadhava*." *PR*, II 67

1. Ed. Benares and Bombay. For an excellent exposition in Telugu see Vātsyāyana's *Kamasūtra*, T. P. Adinarayana Sastri, Madras.

2. For an elaborate essay on the work, see Harachandra Chakladar's *Studies in Kamasutra of Vatsyayana*, Calcutta. See Peterson *JBRAS*, (1891), 109, J. N. Samaddar, *Economic Ideal of Kamasutra*, IA, LIII 146. There is another English translation published by Brijmohan & Co, Amritsar.

Besides Bhoja's *Singāraprakāśa*, which is practically an elaboration of portions of *Kāmasūtras*, there are commentaries on it by *Yasodhara* *Bhāskara Nisimha*, *Virabhadradeva*, *Malladeva*¹ and one anonymous²

1069 *Yasodhara's* gloss, *Jayamangala*,³ is attributed by some scholars to *Śankarārya* or *Sankarārya*,⁴ because other commentaries of the name of *Jayamangala*, such as on *Cānakya's Arthasāstra*, *Kāmandaki's Nītiśāstra*, *Bhāṭṭikāvya*, *Īśvara's Sāṅkhyasaptāśati* etc., are said to be of the latter's authorship and *Yasodhara* alias *Indraprabha* is in that case only a scribe⁵. It is not possible to say who that *Śankara* was, except that this gloss is later than *Kokkoka* and cannot be earlier than the 13th century A.D. The great *Śankara* himself is said to have written a *Bhāṣya* on *Kāmasūtras*.

1070 *Virabhadradeva* was the son of *Rāmacandra* and a king of *Veghela* dynasty of the line of *Sālvāhana*. His *Kandarpacūdāmani*⁶ is a running commentary in verse and gives the date of its composition as Sam 1633 (1577 A.D.)⁷. *Bhaskara Nrsimha* lived at *Benares* and composed his work at the instance of one *Vrajallal* in 1788 A.D.

1071 There is a tradition that *Śankara* wrote *Manasijāsūtras* and *Jyotiṣīśvara* says that he had seen *Manmathatantra* of *Īśvara*.

1 *CC*, I 93, *Bik*, 535

2 *PR*, IV 25

3 See *TC*, V 6888

4 See *Weber*, *IL*, 267 note

5 The colophon to the gloss reads thus

इति श्रीवात्स्यनीयकामसूत्रटीकायां जयमङ्गलामिधानायां विदग्धाङ्गनाविरहकारेण
गुरुदत्तेन्द्रपदामिधानेन यशोधरेण एकलकृतसूत्रभाष्यायाम् ।

"It is not possible to make out the real meaning of the underlined words and they certainly cannot mean that *Yasodhara* brought the *Sūtras* and *Bhāṣya* together because they are adjectival to *Tika*, and *Tika* cannot be a combination of *sūtras* and *Bhāṣya*. *Peterson* says "The author gives his name as *Yasodhara* but states that he wrote this explanation of the *Sūtras* which *Vātsyāyana* collected after he had retired from the world in grief at the loss of a beloved wife, and had, under the name of *Indrapāla* entered the ascetic life" (*PR*, II 67).

6 *SKC*, 64, *PR*, II 66, *P K Goṣe*, *Identification of Virabhanu* (*COJ*, II 254 where geneology is given)

हरलोचनहरलोचनरसशशिर्विश्रुते समये ।

पात्युनशुक्लप्रतिपदि पूर्णो ग्रन्थस्सस्मेरः ॥

7 *DC*, VIII 2981

Rantideva's Yogādhikārikā also deals with medicines,¹ for instance

माहेन्द्रमुक् सखल धृतेन ससैन्धव गव्यपयससुसिद्धम् ।

तद्वक्षयित्वा रातिमङ्गरेषु जयत्यकस्माद्युवतीसहस्रम् ॥

Nāgārjuna or Siddha Nāgārjuna² is said to have composed Vasikaratantra³. It is not now available. There is Nāgārjunīyayogasatāka by Dhruvapāla⁴.

Ksemendra's Vātsyayanasaṁgrasāra is quoted in his Aucitvavicāra-carcā (39)

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There are two commentaries on it by Tanusukharama⁵ (the editor) and by Jagajjyotirmalla (1617-1633 A D). Nāgarādāsa wrote Nāgarasamuccaya⁶.

1073 Kalyanamala wrote his ANANGARANGA⁷ to please a Mohammadan ruler of Oudh, Ladakhān Lodi, son of Ahmedkhan. In ten chapters it describes the sensual qualities of different classes of women and purports to be a compendium of writings on the subject. He also wrote Sulomaṭṭariti, a Sanskrit version of the story of Solomon, son of David, in the old Testament⁸.

1 CC, I 498. He is mentioned in Śākṭiratnākara (Of 101)

2 See IA, IV 141, X 87, XV 352, XVI. 169

3 CC, I 288, III 61

4 Opp 998, II 1090, Oudh, XII 26

5 Ed. by himself, Bombay with a valuable introduction

6 Printed, Bombay

7 Ed. Lahore DC, VIII 2941. Here is a verse for instance

उन्निद्राम्बुजकोशतुल्यवदना रम्या मरालस्वना

तन्वी हसपथागतिस्सुललित वेष सदा बिभ्रती ।

मम्य चापि बलितयाङ्किततनुशुक्लाम्बराकाङ्क्षिणी

सुग्रीवा शुभनासिकेति गदिता नार्युत्तमा पद्मिनी ॥

8 DC, XXI 8150

1074 Kokkoka was the son of Tejoka and grandson of Pārihadra. His *Ratirahasya* in 10 chapters was composed for the election of one Vainyadatta and is an elegant and lucid summary of *āmasūtras*. It is quoted by Kumbhakarṇa and by Nayacandra and as probably composed in the 12th century A.D.

There are commentaries on *Ratirahasya*¹ by Kāncinātha,² Avanca āmacandra,³ and Kaviprabhu.⁴ Harihara's *Ṣṅgārarasabandhaprāpikā* is also a commentary.⁵

उद्भूत पारिमद्रामरनरफणि प्रेयमीगीतकीर्ते
नप्ता तेजोकनाम्नस्सदसि बहुमत. पडिताना कवीनाम् ।
एतच्छ्रीगद्यविद्याधरकवितनय कामकेळीरहस्य
कोक्कोक कामुकानां किमपि रतिकर व्याकरोत् कौतुकेन ॥

The colophon reads इति श्रीसिद्धपडितसिंहजीयकोक्कोकविरचिते रतिरहस्ये ।

*Kāmasāstra*⁶ is a compilation of verses on erotics with pictorial presentations, one in each sheet, but the verses appear to be from *ratirahasya*, which as preserved in Tanjore has readings different from the published edition.⁷

1075 Harihara, son of Rāmavidvat, bore the title *Sahajasāra-vaṭacandra*. He also wrote *Ratirahasya* or *Ṣṅgārābheda-padīpikā*⁸ or *ṅgārā-dīpikā* in which chapter IV deals with mantras, yantras and medicines. It is said that he was a Telugu poet and wrote *Bhāgavata* about 1450 A.D.⁹ But if Vidyādhara's mention of a poet Harihara and his work *Bindvalankara*, as having received immense wealth from a king *Arjuna* means this Harihara and if King *Arjuna* is king *Arjunavarman*

1. *Tanj* XVI 7855

2. Ed Benares *DO*, VIII 2957, *Tanj* XXII 7857

3. *DO*, VIII 2955 This was translated into Telugu and Tamil long ago

4. *Tanj*, XVI 7858

5. *Tanj*, XVI 7959

6. *Tanj*, XV 7866

7. *Ibid* 7855

There is a *Kāmasāstra* by Silhapata Iśvarakāmiṣa, quoted by Arjunavarman in a gloss on *Amaruka* *CG*, I 61

8. *IC*, II 2452 Ms breaks off in the 5th chapter (*Mys* 207, *DO*, VIII 2950). These chapters were published by R S Schmidt in *ZDMG* Aufrecht (*CG*, I 661) see the reference as Burnell, 59 But the Tanjore catalogue has no such name, there is a *Śabdābheda-pradīpikā* (anonymous) noted there, *Tanj* IX 890?

9. See Viresalingam's *Poets* Part III

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8 DC, XXI 8150

1080 MINANATHA wrote *Smaradīpikā* or *Ratiratnapradīpikā*. He describes the plan of his work thus ¹

प्रथम जातिनिर्देशस्ततो नायकलक्षणम् ।
ततश्चाभ्यन्तररति स्वान्यदाराधिकारिता ।
वारनार्यधिकारश्च क्रमशोऽन्ते प्रदर्शित ॥

SRINATHABHATTA wrote a treatise in 16 chapters on erotic sorcery, as expounded in the Tantra ². There is a *Kāmaṭantra* in 14 parts of unknown authorship ³.

1081 *Rasikaranjanam* of Vaidyanāṭha and *Rasikabodhinī* of his father *Kāmarājadīkṣita* ⁴ and *Śṅgāratilakam* of Kālidasa are small poetic descriptions of amorous sentiments ⁵.

1082 *Rasacandrikā* of Viśveśvara ⁶ describes heroes and heroines. *Vitavṛtta* describes the relations between harlots and their lovers and was probably composed by Saumadaṭṭin ⁷. Madhava's *Jadavṛtta* gives a humorous account of fools as dupes of dancing woman ⁸. *Dhūrtānandam* in 4 parts is an attractive account of the rakish ways of the man of the town ⁹.

Citrādhara's Śṅgārasāra in 7 Paddhatis deals with the origin,

1 CO, I 745, 455. He is quoted by Manoharasarman, *Opf*, 352, *PR*, II 190.

2 Mitra's *Notes*, No 991, *IO*, IV 921, *BRI*, (1925), 15. Ed. Bombay.

3 OML, No 14980?

4 DC, XX 8009.

5 See S.K. De *SP*, I 320 and for quotations see *Nāgarasāstra* (Ed. Bombay p 117).

For instance

मन्था विश्व स्मरोऽग्निर्मगमरगिरहो रोमपक्तिस्तु दर्शो
होमद्रव्यं हि रेतो मणितमपि च वागृत्विजावण्डयुग्मम् ।
एतत्कामाग्निहोत्र विधिविहितमहो सालसाक्षो भजन्ते
धित्कान् धित्कान् धिगेतानिति वदति सख वारयेषिन्मृदङ्ग ॥

This is based on *Chandogyapau* sū (V 8)

"योषा वाव गीतमाग्निस्तस्या उपस्थ एव समिधदुपमन्त्रयते सधूमो योनिरर्विर्यदन्तः
करोति तेऽङ्गारा अभिनन्दस्फुल्लिङ्गा । तस्मिन्नेतस्मिन्मग्नौ देवा रेतो ब्रूहि ॥

6 TC, II 18.

7 The first verse of the work is quoted as Saumadaṭṭin's in Vallabhaḍḍa's *Subhāṣṭāvalī*. But a commentary on *Jadavṛtta* ascribes the work to Bharṭṭhari's (Manuscript in Or. Ms. Library in Madras).

8 Trav 74.

9 TC, III 3981 Trav, 74.

emotions, progress and consummation of love and incidentally with music and dancing ¹

Smaradīpikā² is a short piece of 157 verses and embraces all the topics of erotics. In the colophon of one of the manuscripts it is attributed to Mūladeva, but the third verse indicates that the author was Rudra Ratīmanjarī of Jayadeva is a small piece on women and copulation³ Kāmāprābhṛtaka by Kesava is an introductory treatise on erotics and shows fine poetry⁴ So is Kāmānanda in 5 patalas of Varadarāja, son of Isvarādhvarin⁵

Anangadīpikā (in prose),⁶ Ratīsāra,⁷ Ratīcandrikā,⁸ and Sṅgāra-kuṭūhala of Kautukadeva,⁹ and Ṭṭīyapuru-ārthasādhakasaraṇi,¹⁰ and Praṇayacinṭā deal with amorous sentiments and dalliance Bandhodaya is a collection of pictures very artistically drawn upon palm leaves illustrating various postures of copulation and accompanied by the verse describing the bandhas¹¹ Sṅgārakanduka or Jārapancāsaṭ describes in two parts some amorous situations as between Kṛṣṇa and Gopis¹²

Vesyānganākalpadruma relates to courtesans¹³ Raghupatīrahasya-dīpikā stops with Sambhogaprakarana¹⁴

1083 Miscellaneous Kāmasāra of Karṇadeva,¹⁵ Ratīsāra of King Mādhavadeva,¹⁶ Ratīcandrikā¹⁷

1. DC, XX 8016 IO I 864

2. PR II No 113 Tanj, XVI 7363

3. Ed Bombay and elsewhere.

4. TC, III 3897

5. TC, III 3898

6. Bk 531

7. CBK, 531 B

8. DC, VIII 3894

9. TC, IV 5001

10. OML No 3/649.

11. Ibid Ms No 4/574 Sambhogāḍhyayām (Mys 307) Kāmakalpalatā of Saḍāśiva is a similar work on postures of copulation without pictures The latter manuscript is available with Mr Ramakrishna Kavi, Madras

12. TC II 1400 There is a commentary on it by Venkatarāghava of Śrīśaīla family

13. Opp 6220

14. Adyar, II 87

15. PR, III 22, 866

16. Mys 307.

17. TC, III 3899

CHAPTER XXVIII

Chandoviciti

(METRICS)

1084 Chandas-sastra or **Chandoviciti**, as it has been sometimes called, is the science of metrics, prosody. It is a Vedāṅga, a subject of study necessary for the proper understanding of the hymns. The earliest Sanskrit literature, Rg-veda, is in sūktas or hymns, that is, in verse.¹ The seers (Rṣis) that sang those verses must have been guided by specific canons for metrical expression, for music, that is evident in the chanting of the hymns contained in Sāma Veda, must originate an array of letters yielding sounds conducive to the harmony of the ear. "In the Brahmanas the oddest tricks are played with them and their harmony is in some mystical fashion brought into connection with the harmony of the world, in fact, stated to be its fundamental cause. The simple minds of these thinkers were too much charmed by their rhythms not to be led into these and similar symbolisings." The metrical content of the Rgveda has shown that each period except the 'normal' period, was inventive. The bards were occupied in constructing fresh metrical schemes, as well as in producing verse following established models. They frequently compare their craft to the highest kind of workmanship known to them, that is displayed in the construction of a war-chariot, and they show confidence that a 'new' song will be more pleasing to the gods than one which is old fashioned."

Principles of versification and inquiries into the nature of metres, that is, the beginning of the science of metrics, are found in Nidāna-sūtra of Sāmaveda, Śāṅkhyāyana Śrautasūtra (vu 2), and in Rk Prāṭisākhya and Kāṭyāyana Anukramanī which almost follows it, while in the later hymns of Rk Samhitā some metres are named.²

The antiquity of the Vedic metres goes far beyond conceivable history. It dates back probably to the days when the Indo-Aryans, as, ethnologists may say, were still unseparated or just separated from their Persian brethren.³

1 Macdonell, *SL*, 54; Weber, *JL*, 225 and Weber, *des Metriks des Indes*, Berlin; Brown, *Prosody*, 17.

1. See Weber, *IST*, VIII 1, H Jacobi, *ZDMG*, XXXVIII 590, XL 386.

2 Arnold, *Vedic Metre* (Cambridge), 19.

"The comparison of the earlier parts of the Avesta indicates that the first Vedic poets were not far from the period when verse was measured solely by the number of syllables, without any regard to their quantity. The quantity of initial and final syllables is always indifferent in the R̥gveda, and this feature is inherited from the earlier period of purely syllable measurement. But in all other parts of the verse we find rhythmical tendencies, which determine with varying regularity the quantity required in each position." Thus concludes Arnold. As works of mechanical art the metres of the R̥gveda stand high above those of modern Europe in variety of motive and in flexibility of form. They seem indeed to bear the same relation to them as the rich harmonies of classical music to the simple melodies of the peasant. And in proportion as modern students come to appreciate the skill displayed by the Vedic poets, they will be glad to abandon the easy but untenable theory that the variety of form employed by them is due to chance, or the purely personal bias of individuals and to recognize instead that we find all the signs of a genuine historical development, that is, of united efforts in which a whole society of man have taken part, creating an inheritance which had passed through the generations from father to son, and holding up an ideal which has led each in his turn to seek rather to enrich his successors than to grasp his own immediate enjoyment. If this was so, when the Vedic bards also are to be counted amongst 'great men' such as sought out musical tunes and set forth verses in writing."

1085 The following extracts from Arnold's *Vedic Metre* (6-15) are instructive

The units of Vedic metre are the 'verse', the 'stanza' and the 'hymn'

A *verse* consists most commonly either of eight syllables, when we distinguish it as a *dimeter* verse or of eleven or twelve syllables, both of which varieties are included under the name *trimeter* verse

* * * *

The most typical forms of the *stanza* are

(i) the *Anustubh*, which consists of four dimeter verses, and

(ii) the *Tretubh*, which consists of four trimeter verses, each of eleven syllables.

Four trimeter verses, each of twelve syllables, form a *Jagati* stanza.

Stanzas may contain more or fewer verses than four. Thus the *Gayatri* consists of three dimeter verses, the *Pankti* of five, the *Mahapankti* of six whilst three *Tretubh* verses form the metre known as *Viraj* and two decasyllabic verses that known as *Dvapada Viraj*.

Stanzas may also consist of combinations of dimeter and trimeter verses, the latter being then usually of twelve syllables. All meters of this type we group as lyric metres.

Lyric metres may also include verses of four syllables, and even of sixteen, but these are comparatively rare. The most important lyric meters are *Usukh* (8 8 12 or 8 8 8 4), *Kakubh* (8 12 8), *Bihati* (8 8 12 8), *Satchihati* (12 8 12 8) and *Atyasti* (12 12 8 8 8 12 8)

A hymn may contain any number of stanzas, but usually it consists of not less than three or more than fifteen stanzas, generally uniform in character, except in the case of strophic and 'mixed lyric' hymns. It is also not uncommon for the last stanza of a hymn to contain one or even two additional verses.

Where the number of stanzas in a hymn is very large, or the metre suddenly changes, it becomes probable that we have a composite hymn, that is two or more hymns combined in the Samhita text.

In all metres in the R̥gveda the quantities of the first and last syllables of each verse are different, and (with some exceptions) each verse is independent in structure.

In almost all metres a general iambic rhythm may be noticed in the sense that the even syllables, namely the second, fourth, and so on are more often long than short.

* * * *

In all metres the rhythm of the latter part of the verse is much more rigidly defined than that of the earlier part.

* * * *

In the early part of the verse there is a general preference for long syllable, in the latter of the verse or short syllables. These preferences modify considerably the general iambic rhythm prevailing in both parts.

* * * *

Trimeter verse may be analysed in two ways

- (i) into two parts, as separated by the cœsura, which regularly follows either the fourth or the fifth syllable, or
- (ii) into three numbers, namely (a) the opening, which consists of the first four syllables (b) the break, consisting of the fifth, sixth, and seventh syllables and (c) the cadence which includes the remaining syllables, beginning with the eighth.

In the case of Tristubh verse, the two parts consist either of four and seven syllables, or of five and six syllables each, according as the cœsura is early (that is, after the fourth syllable) or late (that is, after the fifth syllable). If the cœsura is early, we have a short first part and a long second part. If late, we have a long first part and a short second part.

In the case of Jagati verse, the second part is in each case longer by one syllable.

In all cases the second part regularly begins with two short syllables.

Anustubh

वायुरस्म उपामन्थात् पिनष्टि स्म कुनन्मम ।
केही त्रिषस्य पाद्रेण यद्गुदेण पिबत्सह ॥

Gayatri

- 1 उक्थ चन सस्यामानम्
अगो ररिरा चिकेत न
गायत्र गीयमानम् ॥
- 11 तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं
भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि
धियो यो न प्रचोदयात् ॥

Normal Trishtubh

बृहस्पति प्रथम जायमान
महा ज्योतिष परमे व्योमन् ।
सप्तास्यस्तुविजातो रवेण
वि सप्तरास्मिधमत्तमासि ॥

Normal Jagatī

अतदा अर्मा महते वचस्यवे
कक्षविते वृचयामिन्द्रसुन्वते ।
मेनामवो पृषणस्वस्य शुक्रतो
विश्वेत्ताते सवनेषु प्रवाच्या ॥

The following passage from Mahābhāṣya is instructive

तथा छदोप्रथोऽप्युपयुज्यते छदोविशेषाणां तत्र तत्र विहितत्वात् । तस्मात्सप्तचतुस्तराणि
छदांसि प्रातरनुवाकेऽनूच्यत इति ह्याम्नात । गायत्र्युच्येष्टिगनुष्टुप्बृहतीपक्तिविष्टुञ्जगतीत्येतानि
सप्त छदांसि । चतुर्विंशत् क्षरा गायत्री । ततोऽपि चतुर्भिरक्षरैराधिकाष्टाविंशत्यक्षरोष्टिक् ।
एवमुत्तरोत्तराधिका अनुष्टुप्वादयोऽजगन्तन्या । तथान्यत्रापि श्रूयते । गायत्रीभिर्ब्राह्मणस्यादध्यात्
त्रिष्टुप्मीराजन्यस्य जगतीभिर्वैश्यस्येति । तत्र मरणयगणादिसाध्यो गायत्र्यादिविवेकच्छदोप्रथ
मतरणेनमुविज्ञेय । किं च यो ह वा अविदितार्वैयच्छदोदैवतब्राह्मणेन मन्त्रेण याजयति वाध्यापयति
वा स्थानु वर्जतिगर्त वा पथदि प्रवामीयते पापीयान् भवति । तस्मादेतानि मन्त्रे मन्त्रे विद्यादिति श्रूयते ।
तस्मात्तद्वेदनाय छदोप्रथ उपयुज्यते ।

By the time of the composition of Upaniṣads we find the anuṣṭubh metre settling down to a definite form, almost approaching the epic *śloka*. Even in Rgveda, we have that variety

वायुरस्म उपमन्थात् पिनष्टि स्म कुनवम ।
केशी विषस्य पात्रेण यद्गुद्रेण पिबत्सह ॥

The tradition that the *śloka* metre became manifest in the unconscious effusion of Vālmiki's grief caused by the sight of killing of

Kaunci is but an indication that Vālmīki, called thereby *Adikavi*, was the first of the authors of classical Sanskrit poetry.

1086 "The poetry of the epic is composed in metres, chandas of three sorts. The first is measured by syllables, the second by moræ, the third by groups of more. These rhythms ran the one into the other in the following course. The early free syllabic rhythm tended to assume a form where the syllables were differentiated as light or heavy at fixed places in the verse. Then the fixed syllabic rhythm was lightened by the resolution of specific heavy syllables, the beginning of mora-measurement. The resolution then became general and the number of moræ, not the number of syllables, was reckoned. Finally, the moræ tended to arrange themselves in groups and eventually became fixed in a wellnigh unchangeable form. Part of this development was reached before the epic began, but there were other parts, as will appear, still in process of completion. Neither of the chief metres in the early epic was quite reduced to the later stereotyped form. The stanza-form, too, of certain metres was still inchoate.

The mass of the great epic (about ninety-five per cent) is written in one of the two current forms of free syllabic rhythm, about five per cent in another form of the same class, and only two tenths of a per cent in any other metre."¹

1087 "After the composition of Ramayana, and since that time prosodial genius has been very active and the variety of metres that had come into vogue was such that Bharata treated the subject *Chandovicit* in chapters 14 and 15 of Nāṭyasāstra. Bharata defines the tunes of a metre in quantities laghu or guru for fixed places.² Kohala has a section on prosody. According to Bharata and Kohala, whose main sphere was histrionics, the rhythm of the metre must appear to be a spontaneous effusion of the thoughts and sentiments of the actor on the scene."

1088 **Metric Varieties** are based on mere number of syllables, admixture of long and short measures, or number of moræ (mātras)

SLOKA is free syllabic, a stanza of four *pādas* (feet), in two verses (hemistichs) of 16 syllables restricted to *guru* and *laghu* syllables in some fixed places. This is the definition —

1 Hopkin's, *Great Epic*, Ch IV

2 Regnaud, *La métrique de Bharata*, AMG, 2, Paris.

पञ्चम लघु सर्वत्र सप्तम द्विचतुर्थयो ।

षष्ठ गुरुविजानीयादेतत् श्लोकस्य लक्षणम् ॥

Akṣarachandas is fixed syllabic and this is varnavṛtṭa, e g, Raṭhoddhatī, Praharṣiṇī, Rucirā Mātrācchandas counts by morae such as Puṣpīṭigrā, Aupacchandāsika, Aparavaktra and Vaiṭālīya

GANACCHANDAS has morae in groups e g ,

“ Arya, Aryagiti, Upagiti, stanzas of two verses, each verses, each verse containing eight groups of morae, the group of four morae each, but with the restriction that amphibrachs are prohibited in the odd groups, but may make any even group and must make the sixth group, unless indeed this sixth group be represented (in the second hemistich) by only one mora or four brèves, and that the eighth group may be represented by only two morae The metre is called aryagiti when the eighth foot has four morae, upagiti, when the sixth foot irregularly has but one mora in each hemistich ”

1089 Among earliest writers on *Laukika* or classical chandas, are Krauṣṭuki, Tandin, Yāska, Kāsyapa, Śaiṭava, Rāta and Māṇḍavya and these are mentioned by Pingala Abhinavagupta quotes from Kāṭyāyana, Bhaṭṭa Sāṅkara and Jayadeva

यथोक्त कालायनेन—

‘ वीरस्य भुजदण्डानां वर्णने स्रग्धरा भवेत् ।

नायिकावर्णने कार्य वसन्ततिलकादिकम् ॥

शार्दूललीला प्राच्येषु मन्दाक्रान्ता च दक्षिणे ।’

यथा शङ्करमक्तिशालिना मद्भङ्गरेण अर्धसमवृत्तप्रकरणे प्रदर्शितम् ।

“ This Bhaṭṭa Sāṅkara seems to be a Saivacārya like Abhinava A Śaiva called Śāṅkarakantha is known to us as the father of Ratnakantha, the author of स्तुतिकुसुमाञ्जलिटीका Aufrecht mentions two more Śāṅkaras, one, son of Ratnākara and commentator on महिम्नस्तोत्र and another writer on prosody called शङ्करशर्मन् who wrote a work on metrics called वृत्तमुक्तावली ” Bhaṭṭa Śāṅkara quoted by Abhinava is probably a commentator on Chandoviciti

1090 Jayadeva wrote a Chandassāstra in the form of aphorisms He is quoted as a master on metrics and music by Abhinavagupta in his Abhinavabhārati¹ and he must have therefore lived in the

1. सर्वेषां वृत्तानाम् इत्यादौ अर्धसमासेन जयदेवोऽभ्यधात् ।

“ He is twice mentioned as a writer on Prosody by Namisādhū in his Tīkā on

early centuries of the Christian era, unless we take him to the 2nd or 3rd century B C when the sūtra style was in vogue There is a commentary by Harata son of Bhatta Mukula who lived about 900 A D ⁴

1091 Pingala's Sūtras⁵ do contain a section on vedic metres, and many that are now obsolete, but they were meant only as a treatise on classical prosody Pingala's treatment is similar to that of Agni Purāṇa (Chap 328-34) Pingala invented a code of mnemonics which has become so popular that the systems of Bharata or of the later Janāśraya have not been adopted by writers on prosody Pingala uses eight gaṇas of three syllables य, म, त, र, ज, भ, न, स and long and short sound measures guru and laghu (ग and ल) The formula is यमाताराजमानसलुगम्

There are commentaries on Pingalasūtras by Halāyudha,⁶ Śrīharāśarma, son of Makaradhvaja,⁴ Vānīnāṭha,⁵ Lakṣmīnātha son of Rāmayabhatta,⁶ Yādavaprakāśa,⁷ and Dāmodara ⁸

Nārayana's Vṛttoktiratna⁹ and Candrasekhara's Vṛttamauktika¹⁰ are almost Pingala's paraphrases and the latter is in 6 Prakasas called by its author Vārṭika of Pingalasūtras

1092 Janasraya Chandoviciti¹¹ begins with a reference to king Janāśraya, and his sacrifices

Rudraṭa [CC, I 199 Namisadhu, I 18 The manuscript is dated sam 1190 (1184 A D)] Nārāyana Bhaṭṭa in his commentary on the Vṛttaratnākara quotes Jayadeva and his definition of the Upacitrā metre Jayadeva is twice quoted in Rāmacandra Budhendra's commentary, Pañcikā, on the Vṛttaratnākara "

1 BRL, No 72 of 1872-8 See P K Gode in *Poona Orientalist*, I 38

2 Ed by Weber, *IST* VIII and with the commentary of Halayudha, *Bibl. Ind*, Calcutta by Visvanathasastrī and in *Kāvyamala*, Bombay

On the supposed identity of Pingala and Paṭanjali, See *IST*, VIII, 158. Pingala's name occurs in *Mahābhāṣya*

3 Printed, Calcutta

4 *CSO*, (1904), 5

5 *Mṛta*, X composed in 1600 A D

6 *Tanj* IX 3928

7 *Adyar*, II 39

8 *Ibid*

9 *IO*, II 308 There are Prākṛṭa Pingalasūtras with commentary by Ravikara and Viśvanātha son of Viḍyānīvaśa (*Ibid*, 309)

10 *Ibid* 318, *Adyar*, II 39

11 See M R, Kavi's Edn in part in *Journal Tirumalāi Sri Venkatesvara*, Madras (now defunct) with a valuable Introduction

स भूपतिरुदारधीर्जयति सम्पदेकाश्रयो जनाश्रय इति श्रिया वहति नाम सार्थं विभु ।
मखैरुशमिरुतैर्मघवतो जयश्रीरपि जिता विजितशत्रुणा जगति येन रुद्धाचरत् ॥

If Janāśraya is identical with king Mādhavavarman II of Viṣṇukundin dynasty who bore that title, he would have flourished between 580 and 615 A D ¹

Janāśraya's quotations from various ancient writers are of historical value. Among these traced, are Bharata, Vararuci's Ubhayābhisārikā, Śūdraka's Padmaprābhāṭa, Kālidasa's poems, Asvaghosa's poems, Saṅkarapāndya's Nītidvīpaśukā, Kumāradāsa's Jānakīharaṇa, Bhāravi and Vikatanitambā ². These authors flourished before 6th century A.D. Apart from these quotations, there are compositions of the author, one of which a Dandaka applying to God Kumāra and king Janāśraya in double entendre is worth a repetition.

येन प्राशु क्रौञ्चस्याग्रं मणिकनकविमलनवरजतपटहरवृषभसकलशशिकिरणकुमुदसदृशं
सिताम्बुजसन्निभम् ।

मिथ शक्यत्वात् लीलावत्यास्तटविटपकुटजसितपनसतिनिशधवखुदिरतिलकतरुगहनललित-
शिखरलतागृहसङ्कटम् ।

क्रीडाभूमिर्गन्धर्वार्णा गजगन्धर्वमहिषरुषृतशरभमृगमिथुनपरमबहुविविधशकुनिचरितं
विप्रद्रुतकिन्नरम् ।

सोऽजीन् बौद्धिर्देवौ रोषात्तपित इव पिबतु दहन इव दहतु पवन इव वहतु तरुण-
विसदृशवदनो मयूरध्वज ॥

1 Viṣṇukundin dynasty ruled over the tract of the basin of the Kṛṣṇā and Godāvari and perished by 650 A D and Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana defeated them about 615 A D

2. "Bhoja quotes the following verse as an example for *Punarbhū*, a woman who marries a second husband

के वैकटनितम्बेन गिरा शुम्फेन रञ्जिता ।

निन्दन्ति निजकान्तानाममौग्ध्यमधुरवच ॥

(शृङ्गारप्रकाशे)

Here it means the expression of Vikatanitambā

Namīśādhu and Bhoja quote the following verse —

काले माषसंख्ये मामवदति शकाशयश्च सकाषम् ।

उद्वेगं लुम्पति रं वा ष वा तस्मै दत्ता विकटनितम्बा ॥

(रुद्रालङ्कारः)

And this verse is introduced by Namīśādhu in the following words —

"यथा विकटनितम्बाया पतिमनुकुर्वीणा सखी प्राह"

which means the maid ridicules the vocal clearness of the husband of Vikatanitambā"

"The system works upon 18 symbols represented by the last indicative letters, while eleven of them are also known by the initial vowel of the word. Thus for 11 out of 18, symbols are indicated by two letters each (a vowel as well as a consonant). For instance, *m* (ॠ) and *a* (अ) represent *gana* of three short vowelised-letters which according to Pingala is *na-gana* '||, similarly *t* (ॡ) and *ā* (आ) represent *bha-gana* of Pingala, *k* (क) and *i* (ई) *ja-gana*, *ś* (श) and *u* (ऊ) *ragana* 'U', and so on. *ai* (ऐ) and *ṭ* (ट) stand for 5 letters of *ra-gana* 'U' and *laga* of Pingala 'U'U, *au* (औ) and *īj* (जू) stand for *bha* and *laga* 'U'U'U, *o* (ओ) and *sh* (ष्) stand for *ra-gana* and *gunu* 'U'U'U. For example, we shall take *vīlā* called *Sragdharā* which consists of गोदुशोनू that is, *g*, *o*, *d*, *u*, *ś*, *o*-six *ganās* 'U'U'U, 'U'U'U, 'U'U'U, 'U'U, 'U'U, 'U'U'U,

ग् ओ द उ श् ओ
दन्ताग्र, प्रोतचञ्चु, श्रुतिदनु, तनया, सृग्वसा, दिग्धदेहो

The above example was cited by the author

Take for instance *Nandini* of the 13th *Chhandas*,—*līrai* (लिरै) which means *l*, *i*, *r*, *ai*

ल् इ र् ऐ
शयनो थितस्य शिव मादधातु ते, मकरा, लये ति, भिवि, वर्तिताम्मसि ।
वपुरिन्द्रनीलमणिमङ्गसन्धिषि पुरुषस्य शेषशयनाधिशायिन ॥

Again *Praharshipi* requires *gākam* which are equal to *g*, *a*, *k*, *o*,

ग् अ क् ओ
तन्मित्र लजति विपत्सु यन्मित्र

m means that *yau* or caesura comes after the third place

To show the relative merits of the three systems, their code words are quoted below for *vṛtta* कौञ्चपादा of the 25th *Chhandas*

Janāśraya—अणैणु=īj, au, n, n, u

īj au n n u

सिंहविगर्जद, द्वीपिविकीर्ण, हरिरिवमृग, गणमारिगण, मयमी ।

Pingala—

म्भौ स्भौ नौ नौ ग् भूतेन्द्रिय वस्त्वृषय 7—7—18

म म स म न न न न ग

सिंहवि गर्जद्वी पिविकी णंहरि रिवमृ गण मरिग णमय मी ।

Bharata—

आद्य चतुर्थं च तथा पञ्चमं षष्ठमेव च । नवमं दशमं चैव अन्यं चैव गुरुण्यथ ।
लघून्यन्यानि शेषाणि पादे स्युः पञ्चविंशके । वृत्तज्ञैः सा तु विज्ञेया कौञ्चपादीति नामतः ॥

Another recension reads as

मै यदि पादे स्नावपि चेष्टावमिहतिरिह खलु बुधजनविहिता ।
नां च समुद्राः स्युर्विनिविष्टा यदि च खलु गुरुरिह निधनमितम् ॥

1093 Jayamangalācārya wrote the hand-book *Kavīśikṣā* in the time of king Jayasimha (1094-1143 A D)¹

Kavikanthapāśa is a treatise on poetical composition and deals mainly with the auspicious character of letters and their combinations. This is the last verse —²

भूवर्णस्तुखसम्पदीप्सित . हर्षप्रदा अम्भया
आधेया लिपयः प्रणाशजनकाश्चोक्तप्रदा वायुजा ।
दारिद्र्यं खालिपित्रजैः प्रकटितं सर्वैः प्रबन्धाढ्यगा
कर्तुं कारयितुं श्रुमाशुसफलं श्रोतुर्दिशन्त्यन्वहम् ॥

1094 **Kedarabhata** was son of Pibveka (Pathvaka) of Kāśyapagotra. His *Vṛttaratnākara*³ in 6 chapters is most popular and has been extensively quoted by commentators, Mallinātha, Śivarāma etc. He must have lived earlier than 15th century A D.

There are commentaries by Panditacintāmaṇi,⁴ Nārāyaṇa⁵ son of Rāmesvara, Śrīnātha,⁶ Haribhāskara,⁷ Janārdana Vibhudha,⁸ Divākara, son of Mahādeva,⁹ [Ayodhyāprasāda, Ātmārāma, Kṛṣṇavarman, Govindabhata, Cudāmaṇi Dīkṣiṭa, Narasimhasūri, Raghunātha, Viśvanāthakavi, Śrīkantha (*PR*, V 196), Somasundaragani (*PR*, I 190), Sulhana, son of Bhāskara, Soma Pandita, Śārasvaṭasādāsivamuni, Somacandragani (*PR*, III 396, IV 33)]¹⁰ Kaviśārdūla, Trivikrama, son of Raghunātha,¹¹

1. *PR*, I, 68

2. *TC*, III 9771

3. *PR*, III 225

4. *Tanṣ* IX 8949 Is Śiṭārāmasāmi, author of *Vṛttapūṣpaprakāśana* a different author? (*CC*, II 142)

5. Printed, Madras *Tanṣ* IX 8950 Composed in 1545 A.D

6. *Tanṣ* IX 895, *Mys* 294

7. *IO*, II, 803, *PR*, II 190, III 546, composed at Baneres in 1676,

8. *IO*, II 803, *PR*, VI 389

9. *IC*, 1555 Composed in 1740 A D

10. *CC*, I 596

11. *PR*, V 26,

Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa,¹ Nṛsiṃha,² Kṛṣṇasāra,³ Tārānāṭha,⁴ Bhāskaraśāya,⁵ Prabhāvallabha,⁶ Devarāja⁷ and one anonymous⁸

1095 Bhāskara wrote *Abhinava-Vṛttaraṭṇākara*, on which Śrīnivāsa wrote a commentary⁹

Trivikrama, son of Raghusūri and pupil of Vardhamāna, wrote *Vṛttaraṭṇākara-sūtratīkā*¹⁰

SRUTABODHA, by 'Kālidāsa,' is very well known and has several excellences. There are commentaries (*CC*, I 675,¹¹ by Harsakīrti Upādhyāya (*PR*, V 463), by Manoharasarmaṇ, by Tārācandra and by Hamsarāja (*Mitra*, IX 134, IV 297, V 278, VIII 196), [by Mādhava, son of Govinda (composed in 1640), Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva, Sukadeva, and by a pupil of Meghacandra (*PR*, III 225)],¹² by Caturbhuja (*PR*, VI 391) and by Nāgāji, son of Harji (*CC*, III 140)

1096 Gangadāsa was son of Gopālādāsa Vaidya of Bengal. In six chapters, he describes in his *Chandomanjari*¹³ varieties of metres and illustrates them by verses in praise of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. He also wrote *Acyutacarita*, a poem in 16 cantos and *Dinesācarita*, a poem in praise of the sun. His father Gopālādāsa wrote a play *Pārijāṭaharaṇa*.¹⁴ He must have lived in the 15th or 16th century A D.

There are commentaries¹⁵ on *Chandomanjari* by Jagannāṭhasena, son of Jātādhara Kavirāja, Candrasekhara, Dāṭārāma, Govardhana, Vamsidhara and Kṛṣṇavarman.

1097 *Prastāra* Works on metrics treat of *Prastāra*, that is, "all mathematical calculations for the number of vṛttas in each kind which

1 *Trav* 69

2 *TC*, VI 7176, *DC*, III No. 1792

3 *Trav* 69

4 Printed, Calcutta.

5 *Mys* 689, *Āḍyar*, II 39

6 *Āḍyar*, II 39

7 *TC*, VI 7177.

8 *Tanj* IX 3954; *TC*, VI. 7178, *DC*, III No 1794.

9 *TC*, IV.

10 *PR*, V. 27. A copy of his *Kāṭanṭrapanorikodyoṭa* is noted by Aufrecht as written in 1221 *CC* III 52

11 Printed Benares, Bombay and elsewhere.

12 *CC*, I 675

13 Ed everywhere *PR*, V. 452 VI. 382, *Tanj* IX. No 5082. This manuscript is dated Saka 1608 or 1680 A D. *Mitra*, VI. 180, VII 246, 286

14 *CC*, I 335

15 *CC*, I 192. There is another *Chandomanjari* by Gopālādāsa and a third on Vedic metres (*CC*, I. 192)

declare the number of any verse in its group and the details of ganas of any particular vṛtta, its number being given," or "permutation of longs and shorts possible in a metre with a fixed number of syllables set forth in an enigmatical form" or an exposition of the science of prosody mathematically developed in the calculations of combinations Pingala describes it in his last chapter and so do other works on metrics such as *Vṛttaratnākara* ¹

1098 *Cinṭāmaṇi Jyotiṣid*, son of Govinda, of Sivapura composed in 1630 A.D. *Prastārācinṭāmaṇi* is in 3 chapters, consisting of a code of rules in a variety of metres accompanied by a prose commentary,² on *Varnaprasāra*, *Mātrāprastāra* and *Khandaprasāra*.

Prastāravicāra which is anonymous,³ *Prastārapaṭṭana* of Kṛṣṇadeva,⁴ and *Prastārasekhara*⁵ of Śrīnivāsa, son of Venkata, deal with this subject.

Prastāras are valuable in the elucidation of rhythms in Indian music

1099 **Other works** *Vṛttadarpaṇa* by Siṭārāma (*TC*, III 3755),⁶ *Jaganmohanavṛttasataka* by Vāsudeva Brahmāpandita (*TC*, III 2735),⁷ *Vṛttaratnārnava* by Nṛsiṃha Bhagavaṭa, disciple of Rāmānanda Yogīndra (*TC*, III 3767)

1 *IS*, VIII, 435

2 *IO*, II 306

There is a commentary by Daivagna composed in 1630 A.D. *CC*, I. 359

3 *Tanj* IX 3932

4 *Oudh*, III 12

5 *Tanj* IX 3935

6 He also wrote *Balabhadraśaṅkara* and many poems in Telugu. He lived at Kuthārapura which seems to be Guṭāla on the Godavari.

7 The illustrations are mostly taken from nature and are very fanciful.

वसन्ततिलकावृत्तम्—

गतिसंस्थितिमुक्तिभिस्समानौ शुक्काकौ भवतस्तथापि तत्र ।

शुक् एव नृदेवतावचांसि श्रुतिमात्रेण निजास्यतो ब्रवीति ॥

पुष्पिताम्रावृत्तम्—

उदितवति सुधाकरे तमिस्रा विलसति वर्धते उच्चकैः पयोधिः ।

विकसति कुमुद तथापि चित्रं सलिलदहं मुकुलीमवत्यतीव ॥

दांपत्यवृत्तम्—

कालविशेषे कोकिल उच्चैः कूजति काकस्सन्ततमेव ।

कूजन्तं पिकमालोक्यार्या सन्तुष्यन्ति न काकं दृष्ट्वा ॥

1100 [Vṛttakalpapaṇḍita by Jayagovinda, Vṛttakauṭuka by Viśva-nātha, Vṛttakaumudī (i) by Jagadguru, and (ii) by Rāmacarapa (*Oudh* XII 18), Vṛttacandrikā by Rāmadayālu (*Oudh* VII 2), Vṛttacandrodaya by Bhāskarādharin, Vṛttataranginī, Vṛttadīpikā by Kṛṣṇa, Vṛttaprayaya by Saṅkaradāyālu, Vṛttapradīpa (i) by Janārdana and (ii) by Badarīnātha, Vṛttamālā (i) by Virūpākṣajvan (*Adyar*, I 39), and (ii) by Vāliabhāṣī, Vṛttalakṣaṇa, Vṛttavārtika (i) by Umāpati and (ii) by Vaidyanātha, Vṛttavinoda by Fatehgiri, Vṛttavivecana by Durgā-sabāya, Vṛttasudhodaya (i) by Mathurānātha Sukla, and (ii) by Venīvilāsa], (*CC*, I 5968), [Vṛttarāmāspada by Kṣemānkarana Mīśra (*Oudh*, XXII 68), Vṛttasāra by Bhāradvāja, Vṛttasiddhāntamanjarī by Raghunātha, Vṛttabhirāma by Rāmacandra], (*CC*, II 142)

1101 Vṛtta-Rāmāyana (*Oudh*, V 10), Rāmastutiratna by Rāma-swāmī Sastrin (*Trav* 173), Kṛṣṇavṛtta and Nṛsimhavṛtta, Vṛttakārikā by Nārāyana Purohiṭa (*Mys* 294), Vṛttamanimālikā by Śrīnivāsa (*Mys* 294, 684), Vṛttadyumanī (i) by Yasvanta (*CC*, I 596) and (ii) by Gangādhara (*Adyar*, II 39), Vṛttavinoda (*CC* III 125), Rangarāt chandas (*CC*, I 488), Karuṇānanda by Kṛṣṇadāsa (*CC*, I 597), Karṇasantoṣa by Mudgala (*Bik* 279), Kāvyaṇivana by Prīṭikara (*Oudh*, IX 8), Samavṛttasāra by Nīlakanthācārya (*CC*, I 301) Vṛttamanikosa by Śrīnivāsa (*Mys* 294), Vānībhūṣaṇa by Dāmodara (*IO*, II 305, Printed, Bombay), Vṛttamuktāvalī (i) by Kṛṣṇārāma, (ii) by Mallārī, (iii) by Durgādātṭa (*IO*, II 3011), (iv) by Gangādāsa, and (v) by Hari Vyāsamīśra composed in 1574 (*CC*, I 142)

1102 [Chandafprakāsa by Sevacintāmanī, Chandassudhākara by Kṛṣṇārāma, Chandahkalpalatā by Mathurānātha, Chandahkosa by Raṭṇa-sekhara (*PR*, III 404, V 193), Chandassloka (*Opp* 1828), Chandas-sankhyā, Chandascūdāmanī by Hemacandra, Chandassudhācillahaṇī] (*CC*, I 190-1, III 41), Chandafpiyūṣa by Jagannātha, son of Rāma (*PR*, V 194), Chandomuktāvalī by Sambhurāma (*PR*, III App 395), Chandonusāsana by Jinesvara, Chandassundara by Naraharī, Chandoraṭṇākara (*IO*, 2917, *Oxf* 201), Chandomālā by Śārngadhara (*IO*, 1238), Chandahkaustubha by Rādhādāmodara (*Mys* 293, *PR*, IV, 33, V. 192) [Chandovyākhyāsāra by Kṛṣṇabhāṭṭa, Chandassudhā by Gaṇaś-takavyākhyā, Vṛttacintāraṭṇa by Śāntarājapandīta, Vṛttadarpaṇa by Bhīṣmacandra] (*Mys* 293)

1103 Vṛttaraṭṇāvalī (*CC*, I 191) (i) by Durgādātṭa, (ii) by Nārāyaṇa, (iii) by Ravikara, (iv) by Rāmadeva, (v) by Venkatesa, son of Avadhānasarasvatī (*Mys* 639, *Tanj* IX 3957), (vi) by Rāmaswāmī

APPENDIX

[These two extracts from Kādambarī and Avantisundarikāthā are specimens of exquisite style and extraordinary poetic fancy incultuating ethics and are appended to show how Bāṇa's ideas have been elaborated as if by emulation by Dandin]

[EXTRACT FROM BANA'S KADAMBARI]

आलोकयतु तावत्कल्याणामिनिवेशी लक्ष्मीमेव प्रथम । इय हि सुमटस्वह्गमंडलोत्पलवन-
विभ्रमभ्रमरी लक्ष्मी क्षीरसागरात्पारिजातपल्लवेभ्यो रागमिदुश्चलादेकांतवक्रतामुच्चै श्रवस-
श्रवचलतां, कालकूटान्मोहनशक्तिं, मदिराया मद, कौस्तुभमणेरतिनैष्ठुर्यं, इत्येतानि सहवासपरिचय-
वशाद्विरहविनोदचिह्नानि गृहीत्वैवोद्गता । न ह्येवविधमपरमपरिचितमिह जगति किंचिदस्ति यथेय-
मनार्या । लब्धाऽपि खलु दु खेन परिपास्यते, दृढगुणपाशसदाननिष्पदीकृताऽपि नश्यति, उद्दामदर्प-
भटसहस्रोच्छासितासिलतापजरविधृताऽपि अपक्रमति, मदजलदुर्दिनांधकारगजघटितघनघटाटोप-
परिपालिताऽपि प्रपलायते, न परिचय रक्षति नाभिजनसीक्षते, न रूपमालोकयते, न कुलक्रम-
मनुवर्तते, न शील पश्यति, न वैदग्ध्य गणयति, न श्रुतमाकर्णयति, न धर्ममनुबुध्यते, न त्यागमाद्रि-
यते, न विशेषज्ञतां विचारयति, नाचार पालयति, न सत्यमनुबुध्यते, न लक्षण प्रमाणीकरोति ।
गधर्वनगरलेखेव पश्यत एव नश्यति । अद्याप्यारूढमंदरपरिवर्तावर्तभ्रांतिजनितसंस्कारेव
परिभ्रमति । कमलिनीसचरणव्यतिकरलङ्घनलिननालकटकक्षतेव न कचिभिर्मरमाबध्नाति पद ।
अतिप्रयत्नविधृताऽपि परमेश्वरगृहेषु विविधगधमधुपानमत्तेव परिस्खलति, पारुष्यमिवोपशि-
क्षितुमसिधारासु निवसति, विश्वरूपत्वमिव गृहीतुमाश्रिता नारायणमूर्तिम्, अप्रत्ययबहुला च दिवसां
तकमलमिव समुचितमूलदण्डकोशमण्डलमपि मुचति भ्रुभुज । लतेव विटपकानध्यारोहति । गगेव
बसुजनन्यपि तरंगबुद्बुदचचला, दिव्यकरगतिरिव प्रकटितविविधसंक्रांति, पाताळगृहेषु
तमोबहुला, हिडिंबेव भीमसाहसैकहार्यहृदया, प्रावृडिव अचिरद्युतिकारिणी, दुष्टपिशाचीव
दर्शितानेकपुरुषोच्छ्वाया, स्वल्पसत्त्वमुन्मत्तीकरोति, सरस्वतीपरिगृहीतमीर्ष्येयव नाङ्गिति जनय,
गुणवतमपवित्रमिव न स्पृशति उदारसत्त्वममगलमिव न बहुमन्यते, सुजनमनिमित्तमिव न पश्यति,
असिजातमहिमिव लघयति, शूर कटकमिव परिहरति, दातारं स्वप्नमिव न स्मरति, विनीतं
पातकिनमिव नोपसर्पति, मनस्विनमुन्मत्तमिव हसति, परस्परविरुद्धं च इद्रजालमिव दर्शयती
प्रकटयति जगति निज चरितम् । तथाहि । सततमूष्माणमारोपयन्त्यपि जाड्यमुपजनयति, उन्मत्तां

मादधानाऽपि नीचस्वभावतामाविष्करोति, तोयराशिसमवाऽपि तृष्णा सवर्धयति, ईश्वरता दधानाऽप्यशिवप्रकृतिवमातनोति, बलोपचयमाहरन्त्यपि लघिमानमापादयति, अमृतसहोदराऽपि कटुविपाका, विग्रहवत्सपि अप्रत्यक्षदर्शना, पुरुषोत्तमरतापि खलजनप्रिया, रेणुमयीव सञ्छमपि कलुषीकरोति ।

यथा यथा चेय चपला दीप्यते तथा तथा दीपशिखेव कञ्जलमलिनमेव कर्म केवलमुद्भवति । तथाहि—इय सवर्धनवारिधारा तृष्णाविषवह्नीना, व्याधर्गातिरिन्द्रियमृगाणां, परामर्शधूमलेख सञ्चरितचित्राणां, विभ्रमशय्या मोहार्धनिद्रणां, निवासजीर्णवलभी धनमदपिशाचिकानां, तिमि रोद्रति शास्त्रदृष्टीनां, पुरस्सरपताका सर्वाविनयानां, उत्पत्तिनिम्नगा क्रोधवेगग्राह्याणां, आपाना भूमिर्विषयमधूना, सगीतशाला भ्रूविकारनाट्यानां, आवासदरी दोषाशीविषाणां, उत्सारणवेचलता सत्पुरुषव्याहाराणां, अकालप्रावृट् गुणकलहसकानां, विसर्पणभूमिलोकैवावविस्फोटानां, प्रस्तावना कपटनाटकस्य, कदलिका कामकरिणः, वध्यशाला साधुभावस्य, राहुजिह्वा धर्मेदुमडलस्य ।

न हि त पश्यामि याह्यपरिचितयाज्जया न निर्भरमुपगूढो यो वा न विप्रलब्ध । नियतमिय मालेख्यगताऽपि चलति, पुस्तकमय्यपि इद्रजालमाचरति, उत्कीर्णाऽपि विप्रलभते, श्रुत्वाऽप्यमि सधत्ते, चिंतिताऽपि वचयति । एवविधयाऽपि चानया दुराचारया कथमपि दैववशेन परिगृहीता विह्वलीभवति राजान , सर्वाविनयाधिष्ठानतां च गच्छति । तथाहि—अभिषेकसमय एव चैवा मगलकलशजलैरिव क्षाल्यते दाक्षिण्य, अधिकार्यधूमेनेव मलिनीभवति हृदय, पुरोहितकुशाग्र सम्मार्जनीमिरिवापनीयते क्षाति, उष्णीषपट्टबन्धेनेवाच्छाद्यते जरागमनस्मरण, आतपत्तमल्लेनेव वार्यते परलोकदर्शनम्, चारमपवनैरिवापह्नियते सत्यवादिता, वेत्रदडैरिव उत्सायते गुणाः, जयशब्दकलकलैरिव तिरस्क्रियते साधुवादा, ध्वजपटपल्लवैरिव परामृश्यते यशः, । तथाहि-केचिच्छ्रमवशशिथिलशकुनिगलपुटचपलामि खद्योतोन्मेषमुद्गृतमनोहराभिर्मनसिजनगर्हिताभिः, सपद्भिः प्रलोभ्यमाना धनलवलाभावलेपविस्मृतजन्मनोऽनेकदोषोपचितेन दुष्टासृजेव रागवैशेन बाध्यमाना विवधाविषयरसप्रासलालसै पचभिरप्यनेकसहस्रसख्यैरिवैद्रियैरायास्यमानाः प्रकृतिचचलतया लब्धप्रसरेणैकेनापि शतसहस्रतामिवोपगतेन मनसाऽकुलीक्रियमाणा विह्वलतामुपयाति ।

किंच अहैरिव गृह्यते, भूतैर्गिवाभिभूयते, मत्तैरिवावष्टभ्यते, वायुनेव विडम्ब्यते, पिशाचैरिव प्रस्यते, मदनशरैर्मर्माभिहता इव मुखमगतहृत्साणि कुर्वते, धनोष्मणा पच्यमाना इव विषेष्टते, गाढप्रहाराभिहता इवागानि न धारयति, कुलीरा इव तिर्यक्यपरिभ्रमति, अधर्ममन्त्रगतयः पगव इव परेण सचार्यते, मृषावादविपाकसजातमुष्णरोगा इवातिकृच्छ्रेण जल्पति, सप्तचदतरव

इव कृसुमरजोविकरैरासजवर्तिना शिर शूलमुत्पादयति, आसजमृत्त्व इव पुर. स्थित बहु-
जनमपि नाभिजानति, उत्कुपितलोचना इव तेजस्वनो नेक्षते, कालदष्टा इव महामन्त्रैरपि न
प्रतिष्ठयन्ते, जातुषा इव सोष्माण न सहते, दुष्टवारणा इव महालानस्तमनिश्वलीकृता अपि न
घृह्युपदेशम्, अतितृष्णाविषवेगमूर्छिता कनकमयमिव सर्वं पश्यति, असय इव पानवर्धित-
तैश्ण्या. परप्रेरिताः विनाशयति, दूरस्थितान्यपि फलानीव दत्तविक्षेपैर्महाकुलानि शातयति,
अकालकुसुमप्रसवा इव मनोहराकृतयोऽपि लोकविनाशहेतव, श्मशानाग्नय इवातिरौद्रभूतय,
तैमिरिका इवादूरदार्ढ्यं, उपसृष्टा इव क्षुद्राधिष्ठितमवना, श्रूयमाणा अपि प्रेतपटहा इवोद्वेजयति,
विलम्बिता अपि महापातकाध्यवसाया इव उपद्रवमुपजनयति, अनुदिवसमापूर्वमाणा,
पापेनेवाध्मातमूर्तयो न भवति, तदवस्थाश्च व्यसनशतशरव्यतामुपगता वल्मीकतृणाप्राबस्थिता
जलबिंदव इव पतितमप्यात्मान नावगच्छति ।

[EXTRACT FROM DANDIN'S AVANTISUNDARIKATMA]

विदितमेव खलु विदितवेदितव्यस्य यथेमा प्रतिपदसुलभान्तराया दुर्भोजनसाधनसमवायाश्च
सम्पत्तय । प्रार्थ्यमाना दुरवापा, समाराध्यमाना दुःखशीला, रक्ष्यमाणा प्रपलायिनी च लक्ष्मीः ।
प्रलक्ष्मेव चास्याश्चापलम् । एषा खलु देवस्य पितृपितामहसवर्धितापि रिपुषद्वर्गसम्बाधमुक्ताचितेन
सुचिराललितापि प्रवीरकरदण्डमण्डलीकृतप्रचण्डचापचक्रटङ्कारमुस्सरितेषु समरेषु शरीरं जीवित-
मप्यनवेक्ष्य रक्षितापि, यथेष्टलाभसवर्धिता तुष्टद्विजवराश्रीर्वादनन्दितापि, निलाराधनप्रसन्नकुल-
देवताधिष्ठानापि, नित्योद्युक्तविद्याधरवृद्धसमाजाजसम्राट्प्रमाणविनयापि, चतुरुदधिवलयमध्य-
वर्तिसकलनरपतिकुलविरचिताजलिकमलवनविहारमानितमनोरथापि, सभावदोषेण दुर्भति-
रपरिचिता जीवत्येव तस्मिन्नरिजीवितलेहलोलखड्गजिह्वे महाहिमोगमीषणे. सम्राटे तस्या-
भिन्दुकरदलितकुमुदकुड्मलोदरदलावदातायामप . . . ।. . . . अपि चेयं पतङ्गरथमयीव
भुजङ्गभोगिनी मुहूर्तमभ्यविश्रम्य परिभ्रमति । उपनतापि दैवादुरसि प्रमदमूर्छितेव हठा-
धिष्पतति । अविदितकृत्याकृत्यमाकुलीकृताक्षमक्षरमनुभवदुःखमङ्गनिर्भोगैराचक्ष्णामारूढशङ्का-
साधसैरवस्थानुरूप पुरुषमप्रलपेक्षा प्रधावति । मधुकुट्टिरिव मलिनवर्णैः क्षुद्रात्मकैः शिक्षिता
कर्कशपुरुषसाहसैकहारमना [स्यात्] दुर्ग्रहेष्विव । विटपमारोहति दुष्टमर्कटीय तमकस्मादेव
क्षोभयित्वा विच्युतफलमुदधूतपत्रमुत्सृज्य विटपमन्य सक्रामति । यत्र लवलभा ज्वलनशिखेव तम-
नस्य भस्मीकृत्यैव प्रशाम्यति । मन्ये च कालकूटस्यास्याश्च भगवत्या निष्पाताभिर्विधीभूत. सस्ति.
मानिदानीं दुग्धासिन्धु । अथवा नेय कालकूटतुल्यकक्ष्यायां लक्षयितव्या, यावदमुनैकस्थैवैश्वरस्य
कण्ठमात्रं दूषितमनया शतसहस्राणीश्वराणां सर्वाकारं दूषितानि । सैषा मन्दरोद्भूतमहासमुद्रवीचीवल
यन्नेगास्फालनविजृम्भिताङ्गभङ्गज्वरे महान्तमूष्माणमुद्भवति । स्थानाशनशयनेषु धृतिमुपगच्छति

सुहृदुर्मुहुर्वेष्टते, भक्त द्वेष्टि, दृष्टिमुदभ्रमयति, जीवितं च पर्याप्त्यमाना भयानका दशामावाहयति ।
 अचलक्षोभतुमुलजलधिगर्ममूर्च्छन्मारुतातिरेकस्वीकृतेव जातापातवातप्रकृतिः, असङ्गतशीला
 चानवस्थिता च क्षुद्रा च निष्ठुरप्रलापकारिणी च कुशवर्णा च कृतप्रलोभना च स्वरूपैर्विभ्रमैर्वृष्ट
 दुनोति (पुरुष) कारताम् । उरगनायकस्य वासुकेर्मन्दराकर्षणखेदविह्वलस्य निश्वासनिज्वरविषाधि-
 धूममण्डलाधिकृतेव सदसच्च न पश्यति, परप्रणेया सतीवाजसमालम्बते महापथेऽपि स्थलति,
 नरपशूनापि समापतति, अस्पृश्यानपि स्पृणति, अशुचिम्पथधितिष्ठति । चक्षुष्मद्विश्च परिभूयते
 सत्यम् । अचलवृत्तेरत्युदग्रस्यापि भूयतोऽस्या समुद्रवे द्विजिह्वसवेष्टनमतिघोरा च भ्रान्तिरासीत् ।
 सर्वानेव देवान् ब्रह्मसुखान्परिभूय समन्तमायासिद्धान्ततन्त्रतीर्थकर नारायणमात्मनोपसृत्य भजमा
 नयाऽनयोद्धोषितमसाधारण घाष्टर्थम् । अमुनाऽतिमायेनेमां रक्षताऽधोक्षजेनानुभूतावतारभूतावसा-
 नता । नानाविधाविडम्बनार्थपरा चेय दुग्धराशेरपसृतचट्टलकटाक्षदृष्टिक्षेपोन्मादितपुरुषेष्वादिनिमित्त
 सङ्कल्पितानि विग्रहसङ्ग्रहाणि पश्यन्ती वश्येव राजकुलेषु लीलावष्टम्भरसप्रगल्भ भ्रमति,
 सोष्मयेव जातिं स्थापयति, तेजोरूपतथैव वशसततिं दहति, तमोभयत्वादिव वसन्तमवनानि मलिन
 यति, व्यभिचारितयेव महाकुलानि पासुलयति । चित्रभिदमयशोदाऽपि मण्डल, असुमद्रापि विजय
 मातुगुण्येनाकर्षति, अदमयन्त्यपि लोकपालानवधूय नलसार गुरुकरोति, अमृतैकसत्त्वाद-
 पारिजात रत्नाकरमपि नाधिवसति, विरतविग्रहमकरध्वजमपि पुरुष बुद्ध्या नाभिनन्दति,
 कलासंग्रहशाला कुशल इत्यसुखायमानेव शङ्के शशकेऽपि न वसति, सुरभिगन्धसपक्षमिष
 सहमानेव मन्ये महोत्पलेऽपि न पातयति पद, अङ्गीकृतमसुरस्नेहोपचारमित्यसूययन्त्येव
 भारातलेऽपि न चङ्क्रमते । तर्कयामि चास्याः सभिधानादेवावदातेऽपि चन्द्रमण्डलेस्फुटीभूतो नून-
 मस्ति कलङ्कः, पावनेष्वापि कमलवनेषु प्रोदीर्यते रजोविकारः, स्रच्छेऽपि च कृपाणधाराजले जायते
 जलुषभेदनशक्तिः । त्यागशक्तिमुत्कर्षणीमिव दर्शयन्ती त्यागशीलानेव लजति, शूरैस्सह शौर्यमिव
 प्रकाशयन्ती विगृह्यैव तिष्ठति, विनीतेऽपि विनीततरेव तिरस्करोति, अत्यनुरागवत्यतिरागिणीवार्थे
 र्यं ददाति, . ह्रीमत्सु नितान्तप्रतीतेव न रूपमात्मनोऽभिव्यनक्ति, धर्मरतिचण्डरागानति-
 यन्त्रणासहिष्णुतयेव नावेशयति, प्रणयमर्दानेषु दीनसत्त्वा शीलमेदादिव नावलम्बते मैत्रीकर्म,
 उच्छिन्नेषु क्षुद्रारोहितयेव नाधिरोद्धु क्षमते । . अम्बुगर्मरागमिव निदाघदूषितमामिजाल
 प्रतिक्षणमवमृद्वाति, चरणमिवानुरक्तमल्यधस्ताद्वर्तयति, जङ्घाकाण्डामिव प्रजातुरक्त तनुतदं दधाति,
 ऊरुदण्डमिव स्थिरमुपहितोरुजाल क्लेशयति, जघनमिव महाभोगमावृणोति, उर इव मध्यस्थ
 भयकल्पमुद्धर्तयति, नाभिरन्ध्रमिव गम्भीर बह्वावर्तमुपयाति, स्तनतटमिव प्रवृद्ध बन्धयति, भुजपाश-
 मिव मृदुमवाह्यमुखयति, अधरमिव परिस्पन्दमिव क्षतावस्थानमापादयति, दशननिवेशमिवाभल-
 मधरस्थिरस्कार्यमारचयति, लोचनयुगलमिव स्निग्ध विभ्रमेण योजयति, केशहस्तमिवावति-
 भन्त सयमयति । खरतरेषु चासौ खलेषु पातिता, धान्यपूलीव दुर्जनवरणमात्रसहता, निश्शुक्ल

तां गताऽपि फलीक्रियते, निर्मर्यादादविभ्रमा च मत्तमातङ्गानपि भ्रमरीवामिसरति, विद्युद्विलास-
तरळा मेघराजिरिव राजहसानप्युद्वेजयति, जडानप्यन्धानप्यधीरानपि, मूकानपि, क्षयिणोऽपि,
श्वित्रिणोऽपि, व्यङ्गानपि, विरूपानपि, वृद्धानपि, ह्रीबानपि, कृपणानपि, लुब्धानपि,
मुग्धानपि, निष्ठुरानपि, सैरिणी न परिहरति । असदृशनेकदुर्जनोपभोगनिर्मयकदर्शिताऽपि
नापत्रपते । किं बहुना । न गुणमपेक्ष्यामिवर्धते, नापि दोषेण व्यावर्तते । तथा हि । अजातशत्रोर्धो-
र्मिकतामानिलसम्भवस्याध्यवसायसामर्थ्यमर्जुनस्य पराक्रम यमयोस्त्वतिमानुषरूपमननुरुद्धम्यमान-
शकुनिरचितमक्षधूतकपट चारीकृत्य क्षुद्रमल्लीकारगर्वं दुर्योधनमतिनिर्मरमाल्लिङ्ग लक्ष्मी ।
किमनया नाचरितमिन्द्रजालेषु, किमनभ्यस्त प्रलम्भनेषु, किमशेषित महापातकेषु, किमगणितम-
कार्षेयुः, किमप्रवर्तित वर्णसङ्करेषु, किमभिन्न मर्यादासु, किमनुद्भावित मोहविलसितेषु, किमप्रतिहतं
जालवर्त्मसु । रञ्जुरियं बन्धनाय सत्यवादिताया, विषमिय जीवितहरणाय माहात्म्यस्य,
शस्त्रमिय विशसनाय सत्पुरुषवृत्तानां, अधिरिय निर्दहनाय धर्मस्य, सलिलमिय निमज्जनाय
सौजन्यस्य, धूलिरिय धूसरीकरणाय चारित्रस्य । चित्रायते चेयं सीमन्तिनीविसवादिवृत्तमस्याः ।
यतो यमेव पुरुषमेवा समाश्लिष्यति स्वयमेव तमुद्दामकाम परस्त्रीसहस्रेषु योजयति, सदापि वारुणीं
हृतेयमात्मन समक्षमेव सेवमानमिममुत्साहयति । गुणानपि दोषीकरोति, दोषानपि गुणी-
करोति । अस्याश्च पलातिशये प्रकान्ते प्रस्तावोऽपि न दीपाग्निषा, न वार्तापि करिकळमकर्ण-
पल्लवानां, न कथापि कदालिकाप्रान्तपारिकाणाम् । केवलमनार्यबुद्धेरैवानामनवस्थितत्वेनानुसर्तुम
स्ति शक्तिः ।

एवविधापि चेय दुराचारा सकृदव्यसिचारितापि सभावचापलेन भूयोप्य-
साधारणपुरुषकारभूषणैर्भवाद्दृष्टैरेव शक्यते प्रत्याहर्तुम् । धार्तराष्ट्राननुच्छिन्नकपटघत-
हारितापि स्वस्वरण्यवासविनिवृत्तै पाण्डुपुत्रैः प्रत्युद्धृतैव । इयमपरिमितमहामहीश्रुतप्रभूत-
वाहिनीवरपरिवृंहितमनेकशतसहस्रनागसङ्कुल कुरङ्कुलबलजलधिमनुप्रविश्य शक्तिमिव वृत्त-
मुक्तालक्ष्मीं दुर्लभम् । बन्धा । यस्येय निश्चला चलितामेव खल्विमां दुष्टचेटीमिव पुनः पुनर-
वगृह्य निगळयित्वा नीतवन्त काल अचलशिसाकूटविकटमासळांसपीठा पीठीकृतसप्तद्वीप-
सकलरत्नाकरमेखला धरणीभुज । श्रूयते च नवनलिननालतनुगर्भलीनो नहुषप्रभावसमय समग्र-
मेव चक्ष्मे सहस्राक्षः, पुनरमुष्मिन्पुलोमकन्यकाकरग्रहदुर्विदग्धहृदये ऊर्वशीप्रलोभप्रलम्भ-
नाग्रहोदग्रसप्तर्षिनिर्व्यूहशिबिकाधिरूढे निग्रहामर्षितस्य महर्षेरगस्तस्य शापादजगरभूय
गतवत्यनघवृत्त कळत्रमनायकां च नाकलक्ष्मीं प्रापयत ।

गोपिकागीतम्

(ŚRĪ BHAGAVATA, X, 31)

[For the early history of Gīta Kāvya]

गोप्य ऊचुः—

जयाति तेऽधिकं जन्मना ब्रजश्श्रयत इंदिरा शश्वदक्ष हि ।
दाधेत दृश्यता दिक्षु तावकास्त्वयि धृतासवस्त्वां विचिन्वते ॥
शरदुदाशये साधु जातसत्सरसिजोदरश्रीमुषा दृष्ट्वा ।
सुरतनाथ तेऽशुल्कदासिका वरद निघ्नतो नेह किं वधः ॥
विषजलाशयादव्य ऋराक्षसाद्वर्षमारुताद्वैद्युतानलात् ।
वृषमयात्मजाद्विश्वतो भयादृषम ते वयं रक्षिता मुहुः ॥
न खलु गोपिकानदनो भवानखिलदोहिनामंतरात्मदृक् ।
विघनसार्थितो विश्वगुप्तये सख उदेयिवान् सात्त्वता कुले ॥
विरचिताभय वृष्णिधुर्य ते शरणमंगूषा ससृतेर्मयात् ।
करसरोरुह कात कामद गिरासि देहि नःश्रीकरग्रहम् ॥
ब्रजजनार्तिहन् वीर याषिता निजजनस्मयध्वंसनास्मित ।
भज सखे भवार्तिकरीस्स नो जलरुहाननं चारु दर्शय ॥
प्रणतदेहिना पापकर्षणं तृणचरातुग श्रीनिकेतनम् ।
फणिफणार्पित ते पदाब्जं कृष्ट कुचेषु नः कृधि हृच्छयम् ॥
मधुरया गिरा वल्युवाक्चया बुधमनोह्रया पुष्करेक्षण ।
विधिकरीरिमा वीर मुह्यतीरधरसीधुमाभ्याययस्त नः ॥
सख कथामृतं तप्तजीवनं कविभिरीडित कल्मषापहम् ।
श्रवणमगळं श्रीमदातत भुवि गृणति ये भूरिदा जना ॥
प्रहसित प्रिय प्रेमवीक्षित विहरणं च ते ध्यानमगळम् ।
रहसि संविदो या हृदिस्पृश कुहक नो मन क्षोभयति हि ॥
चलसि यद्वज्राच्चारयन् पशून् नळिनसुंदर नाथ ते पदम् ।
शिलतृणांकुरैस्सीदतीति न कलिलतां मनः कांत गच्छति ॥ ।
दिनपरिक्षये नीलकुतलैर्वनरुहानन बिभ्रदावृतम् ।
वनरजस्वल दर्शयन् मुहुर्मनसि नस्स्मर वीर यच्छति ॥

प्रणतकामद पद्मजार्चितं धरणिमडन ध्येयमापदि ।
 चरणपकज शतम् च ते रमण नस्तनेऽर्पयाधिहन् ॥
 सुरतवर्धनं शोकनाशन स्वरितवेणुना सुप्तु चुबित ।
 इतररागविस्मारणं नृणां वितर वीर नस्तेऽधरामृतम् ॥
 अटति यद्भवानङ्घ्रि कानन त्रुटियुगायते त्वामपश्यताम् ।
 कुटिलकुंतल श्रीमुख च ते जड उदीक्षता पक्ष्मकृददृशाम् ॥
 पतिसुतान्वयभ्रातृबांधवानतिविलम्ब्य ते ह्यच्युतागता ।
 गतिविदस्तबोद्धीतमोहिता कितव योषित कस्त्यजेभिषि ॥
 रहसि सविद हृच्छयोदयं प्रहसितानन प्रेमवीक्षणम् ।
 बृहदुररिश्रयो धाम वीक्ष्य ते मुहुरतिस्पृहा मुञ्चते मन ॥
 ब्रजवनौकसां व्यक्तिरग ते वृजिनहन्यल विश्वमगलम् ।
 त्यजमनावच नस्त्वत्स्पृहात्मना खजनहद्रुजा यभिषूदनम् ॥
 यत्ते सुजातचरणाम्बुह स्तनेषु भीताश्शनैः प्रिय दधीमहि कर्कशेषु ।
 तेनाटवीमटसि तद्व्यथते न किंस्ति कृपादिमिर्भ्रमतिथीर्भवदायुषां न ॥

अमरगतिम्.

(SRI BHAGAVATA, X. 47)

[For the early history of Dāṭa-Kūnya]

काचिन्मधुकरं दृष्ट्वा ध्यायंती कृष्णसंगमम् ।
 प्रियप्रस्थापित दूतं कल्पायित्वेदमब्रवीत् ॥

गोपिकोवाच—

मधुप किंतवबंधो मा स्पृशान्नि सपर्या कुचविलुलितमालाकुंकुमश्मश्रुभिर्नः ।
 बहत्तु मधुपतिस्तन्मानिनीना प्रसाद यदुसदसि विडम्ब यस्य दूतस्त्वमीहक् ॥
 सकृदधरमुधां ख मोहिनीं पाययित्वा सुमनस इव सथस्तत्यजेऽस्मान्मवाहक् ।
 परिचरति कथं तत्पादपद्मं सुपद्मा अपि ब्रत हतवेता ह्युत्तमश्लोकजल्पै ॥
 किमिह बहुषड्भ्रे गायसि त्व यदूनामधिपतिमगृहाणामग्रतो न पुराणम् ।
 विजयसखि सखीनां गीयतां तत्प्रसंग क्षपितकुचरजस्ते कल्पयन्तीष्टमिष्टा ।'

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नाटककथासमग्र

[He is the Sanskrit Pandit, Pachayappa's College, Madras His book contains summaries of the plays of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti and three other plays]

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* Appayya Dikṣiṭa's father's father was Ācārya Dikṣiṭa (called Ācāṇḍīkṣiṭa), the second to an orthodox Vaiṣṇava family of repute known as *Srī Paṣkuntīhācārya vamsa*. In the days of Ācārya Dikṣiṭa, more than three centuries ago, inter marriages between orthodox *smārta*s and *vaiṣṇava* were not unknown in South India. He had by his second wife Totarāmbā four sons of whom the eldest was Appayya Dikṣiṭa's father, Rangarājāḍhvani who, like his father, performed many vedic sacrifices. He is known to have written many works on Advaita Vedānta—the *Advaitavidyāmuktā*, the *Vivaraṇadārpaṇa*, etc. He had two sons, the elder being Appayya Dikṣiṭa, the younger Ācāṇḍīkṣiṭa, the paternal grandfather of Nilakantha Dikṣiṭa. Appādikṣiṭa was the original name of our author and the honorific '*ayya*' was afterwards added to it in recognition of his greatness as a literary prodigy. Ācārya Dikṣiṭa was much praised by King Kṛṣṇadevarāya. "When the king, during his visit to Conjeevaram.

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worshipped God Varāḍarāja in company with his wife and retinues, Ācārya Dikṣiṭa composed the verse—

काचित्कांचनगौरांगी वीक्ष्य साक्षादिव श्रियम् ।
वरदस्सशयापन्नो वक्ष स्थलमवैक्षत ॥

"Beholding a woman glittering like gold and looking like Lakṣmi, Varāḍa fell into a doubt and looked at his bosom (to see if Lakṣmi were there)" The God mistook the Queen for Lakṣmi, suspected that His consort had quitted her permanent place in His bosom and looks! at His bosom to ascertain whether she was there The king was very much pleased with Ācārya Dikṣiṭa's poetic description which is both original and suggestive of his (the king's) greatness and consequently honoured him with the title *Vaṇasthūlacārya Dikṣiṭa* [V A Ramaswami Sastri's *Introduction to Siddhanta-bandu*, Annamalai University, pp 95-108]

Appaya Dikṣiṭa is said to have lived in 1520-1591 according to Adayapalam Inscription See Y Mahalingasastri's *Age of Appayya Dikṣiṭa*, JOR, II. 225-237. In his Introduction to *Yāḍavābhyaṇḍaya*, (Mā. Srirangam) the date is given as 1552-1626.

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[*Tan*, VIII 3594]

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अमरसिंह *Kvs*

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See देवराम [*CC*, III 7]

* In para 137 supra Abhirāma Kāmākṣī is described as the daughter of Sabhāpati (son of Abhirāma) That is an error Kāmākṣī or Kāmakoṭi is the son of Sabhāpati and father of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa In the geneology at page 222 read Kāmākṣī for Kamakṣī This Kāmākṣī was the son of Sabhāpati, and composed the inscription of Venkatapatiṛāya, King of Vizianagar, in Śāka 1510 (see *IA*, XLVII 81).

Abhirāmakāmākṣī praises Dindima in her introductory verses thus

प्रशस्यते यस्य विकुण्ठवादिप्र मो डिण्डिम एव नाम ।

अणीयसी स्तोतुमर्हं ममोक्ति कथं प्रगल्भा कविसावर्ममौसम् ॥

Abhirāma was also known as Dindimaprabhu (see *IA*, XLVII, 98) and she might therefore be the daughter of this Abhirāma Dindimaprabhu (the 1st in the geneology given in page 222) who married Rājanāṭha I and who was mother of Aruṇagirināṭha I (see para 135).

In para 137 read Abhirāma (Dindimaprabhu) of Kāśyapagoṭra had a son Sabhāpati and a daughter Abhirāmanāyikā This Abhirāmanāyikā married Rājanāṭha I. Sabhāpati had three sons Gaṇapārya, Kāmākṣī or Kāmakoṭi and Swayambhu Gaṇapārya's son was Kāmaya and Kāmaya's son was Somanāṭha. Kamakṣī or Kamakoṭi had two sons Kṛṣṇa and Rāma Abhirāma-Kamakṣī, wife of Rājanāṭha I, wrote *Abhinava-Bhūmābhyaṇḍaya*, a poem in 24 cantos on the story of Rāmāyaṇa (*TC*, IV, 5202).

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*The names *Nirmala* (CC, I 32) and *Trimalla* are in correct

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(He wrote his commentary on Guru
raṭnamālā in the Kamakoti Mutt in the
time of Mahādeva V (Śaṅkarācārya)—the
59th Acarya (1704-1746)

आत्माराम (मोरे) of Bombay

सूक्तिकलाप

दशाष्टकी [SB/J]

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[K C Chatterjee, Commentaries
on Uttararâmacarita, *IHQ*,
(1938), 577]

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*The following geneology of the PATTEN BHATTATIRI (Patten) family is of much interest [Between 1300-'500 A D] Rṣi I (m. Gauri) had three sons, Bhavadāsa, Śāṅkara and Paramaśvara I. This Paramaśvara had five sons, Rṣi II (Maharṣi) (m. Gopālikā) Bhavadāsa, Vāsudeva, Subrahmanya and Śāṅkara. Of these, Rṣi III had 2 sons Paramaśvara II and Vāsudeva (see para 170) And Paramaśvara II had a son Rṣi III and his son was Paramaśvara III.

Rṣi II (Maharṣi) is mentioned by Uddanda in his Kokilasandēśa (See para 169-170)

See *Int to Tattvabindu* by V A Ramaswami Sastri (Annamalai University) 87-92

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[In CC, I 86 the name is wrongly given as कविकलक]

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[On the Geneology of Outback kings composed in 1821]

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* [An anonymous poem Here in the colophon श्रीकमलालयमाहात्म्ये गजसलालकलि-
 विडबन नाम प्रथमोऽध्याय Apparently it is part of a bigger and interesting work, which
 is worth looking for It contains a complaint lodged against the officers in charge of
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* On the present head of the Mutt Candrasakharasaraswati the present author
 (M Krishnamacharya) composed this Rathabandha

श्रीमान् कामपि चिन्मयाद्वयसूत्रे कौटिल्य परामावहन्
 कौटिल्य धृतिविद्विषां प्रकटयन् चन्द्रार्थभौलेयम् ।
 आकारान्तरमद्रभूतिरधुना यस्यास्ति पीठो वशे
 काञ्चीधामनि कामकोटिलुचितो जीयाञ्चिर मास्त्र. ॥

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*TC, II 2374 In para 146 he is described as of Kāncī It is wrong He belonged to Tirupati)

Delete in the foot-note the words "His life is described in a poem by Rangasami Tatacarya of Kumbakonam"

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*On this Yati the present author (M Krishnamaacharya) composed this Rajhabandha

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 पन्था ज्ञानामृताब्धे श्रुतिशिखरयुरो प्राप्तवधत् प्रसादात् ।
 शङ्कावादिप्रहर्त्री ललिताशितलसद्वाक् च लब्धप्रतिष्ठा
 हेयप्रत्यर्थिसंस्थामतिमिरपटा वन्दितां पारदग्नि ॥
 [श्रीवागीशपरकालयतिवर]

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केदारनाथमुम्बोपाध्याय [SC Ji]

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[Died in 1924 For his letters and
exquisite poetry, see SC Ji]

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[A poem describing the life of Kuśava-
deva, King of Multan]

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[Born 1896 Professor of Sanskrit, Sri
Parasuram College, Poona Forstray
poems, see *Manjusū JI* and *MV JI*]

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by उद्दह

by नरसिंह

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māta, Utkala Brahmin of Sambhalpore
On the history of Paima Raj family
of Chauhan dynasty of Oha tigarh
Division O P Orissa Feudatory States
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* Kṣemendra's views on Sanskrit Grammar were criticised by Dhaneśvara in his Śārasvataprakṛyā (Oxf 555) as Kṣemendrakhandana. See Balwalkar, SSG, 99 and P. V. Gode's article in PO, I iv 30.

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 गंगाधराध्वरिन् (समरपुगवपौत्र, बाधूल) 14
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 [*Sarada JI*] in prose
 गंगाभक्तिरंगिणी [CC, I 141]
 गंगाभागीरथ (d) 877
 गंगाराम (गंगाधर) CC, I 138
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 गंगाराव् 226
 गंगारामजडी 886 IO, 176, 290
 गंगाराममिश्र *Kad*
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 गंगालहरीशतक 311
 गंगावतरण 154, 781
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 by कविकर्णपूर
 by देवेश्वर
 by हरिभास्कर
 by गंगाधर
 by सत्यप्रहानदतीर्थ
 गंगास्तोत्र [CC, I 140]
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 गङ्गीनक 69
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 गणनाथ 886
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 गणपति *S.S, Pmt*
 [He was probably the father of the poet
 Bhānukara]
 गणपति *Skm, Subh*
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*He was the son of Devasimhamakhin and grandson of Samarapungava Dikṣit of Vāḍhulagotra No (1) is only a preface to No (2) above. In *Tan* VII. 327 there is a formula for chess play

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 गणपति (काकतीय) 1008
 गणपतिदेव 926
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 गणपतिशास्त्रिन् (of Trivandrum)
 गणपतिशास्त्रिन् [पैङ्गनाडु] 254
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 सज्जनरञ्जन
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 तुरगशतक
 कटाक्षशतक
 तटातकापरिणय
 वृत्तमणिमाला
 अन्यापदेश
 ध्रुवचरित
 रसिकभूषण
 भूतेशाष्टक
 सूर्योष्टक
 महाभायाष्टक
 गणपतिशास्त्रिन्
 अन्योक्तिमुक्तावली
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 गणेश [CC I, 143]
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 रसतरंगिणीटीकाकर्ता
 हरिविनोदकर्ता
 दशाधिकशतस्तोत्रकर्ता
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 गणेशप्रसाद
 गङ्गालहरी [Oudh, XII, 38]
 गणेशभट्ट (धर्माधिकारिन्) Kcd
 गणेशशास्त्रिन् (रुक्डीकर)
 [He lived recently at Karavira,
 Bombay SC II]
 गद् 290
 गदाधर Skm
 गदाधर 76
 गदाधर 922
 रसपद्माकर
 [Here the name गदाधर is wrong]
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 by बृहत्तारतम्यस्तोत्र
 [JASB (1870) Pro 312]
 गदाधर चक्रवर्तिन् 862-A
 गदाधर (वैद्य) Skm
 गदाधरतर्काचार्य [SS, I 148]
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 गदायुद्ध (d) 579
 गदासिंह 52
 गद्यकर्णामृत 100, 480
 गद्यकाव्य 446
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- [A. Venkatasubbiah, "Authors of Raghavapandaviya and Gadyacintamani" *J B R A S*, (1927) 124]
- गद्यज्ञ 306
- गद्यपाठवचरित 225, 301
- गद्यरामायण 242
- गद्यषट्क 506
- गद्यादर्श 501
- गद्यवार्थनास्तोत्र 220
- गद्यवर्णन 1064
- गंदिनक 69
- गधिमाहात्म्य 254-F
- गद्यसुक्तिभास्कर 213
- गद्यप्रशसा
- गद्यायात्रा [CO, I 149]*
- गरुडपुरिशास्त्रिन् 520
- गरुड 55
- गरुडदण्डक 12, 505
- गरुडपञ्चक 121
- गरुडसंदेश 289, 323
- by रामराय
- by नरसिंहाचार्य (कोच)
- गर्ग [Quoted in S'rikanthacarita XXV 56]
- गर्गदीन 941
- गागाभट्ट 214
- गागाभट्ट (दिनकरपुत्र) 888
- गागाभट्ट *Kcd*
- गाङ्गादेव *Sarg*
- गाङ्गाके *Sk*
- गाथा p 1
- गाथासप्तशती 305
- गाधिवंशवर्णन 902
- गानस्तवमञ्जरी 1064
- गायकपारिजात 1064
- गायत्रीभुजङ्ग 509
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- गिरिजाकमलाविवाद 342
- गिरिजानाथमिश्र
- (Of Khairakma, Gaya)
- अमरान्वयोक्ति &c
- [*Suy II*]
- गिरिजाप्रसादशर्मन्
- (Of Jeyporie)
- संस्कृतकवय
- [Essays in prose on Sanskrit poets, *MG II*]
- गिरिधरदास, 252, 922
- रामकथामृत [NH 156]
- गिरिधरलक्ष्मण
- (Of Jhalawad, Rajputana called Abinava-Bhavabhūti)
- [*Manj II*]
- गिरिधरदास 251
- गिरिशस्तुतिसूक्तिमाला 482
- गीतगङ्गाधर 298, 1001
- by कल्याण
- by राजशेखर
- by चंद्रशेखरसरस्वती
- गीतगङ्गाधर
- (= सङ्गीतगङ्गाधर)

* The following verse composed by the author of this book (M. Krishnama charya) is a summary of all the stories given in the Gayā Māhātmya on Gayāśṣetra

श्रीर्षं सश्रुतसत्यवाङ्मनतगय ध्यायेद्गदाधारिण
यो नः फल्गुशिलावटान् सदसतीं सन्तारकान् सन्तती ।
प्रादात्सार्थपदो जनार्दन इति ग्यासाय पिण्डं बहून्
दत्त जीवति यो ददात्यपुनरावृत्तिं तिरश्चामपि ॥

[Ed by Maharudrappa Devappa,
Belgam]
गीतगणपति 709
गीतगौरी 298
by रामभट्ट
[Of 129. With Ātmānāma's com
NIV 618]
गीतगोपीपति
by कृष्णदत्त*
गीतगोविन्द 220, 225, 295, 296, 335,
859, 998
गीतगोविन्द [for commentaries, see
MM, II 2]
गीतगौरी by तिरुमल [Rice, 2700 The
name is given as Sītāgaurīvāha
in Jodhpur Mss collection, No
204]
गीतगौरीपति 298
गीतगौरीश 884
गीतदिगम्बर 299
गीतदोषविचार 1064
गीतपञ्चाशिका 1039
गीतप्रकाश 1048, 1064
गीतमञ्जरी 915
गीतमहानट 1058
गीतमाधव by रेवाराज

[Cat CP No 1350-2]
गीतमुकुन्द [गीतामृत]
See कमललोचन
गीतराघव 298
by हरिशङ्कर
by प्रभाकर (KCD)
by रामकवि
गीतवीतराग 298
गीतशङ्कर 153
by भीष्ममिश्र
by अनन्तनारायण
by हीर
[Oudh VIII 200 MM V 52
It is written as गीतसङ्कर in CC
I 154]
गीतशतक 298
गीतसुन्दर 1049
गीतामृत
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गीतोपनिषत्स्थापनडिण्डिम (d)
[Arsha Press, Vizagapatam]

[Composed in 1780 He also wrote a commentary on Gīta-Govinda]

*[This Kṛṣṇadatta received a village (Pachaharaha) as a grant, from the King of Nepal There is a rumour that Kṛṣṇa datta was ordered to be hanged for using foul words about the King of Nepal The King, while on bed, remembered a Hindi poem which he could not understand In the morning he called the Pandit to explain it But the Pandit was waiting for the arrival of the sad time On hearing, he went to the King and the King remembering his past order, and desiring to cancel it, asked what prayascitta should be done for cancelling his order Thereupon the Pandit told him, that he should offer 10 thousand Rupees, one vilge, one Elephant and a Salagram to a learned Brahmana So the King did and gave him the above mentioned village. That village is still in the hands of his generations, residing at Hatarba village, P O Jhanjharpur, Dharbhanga] MM II 47

गीर्वाणेन्द्र 154, 254, 787
 गीर्वाणबोधकाव्य
 by दीननाथ *OO* I 154
 गीर्वाणशठगोपसहस्र 357
 गुण्डिचाविजय 1047
 गुण्डुरामस्वामि शास्त्रिन् 541
 गुणचन्द्र 672
 गुणभद्र (जिनसेनशिष्य) 47, 57, 228, 320
 धन्यकुमारचरितकर्ता
 गुणमाला (d) 563, 955
 गुणरत्नगणि 863
 गुणरत्नाकर 937
 गुणवर्धन 323
 गुणवर्मचरित
 by माणिक्यसुन्दर
 [*Bendalls Inst.*, 69
 गुणविजयगणि 27, 667
 गुणविनयगणि 262, 513
 गुणाकर, *Sarng, Pady*
 गुणाकरभद्र, *Skms*
 गुणाकरसूरी 283
 गुणाढ्य 305, 413, 417
 गुणिदेवाचार्य 373
 गुप्तवती 451
 गुमणिक
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 गुरिजालशायिन् 886
 गुरु *Skms*
 गुरुकुमारचक्रवर्तिन् *SPV*
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 गुरुतरङ्गिणी [*Opp* 6572]
 गुरुनाथकाव्यतीर्थ 318, 468
 गुरुनाथ परामर्श
 [*DO. XXVII*, 10105 in praise of
 Abhinavagupta Last verse in
 prakṛt is this
 जाणम् काणम् कुणम् तोणम्

जीवम् ताणम् सिवत्तणम् ।
 वाचा हिण्णो विथाजेणम्
 निच्चि पुण्णो सदेसम् ॥
 गुरुपरम्पराप्रभाव 254-*F*
 गुरुप्रसन्नभट्टाचार्य 254
 गुरुबालचित्तरत्न *p* 25
 गुरुरत्नमाला
 by सदाशिवब्रह्मेन्द्र
 (Printed Madras With commentary
 by Ātmabodha composed in 1720 A D)
 [Sadāsīva was pupil of Paramasīvendira
 55th Ācārya of Kūmakotipīṭha (1534-
 1586 A D) Ātmabodha was pupil of
 Advayātma Prakāśa 58th Acarya (1692-
 1704 A D) Ātmabodha wrote also
 Bhaktakalpādruma and Gaudapādollāsa]
 गुरुराज
 बृन्दावनाख्यानस्तोत्र [*Rev.*, 274]
 गुरुराजाचार्य
 (of Kallapurū *SCJ*)
 गुरुरामकवि 52 154
 गुरुवशकाव्य 254 270
 गुरुवायुपुरेशस्तोत्र 19
 गुरुविजय by कृष्णमिश्र
 (On the lito of Candiasckhara II
 47th Ācārya of Kūmakotipīṭha
 (1200-1247 AD) mentioned by
 Ātmabodha)
 गुरुस्वयम्भूनाथ 141, 544
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 गृहवृक्षवाटिकाकाव्य
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 गुरुविजय, 271
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 [MM II 55]
 गोकुलनाथ, 693, 755, 863-A
 गोकुलनाथ
 रसमहार्णव [MM II, 60]
 गोकुलनाथ
 काव्यप्रकाशव्याख्या
 [MM II 26]
 गौतमीयकाव्य
 [Printed, Bombay]
 गोदानन्द *Smt*
 गोतिथीयदिवाकर *Skm*
 गोदापरिणय 544, 721, 777
 by श्रीशैलश्रीनिवास
 by केशवनाथ
 by सुन्दरराज
 गोदालहरी
 by खण्डराजदीक्षित
 [CU I 159]
 गोदावरीस्तव 737
 गोदावर्मन् 170
 गोदावर्मयशोभूषण 940
 गोदावर्मयुवराज 714
 गोदावर्मराविवर्माणौ 695
 गोदास्तुति 121
 गोनन्द 387
 गोनन्दन *Sukt*
 गोपदेव
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 गोपभट्ट (गोभट्ट)
Skm, Samg
 गोपादित्य, *Subh, Samg*, 388
 गोपाल (वैष्णुगोपालपुत्र) 779
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 माघव्याख्या
 गोपालकवि
 —आनन्दलहरी [CU I 160]
 गोपालकृष्ण 542
 गोपालचम्पू 222, 542, 903
 by जीवराज
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 गोपालचरित 219, 257
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 गोपालदास 306
 गोपालदास (वैद्य) 243
 गोपालदास 225
 वल्लभाख्यानक
 गोपालदेव *Samg*
 गोपालदेव 941
 गोपालनायक 1038
 गोपालपण्डित
 गङ्गाविलासचम्पू [CU II 28]
 गोपालभट्ट (हरिवंशभट्टपुत्र) 886
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 गोपालभट्ट 306
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 गोपालशर्मन् 280
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 [Of Kolhapur, *Sarada JI*]
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 गोपीनाथ (रापल्लि) 123
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 IO, VI 7184)
 गोपीनाथकविभूषण 1043
 गोपीनाथदेवशर्म
 (Principal, Govt Sans College,
 Benares *SB JI*)
 गोपीनाथपण्डित *SHar*
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author of Subhāsītahārāvali]

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[K A Nilakanta Sastry, Mahapala of Chandakausika (*JOR* VI 191), Sri C V Kumaraswamy Sastri, Chandakausika (*JOR* VII 25) Critique by R V Krishnama charya in Manjubhasam 1905]

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[He was sometime Principal
Ayurvedic College, Rishikul,
Hardwar and lives at Bikaner]
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[SSP Library, Calcutta Composed
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[a fine work of prosody reviewed
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[*Arsha Library, Vizagapatam]

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[In *Tiny XIX p* a commentary is said to be the work of Candias'ekhan, son of Sabdas'esa and in Ms No. 3793 that father's name is not given]

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[*IO VI 7408* This is in praise of लक्ष्मीचरिंह of सिंहाचल in Viag District]

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[He was uncle of Nadindla Gopal]

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(Died about 1924 at Cocanada)

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[E V Veeraraghavacharya says that he lived near Vizianagaram in Vizianagapatam]

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[Son of Desikācārya Born 1892]

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* [He was son of Peda Tirumalācārya of Bhāradwāja goṭra. He composed this work at Tirupati Hills in 1587. It is engraved in three copper plates in the Tirupati Devasthanams. The first verse is in Sanskrit and the second verse contains words of Sanskrit and other prakrit dialects. This is 2nd verse,

त्रायस्व त्रात भक्ता वियगयपयरो देव तेळ्ळोक्कनाहो
 ण अहं हेपि दन्धे णचिय तिहुवण पोम्मणी हे मुळ्ळी ।
 अजो दंचो सताते कुनक्कससहियो माणवो तानवाळी
 रागाचन्दाहवत्तप्पयड दिहुवणो बळरो वेळ्ळेटो ॥

His father Peda Tirumalācārya and his grand-father Annamācārya have composed samskritā gīṭas, Songs on Sri Venkatesa, in all the rasas [Printed T T D Press Madras]

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[Autobiography in fine prose
Vidy JI]

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[Kuppuswamy Sastry's Rep (1919)

Poem in 6 Cantos It deals with
all artificial forms of enigmatic
poetry]

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[Nepal Library This seems to be
a new work]

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nath Tagore's work *SPV III 96*

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[Printed *OO J* with Vidyā-
mādhava's commentary]

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[Ed by Kshatishchandia Sastri,
Calcutta]

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 धर्मसिंह
 साहित्यरत्नाकर [*Oudh V 10*]
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 [*JASB (1906), p 171*]

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 धीरशङ्कर 271, 272
 धीरसिंह 403
 धूतध्वज (d) 727
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 धूर्जटिप्रसादकाव्यतीर्थ 781
 See भक्ताविजय (d)
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 1040
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 धूर्तचरित (d) 45, 237, 786, 880
 धूर्तनर्तन (d) 757, 786
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 धूर्तविटसंवाद (d) 592
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 ध्रुवचरित (d)
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 ध्रौवपदटीका 1042
 ध्वनिकाव्य (*Vidy Ji*)
 ध्वनिगाथापञ्जिका 58
 ध्वनिप्रदीप 892
 ध्वनिविवेक (*OC I* 273)
 ध्वनिसिद्धान्तग्रन्थ 855
 ध्वन्यालोक 825

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नक्षत्रमाला 209 [*TC IV No* 4800]
 [Printed *Kāvya-mālā*, Bombay]
 नखकुट्ट 950
 नम्र *Skm*
 नम्रजित् *Subh, Surug*
 नमधर 27
 नमभूपतिग्रह (d) [*Opp II* 2862]
 नम्रराज
 रेणुसहस्रलोत्त [*Opp II* 4899]
 नम्राचार्य *Skm, Subh*
 नञ्जराज
 [He was known as Navabhoja-
 rāja and his Court poet Nṛsimha
 author of Nanjarāja Yasobhusana
 p 19] as Navakāhḍāsa
 नञ्जराज 938, 1001
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by नीलकण्ठ [*Mys Sup II*]
 नञ्जराजयशोभूषण 9
 नञ्जराजशेखर 1001
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 [*SO JI etc*]
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 नन्दिकेश्वर p 42
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 अभिनयदर्पण
 [Ed and tr by Manmathanath
 Ghose, Cal Sans Series, Calcutta]
 नन्दिकेश्वरकारिका 975
 नन्दिघोषविजय (d)
 by शिवनारायणदास [*IO 607*]
 नन्दिमती 563
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by गोवर्धनमिश्र
 [Novel printed in *VO JI*]
 नन्दिसेन 283
 नन्दिस्वामिन् 798
 नन्दीचरित 254
 नन्दीशयाज्ञिक 432
 नन्दीश्वरकथा 230
 नन्दीश्वरसंहिता 963, 989
 नन्दोपाख्यान [*PR III 394*]
 नन्नयदीक्षित 863-A
 नमजीरामशास्त्रिन् (of *Mewad Sury JI*)
 नमदिशवायगव्य 506
 नमिमाधु 832
 नम्मय्य *Sarnay*
 नम्माल्वार
 [In para 205, *Real 43rd day of*
 Kale]
 नयचन्द्र 113, 118
 नयनिदर्शन 543
 नयरत्न 235
 नरकण्ठीरवशास्त्रिन् 475
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 by वेङ्कटराज [*Ruce 326*]
 नरचन्द्र 109, 666
 नरचन्द्रसूरि 111, 114
 नरनारायणानन्द 111
 नरनारायणीय
 by सदानन्द (देवप्रयाग)
 [A very learned poem like
 Magha Compd Sam 1912
 Printed Bikaner]
 नरपति [*MM II 55*]
 नरवर्मन् 99
 नरसनायक 124
 नरसम्पत्तिन् 250
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 नरसिंह (कठिंग) 880, 928
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 [See also para 206, note (3)]
 नरसिंहअव्यङ्ग्यार T 473
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 [TO IV, 5479 Composed sâka
 1572]
 नरसिंहदेशिक (MB JI)
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 [OO III 134]
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 नरसिंहवर्मन् पुणेकर of Kitture
 [SC JI]
 नरसिंहवाक्त्रिन् (तिम्मजिमन्त्रिपुत्र) 92
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 [TO I 554]
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 नरसिंहाचार्य (वेदान्ताचार्यशिष्य)
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 नरसिंहाचार्य (महाबलपुत्र) 500
 नरसिंहाचार्य (मरगटि) 933
 नरसिंहाष्टदास 919
 नरहरि
 (He gives a date 1298 It must be
 Sâka and not samvat That will be
 1376 A D Nidavole Venkatarao says
 "In the manuscript copy I possess
 there is an invocation to Bharati-
 Tirtha, the desciple of Vidyaranya and
 hence this date is conclusive In the
 commentary of Naishadam Narahari
 invokes Vidyaranya as his paramaguru
 Moreover there is a tradition among
 the Alankarikas in this country that
 Kumaraswami was a desciple of Nara-
 hari Suri and as such he quoted the
 book twice His date may therefore be
 assigned to 1376-1340 ")
 नरहरि (अल्लाड) 53
 नरहरि
 छन्दसुन्दर 1102
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 नरहरि (= नरसिंहस्वयंभूपुत्र) 76
 नैषधटीका 306
 [OO I 279, 306 In para 76 he
 is described as son of मङ्गलबाय is it
 wrong ?]
 नरहरि (भास्करपुत्र) 28
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 नरहरि यति 214
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 नरेन्द्रवर्मन् 181
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 नरोत्तम 251
 नरोत्तम
 कीर्तिलेशमात्रदर्शककाव्य [OO I 279]
 नरोत्तमचन्द्रशर्मन् (of Peshawar)
 [VO JL]
 नरोत्तमारण्यशिष्य [PR II 196]
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 नर्तननिर्णय 1028
 नर्मवती (d) 563, 880
 नलकथाण्व 254
 नलकीर्तिकौमुदी 126
 [Published in JI of Telugu
 Academy]
 नलचम्पू 513
 [Ed. with Candapāla's commen-
 tary and intr by Nandakisora-
 sarma]
 नलचरितकाव्य 154
 नलचरित (d) 84, 154, 742
 by देवीप्रसादशुक्ल
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 नलानन्द (d) 84
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 नल्लानचक्रवर्तिवैभव
 [Aisha Library, Vizagapatam]
 नल्लादीक्षित (= नल्लाबुध = भूमिनाथ)
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 नवरत्न 14
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नवीनकालिदास 525

नवीनचन्द्र विद्यारत्न

श्रीवत्सचरित [VO JI]

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नष्टोद्दिष्टप्रबोधक 1042

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नागकुमारचरित 235, 320

नागदेव 513

नागनन्दिन 35

नागनराय 348

नागनाथशास्त्रिन् (T O)

[Advocate of Devacottah,
Ramnad, of Tirunalveli village
near Sivaganga]

नागनाथ (विश्वेश्वरशिष्य) 787, 879

मदनविलास (d)

नागनाथ (कन्दुकूरि) 544

नागपैय्य *Saung*

नागप्पशास्त्रिन् (होसकारि)

[*Manj* II 136, 154]

नागभूपाल 934

नागनार्य (देवनार्यपुत्र)

कविराक्षसव्याख्या [DO XX. 8025]

नागम्मा 374

नागम्मा *Saung*

नागरसमन्वय 1372

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*नागराज 349

See भावशतक

नागवर्मेन् 866

नागराज केशव 863-A

* Dasavatma Sarma on Nagaraja of Bhavasataka, *Jl of Indian History* III, 303 The following note is found *Manuscripts in Mithila*, II 9, *Bhavasataka* "It was written for Ganapati Naga, the Naga king of Padmavati and the adversary killed by Samudra Gupta in battle Although the book has been once printed in the Kavyamala our manuscript gives the correct name and establishes the identity in the opening verse

नाकराजसमं (शर्त) प्रत्यं नागराजेन तन्वत् ।

अकारि गजवक्त्र श्रीनगराजो गिरां गुरुः ।

गजवक्त्रश्री ('Elephant-faced' = गणपतिश्री = Sri Ganapati Naga) was printed as गजवक्त्र in the Kavyamala which fully obscured the name Ganapati again occurs in verse 80 which also shows that there were several Naga kings in the time of Ganapati There is an allusion to Padmavati in 'Padmalaya' in verse 100 The king's family is called Karpati (कर्पटि) gotra which is known to the Mahabharata The M B H enumerates it in the company of the Malavas (Sabha, C 35 7, Kumb ed, Bengal C 82) His dynastic name was Taka In the Bhavasataka we have a work of 300 to 350 A D, that is, a work just before Kalidasa's time Every verse is complete in itself like the verses of the Gatha Saptasati Very short comments (evidently by the author himself) are given Ganapati Naga was a Sanskrit scholar and a man of stern character (verse 76) and a worshipper of Siva (शिवभक्तितया The style anticipates Amaru."

नागराजशर्मन् [VO JI]

नागरिदास 1072

नागाजी 1094

नागानन्द (d) 613

[Ed with Commentary by; Bala-
deva Upādhyāya, and with transla-
tion and notes by Sankarānanda
Sastri, Madras]

नागानन्दकाव्य 613

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नागार्जुनीययोगशतक 1071

नागेश p 24

नागेशभट्ट = (नागोजीभट्ट) 143, 862, 886,
899, 921

नाचिराज

[Quoted by Arjuna Varman in
his Com on Amaru]

नाचोक Skm

नाटक 561, 563

[D R Mankad, *Types of
Sanskrit Drama*]

नाटककथासङ्ग्रह (गद्य) 650

by V अनन्ताचार्य

[Printed Ahmadabad]

नाटकचन्द्रिका 220

नाटकदीप

by त्र्यम्बक [Opp 4675, *Rice* 286]

नाटकदीपिका 727

नाटककथामञ्जरी [A select collection
of dramas and poems]

नाटकपरिभाषा 879

नाटकमीमांसा 871

नाटकरामायण (d) 373-B

नाटकलक्षण

by पुण्डरीक [OO I 284]

नाटकविमर्श 727

नाटकावतार 923

नाटकाट (d) 786

नाटिका 561, 563

नाट्य 549

[Sculptures in dancing are also
found in the temples of Bhuvan-
esvar and Konarak near Puri and
in Chidambaram Gopuram]

नाट्यकथामञ्जरी

by कैलासनाथ

[Printed Lahore It is a summary
of well known Sanskrit dramas]

नाट्यदर्पण 671

नाट्यपार (= नृत्तपार) 565

नाट्यप्रदीप

by सुन्दरमिश्र

[OO I 285 Written in 1613]

नाट्यप्रशंसा 1064

नाट्यरासक 563

नाट्यलोचन 836, 2017

नाट्यवेदागम 945, 1046

नाट्यशास्त्र 945, 797

[Translation of Chapter IV
Tandavalukshun by B V Nara-
yanaswami Naidu with illu-
strations and a glossary of dance
terms, Madras]

नाट्यशेखर 900

नाट्यसर्वस्वदीपिका 1064

नाट्याध्याय 1064

नाट्यार्णव 963

नाट्यायित 565

नाथ इमार *Sarnag*

नाथमिश्र 904

नाथमुनि 205

नाथमुनिविजय 546

नाथस्तव 919

नाथुषाचरित

by चन्द्रशेखरशास्त्रिन्

[Printed Bikaner]

नाथौक *Pady*
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 नानकचन्द्रोदय 226
 नानार्थार्णवसंक्षेप 28
 नान्दी 560
 नान्यदेव 400, 646, 1002
 नाभागचरित (d) 254-W
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 नायिकावर्णन [DO XXII 86,70]
 नायिकानुवर्णन 922
 नारदपञ्चरात्र 967
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 नारदविलासकाव्य 967
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 863 (a)
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[At page 217 the word

Nāiāyanvīlās is wrong]

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[Tr of Vivekananda's Song o Sanyasni. JSSP XIX]

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[Ed by K. D. Vleese, Leiden,
 with critical notes on manuscripts
 Ed. by Ram Lal Kunj Lal, Lahore]

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[The word *Srisaala* in para 158
 is wrong. It must be *Nrisimha*]

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[Ed with translation and extracts from Commentaries by Handique, Poona Oriental Series XX]

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परमशिवपञ्चदशी

सरस्वतीद्वादशश्लोकी

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दक्षिणगोकर्णेश्वराष्टक

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जगत्पुरुषावादर्श

जगत्पुरुषअष्टोत्तरशतक

अखण्डकावेर्यष्टक

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bhakta for Allabhakta]

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अन्याप्रदेश [Printed Vizaganpatam]

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पण्डितराजशतक 899

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[This is a Telugu poem later
translated into Sanskrit by Rājā-
lingasam]

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* This play is referred to by Vedānta Desika in his *Rahasvātravasāra*
when he quotes the Nāndi

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[See Telugu Edn p 747] and also in *Sārasāra* p 196

“स्वयं वस्तु कुर्वन्जनमिममकस्मात्सरसिजप्रकारौ पद्यायास्तव च चरणौ नन्दनरक्षणम् इति
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* [Sivaprasad Bhattacharya, *Subandhu and Bana, Who is earlier ?* IHQ (1929) 699 Sivaramamurti, *Printing and allied arts as revealed in Bana's works*, JOR. VI 395, VII 59]

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[L Kretzsetimon, *Bhavabhūti the poet of Dharma in German*, Halle Salle]

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[Ed with Commentary, translation and notes by H D Shama, Bombay]

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[Com by Paravastu Ranga-charya, Aisha Press, Vizagapatam]

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[D. C. Ganguly, History of the

Paranara Dynasty, Dacca]

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[Printed Benares Contains various stories essays and Subhāsitas in prose and poetry and proverbs]

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(Sanskrit Journal, Calcutta)

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[Nepal Library Band 11, 19

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[Quotation in para 566 is from
Ātmabodha's commentary on Guṇa-
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[Prose rendering of Muroi of
Matsuyama in Iwaya's Fairy Tales
of old Japan, [MG II, II 36]

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सहित्यवैभव

[A very large collection of ex-
cellent poetry Printed at Jaipur]

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Mentioned in मार्कण्डेयपुराण. She is said to have taught her son, and her words are here quoted (*Sury II*)

धरामरान् पर्वसु तर्पयेथाः समीहितं यन्धुषु पूरयेथाः ।
 माया प्रबोधेन निवारयेथा अनित्यतामेव विचारयेथाः ॥
 सदा मुरारिं हृदि चिन्तयेथास्तद्व्यानतोन्तःषडरीञ्जयेथा ।
 भर्ता परस्त्रीषु निवर्तयेथा भार्यामृतावेव विचिन्तयेथाः ॥
 राज्ञं कुर्वन् सृष्ट्वा नन्दयेथाः साधून् रक्षस्तात यज्ञैर्यजेथाः ।
 बुध्नाभिघ्नन् वैरिणश्चाजिमध्ये गोविप्रार्थं वत्स मृत्युं भजेथाः ॥
 बालो मनो नन्दय बान्धवानां गुरोस्तथाऽऽज्ञाकरणैः कुमारः ।
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[Madhusūdana's recension—

Ed with the commentaries of Ramataraṇa Siromaṇi Candrasekhara and J Vidyasagara—Calcutta See S K De *Problem of Mahanataka*, IHQ (1931) 629, 709, and Shivaprasad Bhatta charyas' paper on *Mahanataka problem*, read at 7th Oriental Conference]

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* This book appears to be a history of King Lalitāditya (*Raj* IV 131-145) and the following verses from it are quoted as for the 5th Ullāsa by Ātmānanda in his commentary on Gururatanamālā alluding the installation of the son of Queen Ratta who had been deposed by the Kashmir invader, on the Kanakaga throne (See N Venkatarama's *Sankaracarya The Great*, 78-9 pp 78-9)

रुद्रं कर्णाटराज्ञीं प्रसभमभिभवन् केरलीयाश्च कोश-
 प्रख्यान् प्रख्यापयिष्यन्नचलदजहद्दीर्घकौपीनमुच्छ्रान् ।
 म्लेच्छान् मूर्धार्धमुण्डानपि विदधतो विद्रुहन्निहिवृत्त्यै
 श्रीकाञ्चीकामकोटीमठमसददसौ श्रीगुरोस्तेवनाप्यै ॥

चोलानभ्येत्य लीलावलयितवन्मुद्रामध्यकाव्या स काञ्च्या-
 मास्ताचार्यान् सपर्या प्रमुदितहृदयानादधानस्स सम्राट् ।
 यत्समृत्त्यै ज्येष्ठमुद्रालयमपि विदधे साधुसाहस्रभक्तम्
 नात्रालक्षोत्तराणामपि तदशनर्द वेत्सु काश्मीरदेशे ॥

† Edited by PPS Sastri, Madras. Ed by P Kinjamdekar, Bombay with Nilakantha's commentary Ed by V S Sukthankar (Ādiparvamaṇḍa) with illustrations

N V Thadani, *Mystery of the Mahabharata, Age of Mahabharata*, (Mys Arch Rep (1927), 8

E P Rice, *Mahabharata, Analysis and Index* Jagannatharow, *Age of Mahabharata War* Pramathanatha Mallik, *Mahabharata, A critical study* (Allahabad), and its review by V V Ramasami in *The Hindu*, 27th Nov 1984

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This is one of the finest poems in S India & g

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धूम्रश्चासि महाबुभावमहिष त्वं दुःखः केसरी ।
इत्थं ते सततं महाकपिशताकारस्य साहाय्यतः
सीता प्राप्य विलम्ब्य दुःखजलधिं नन्दाभिरामस्त्वयम् ॥

Like this poem is *kākas'ataka* directed against Kākūji friend, of King
Fkoji & g

रसालकुलमावृतं सकलमेव काकात्मजैः
कथञ्चिदपि नीयते विरसवासरः कोकिलैः ।
द्विजैरपि तथा कथं सरसमानसा कान्तिभिः
मरालकुलनायकैः कथं कास्थितिः कार्यता ॥ [*Temp* VII 3929]

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* [Is he the same as महेश्वर next supra. Ed Cal Or Series with a fine analysis in English]

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[M A. Dasasami Iyengar, *Madha-Vidyayananyu Theory*, Journal of Indian History, XII 241]

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(= देवविलासार्था

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‡ [*CC* I 260 *BRI*, No 436 of 1887-91 It contains 135 verses composed at the instance of King Mādhavasimha, son of Jaisimha II of Jaipur about 1750 Gaṇḍārāma, Nāmesvara, Goīrātha, Vajranātha, Sudhākara, Haridatta, Kevalarāma, Śrīśiva, Ravidatta, Sambāradata are mentioned in the poem as the learned men of that Court.

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* (His songs are printed at Madurai in Sri Guhaṅgupāṁṁṁ in which Navar nana Kīrtanas express devotion to Universal Mother.)

† [Ed Translation by H Dhruva's Srikantha Saṁhita of Mudirakshasa, IHS (1981), 168 K H Dhruva, Verses mistaken for prose, PO Oct 1936]

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[It is a work in prose and verse on the customs and the manners of the different countries in India in the form of a dialogue between Viśvāmitra and Vasistha He is same as the author of Keralābharana]

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[His son Rāmacandrācārya
Vidyāraṇyapāṇcānana wrote stutis
They are great astrologers]

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[Translation by Ranjit Sitarama-
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[Mahmahopadhyaya Sury Ji
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 [*MG JI II* He lived at Santi-
 persad, Nuddea in 1710-1782]
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* There is a manuscript in the Bhandarkar O R institute B K R (1874-5),
 p 9 10 has a critical notice The hero is not Sultan Mohammad of Ghazni, but
 Mohammad Begadha of Ahmedabad In the colophon the line of Gujarat Kings
 from which this Mohammad came is given I am indebted for this information
 to P K Gode, Curator, Bhandarkar O R Institute.

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 [See M Venkataratnam, *Rama
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 Madras Ruben, *Studies in the history
 and text of Ramayanam* (in German)
 Stuttgart]
 रामायण p 22
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* (He was son of Kāṇṭimarai and Keśava Bhatta His mother's brother was Śrīśāṅkarpūrṇa, who was one of the disciples of Ālavandār It is wrongly printed in para 206 that Rāmānuja was Alavandar's son's daughter's son Rāmānuja's date of birth and death are in the chronogram श्रीलब्धा धर्मो नष्टः (949 and 1054 Śāka))

† See S Aiyaduraiyar, *Ramayana as an illustration of Yogasstra* (Printed Kumbakonam)

" The Ramayana is the story of Atma Vijayam Rama is the Atma who is in quest of Sita who is Brahmayidya with the help of Lakshmana, who is Buddha, and Hanuman, who is Minas, by destroying Ravana, the Rajoguna with the ten

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senses for ten heads, and Kumbhakarna, Tamoguna, after enlisting the services of Vibhishana, the Satvaguna Lanka, wherein Sita is made captive, is Muladhara Chakra and Rakshasas are the evil forces that lie coiled up in Muladhara. In fact, all the characters and all the geographical names that occur in the Ramayana are identified with certain portions of the human body, and every such identification is sought to be supported by the meaning which the word is capable of yielding or other reasons are given why it ought to be so.

See also for a similar exposition, *An esoteric study of Ramayanam* by C Doraisami Aiyangar, Chittoor. Articles in *Dharmarajya*, Delhi.

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Rāsakrīḍā is thus finely described in Kṛṣṇakarmāmṛta

अङ्गनामङ्गनामन्तरे माधवो माधवं माधवं चान्तरेणङ्गना ।

इत्थमाकल्पिते मण्डले मय्यगः स जगौ वे गुना देवकीनन्दन ॥

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 भारतीनीराजन

† He must have written his commentary on Murārī after he became an ascetic and assumed the name Bāmānardaśrama [Tanj VIII 3322] He had a brother Kondubhatta (Panditapattabhadra)

‡ He was son of Visvanātha and Pārvatī of Haritagotra. In his colophon to the commentary on Saundaryalaharī (Tanj No 20664) he describes his ancestors, all great in learning. Of these were Mahādeva (para 889) Lakṣmīdhara, (author of Sāhityaparijāta), Virincimīśra, (author of Bharatārnavapoṭa and Sāhityamīmāṃsā) He was in the Court of King Gajapati Virarudra of Orissa and wrote Sarasvatī vilāsa (on Hindu law) and poems Lakṣmīdhara, Barhāvataṃsa and Karmāvatāṃsa. After Kṛṣṇadevarāja married the daughter of Pratāparudra, Lakṣmīdhara appears to have gone to Vijayanagar and lived in the Court of Kṛṣṇadevarāja, whom he thus praised

श्रीकृष्णक्षितिपालदत्तमणिभिर्विद्वत्कर्त्तृना गृहाः

नानारत्नविचित्रकण्डिमभुवो रत्नाकरत्वं गताः ।

अब्धि केवलवारिपूरनिलयस्संभाव्यते सज्जनैः

अम्बोधिर्जलधि पयोधिरुद्धिर्वारानिधिर्वारधिः ॥

§ V Viraraghavacharya gives his date as about 1465-1530. Inscriptions in Kondavidu mention Lakṣmīdhara [EI VI 280 dated 1520 A D]

Has the same Lakṣmīdhara written a commentary of Anandalaharī? [CC I 548 Here his name is noted as Lakṣmīdhara Des'ika]

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मदनसुखचपेटिका

रामचन्द्रपञ्चदश

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by वेङ्कटाध्वरि

लक्ष्मीस्तुति 254 F [TC VI 6957]

लक्ष्मीस्तोत्र 126

लक्ष्म्यसङ्गीत 1064

लखिना थाकुराणी 378

लक्ष्म्य 904

लघुकाव्य 255

लघुपाण्डवचरित 746

लघुभट्टारक 586

लघुभागवतामृत 220

लघुरामचरित 746

लघुव्यास

See वृत्तिवल्लभनाटक (d) [CC I 541]

लघुसप्तशतिकास्तव 902

लघुस्तव 309

लङ्कण 72

लङ्केश्वर 286

लङ्कदत्त *Skm*

लटकमेलक (d) 786, 880

लङ्गहाचन्द्र *Skm*

लङ्गुक *Skm*

लब्धिसागर

See पृथ्वीचन्द्रचारित्र

लम्बोदरपहसन (d) 706

लल्लराज 922

लल्लादीक्षित 286, 600

ललितमहाकाव्य 844
 ललितमाधव 220
 ललितरत्नमाला (d) 69, 611, 670
 ललितराघव 252
 ललितराघवीय (d) 939
 ललितविग्रहराज (d) 671
 ललिता 745
 ललिता (d) 565
 ललिताङ्गी (d) 374
 ललितादित्य 60, 641
 ललितानुराग *Subh*
 ललितास्तवरत्न 286
 ललितासहस्रनाम 126, 257
 ललितास्तोत्र 273
 ललितोक *Skm*
 लवणप्रसाद 119
 लवणलक्ष्मण (d) 727
 लवलीपरिणय (d) 777
 लाटडिण्डिन 69
 लाटडिण्डीर (= डिण्डीर)
 [Quoted in Suvi.]
 लाटानुप्रास 325
 लालमणित्रिपाठिन्
 वाघेलवंशावली [OB III 118]
 लालमणि 314
 लालामोहन 318
 लालिगीत [TC VI 7407]
 लावण्यमयी 487
 लावण्यवती 68
 लिखनावली 403
 लिङ्गकवि 280
 लिङ्ग्यप्रभु 156
 लिङ्गलीलाविलासचरित 254
 लिङ्गादुर्गभेदन 782
 लिङ्गाशुशासन 70, 819
 लिङ्गेश्वरार्मन् (of Kratukoti, Dharwar.)
 [Sury JI]
 लिच्छावि 626

लीलाचन्द्र *Subh*
 लीलादर्पण 726
 लीलामधुकर (d) 880
 लीलावती (d) 939
 लीलावतीकथा 70, 106, 447
 लीलावतीसार महाकाव्य
 by जिनेश्वर [Jes 4]
 लीलास्तुति 121
 लुटक *Subh*
 लेखा *Subh*
 लेखिनीकृपाण 581
 लोकनाथ p 24
 लोकनाथभट्ट
 कृष्णाभ्युदय (d) [Tany VIII 3013]
 लोकप्रकाश 68, 69
 लोकरञ्जन 786
 लोकसम्भव 309
 लोकाचार्य 209
 लोकाचार्य (पिप्लै) 209
 [He lived for 121 years in 1205-
 1326 The dates given in para
 209 appear to be incorrect
 Vedāntadesika has written a pañcā-
 śat in his praise]
 लोकाधिकारिक 1071
 लोकानन्द (d) 53, 613
 लोकेश्वरशतक 284
 लोचन 836
 लोचनकवि 1032
 लोचनपण्डित 1064
 लोचनोल्लास 933
 लोटक (जयमाधवपुत्र) *Subh*
 लोटक (ईश्वरपुत्र) *Subh*
 लोठितक *Subh*
 लोणितक *Sarny*
 लोपासुद्रा 373-A
 लोपासुद्रा *Skm*
 लोलम्बरराज 129, 251

लोल्लट 810, 822, 953, 955

लोल्लमहादेव 888

लोष्ठक 27, 286

लोष्ठसर्वज्ञ *Skm*

लौलकराजानक *Subh*

लौलिक *Skm*

लौलिक (= कालक) *Skm*

लौहिल्यबीरसेन 373

लौहिल्यगोपालभट्ट 863-A

व

वकुळमालिनीगीतापरिणय

(= वकुळमालिनीपरिणय) (d) 242, 777

वकुळभरण (आत्रेय शठगोपपुत्र)

वरवरमुनिचम्पू [TC VI 7201 Describes the life of Manavālamahā-muni See para 209]

वक्रतुण्डगणनायक (d) 783

वक्रोक्ति 342

वक्रोक्तिजीवित 845

वक्रोक्तिपद्माशिका 58, 342

वक्षोजशतक 312

वद्धिदास 53

वङ्गमणि 1039

वङ्गाल *Skm*

वङ्गीयप्रताप 741

वन्धीपुरनाथचरित 254

वन्धीशस्तव 713

वन्धेश्वर (नृसिंहपुत्र) 163

See वाण्डेश्वर

वज्रमुकुटीविलास 545

by अलसिङ्ग

by योगानन्द

वज्रवर्मन् *Subh*

वज्रायुध *Subh*

वज्रेश्वरीकाव्य 254, 311

वटेश्वरमिश्र 632

वत्स 28

वत्सभट्ट 10

वत्सराज (लाटभूपति) 478

वत्सराज *Sarmg*

वत्सराज 515

भोजप्रबन्ध

वत्सराज

वाराणसीदर्पणकाव्य [composed in 1641 A D 00 I 565]

वत्सराजकवि

कर्पूरचरित (भाग) (d)

किरातार्जुनीय (व्यायोग) (d)

त्रिपुरदाह (डिम) (d)

रुक्मिणीपरिणय (ईहायुग) (d)

हास्यचूडामणि (प्रहसन) (d)

समुद्रमथन (समवाकार) (d)

[Ed GOS, Baroda as Rūpaka-
śatka These were enacted in the
courts of king Paramardideva and
his son Trailokyavarmadeva of 12-
13th century Paramardi wrote
prasasti to Śiva (JASB XVII 33)
and ruled 1163-1203 See LA
XXXVIII 121]

वत्सराजचरित 603

वत्सवायितिममगजपति महाराज 942

वध्यशीला (d)

[Quoted in Sāhityadarpana]

वन्दारभट्ट 80

वन्दारद्विजमाधव 80

वनज्योत्स्ना 745

वनमाला 110

by गङ्गानन्दि [MM II 62]

वनमालाविजय *Opp* II 6799

वनमालिका 672

वनमालिभट्ट 297

वनमालिन् *Skm, Pady*

वनलता 746

वपुनन्दन *Skm*

वध्यहास्य *Subh*
 वरगुणोदय 727
 वरद (आत्रेय) 160, 777
 वरद (श्रीनिवासपुत्र) 529
 वरद (कौशिक) 787
 वरद (= नायनाचार्य) 122 (1316 1415)
 देशिकस्तोत्र
 विग्रहध्यान
 प्रार्थनाष्टक
 हरिणसन्देश
 कोकिलसन्देश
 शुकसन्देश
 वरदकान्तविद्यारत्न 50
 वरदकृष्णमाचार्य 504
 वरदत्तगुणमञ्जरीकथानक [*Bonullall* 65]
 वरददेशिक (आत्रेय) 251
 वरददेशिक (वीरवल्लि) 242
 वरददेशिकज्ञाय 506
 वरददेशिकदण्डक 505
 वरदराजयज्जन् 251
 वरदराज
 See कविजनविनोद
 वरदराज (उडाल) *pp* 24, 43
 रामायणव्याख्या [*TO* VI 7055]
 वरदराज (नोडारि) *p* 52
 वरदराजस्तव 143, 207
 वरदविष्णु 254 D
 वरदाचार्य (नारायणपुत्र) 254-E
 वरदाचार्य 922
 उत्प्रेक्षामञ्जरी
 वरदाचार्य 704
 अनङ्गप्रह्लादविलास (d)
 वरदाचार्य
 सावित्रीपरिणय 253
 वरदाचार्य 160
 चोलभाण (d)
 वरदाचार्य 160
 अनङ्गजीवन (d)

वरदाचार्य 160
 रुक्मिणीपरिणय
 वरदाचार्य (= नडादूर अम्माळ) 160, 718
 [*of Vatsagotra Born at Kāncur in*
 1165]
 मङ्गलाशासन
 हेतिपुङ्गवस्तव
 वसन्ततिलक (d)
 परतत्त्वादिपञ्चकस्तुति
 वरदाचार्य
 मङ्गलमयूखमालिका [*OO* I 550]
 वरदाचार्य (= चटिकाशतं अम्माळ) 160,
 718
 वरदाम्बिकापरिणय 133
 वरदाभ्युदय 529
 वरदार्यगुरु
 पराकुशपञ्चविंशति
 वररुचि 6, 268, 331, 429, 591
 वररुचि
 पद्मकौमुदी [*MM* II 75]
 वरवरमुनि 209
 वरवरमुनिचम्पू
 (= वेदान्तभूषणचम्पू)
 See वकुलभरण [*TO* VI 7201]
 वरवरमुनिदण्डक 505
 वरसावित्रीचरित 254
 वराह *Skem*
 वराहचम्पू 242
 वराहमिहिर 19
 वराहविजय 242
 वर्णच्युत 345
 वर्णनासारसङ्ग्रह 369
 वर्णपद 1064
 वर्णलक्षण [*TO* VI 7396]
 वर्णलघुव्याख्यान 1064
 वर्धमान (= वीर = महावीर) 13
 वर्धमान (विजयसिंहशिष्य) 235

वर्धमान (गोविन्दसूरिशिष्य) 182
 वर्धमानचरित 235
 वर्धमानाचार्य 235
 वर्मलात 54
 वल्लट 69
 वल्लट (भागवत) *Subh*
 वल्लट भट्ट *Subh*
 वल्लत्तोल् नारायणमीनान् 180
 वल्लन *Skm, Ks*
 वल्लभ 27
 वल्लभदास 430
 वल्लभदिविजय 225
 वल्लभदेव 831
 काव्यालङ्कारव्याख्या
 वल्लभदेव 368
 सुभाषितावली
 वल्लभदेव [आनन्द (अनन्त) देवपुत्र] 28,
 29, 55, 58, 318
 वल्लभदेव *Sarnag, Skm, Subh*
 वल्लभभट्ट *Subh*
 वल्लभभट्ट 920
 वल्लभाख्यानक 225
 वल्लभाजी 1029
 वल्लीपरिणय 137, 163, 544, 723, 777
 by वीरराघव
 by भास्कर
 by स्वामिदीक्षित 254
 वल्लीपल्लवोल्लास (d) 787
 वल्लीबाहुलेय (d) 352
 वल्लीसहाय 271, 541, 682, 725
 वल्युद्भव 177, 544, 715
 वंशमणि 299
 वंशलता 199
 वंशीधर 1095
 वंशीवादन 76
 वसन्त 904
 वसन्तविलक (d) 160, 718
 वसन्तदेव *Skm*
 134

वसन्तदेव 400
 वसन्तपाल 111
 वसन्तभूषण (d) 787
 वसन्तविलास 113, 115
 वसन्तराज 888
 वसन्तराजीय 888, 889
 वसन्तवासर 254 F
 वसन्तोत्सव 314
 वसुकल्प *Skm, Kod*
 वसिष्ठचरित (in prose) [MB Ji]
 by प्रतिवीरभयङ्करम् अनन्ताचार्य p 21
 वसिष्ठोत्तररामायण p 21
 वसुकल्प 655
 वसुकल्पदत्त *Skm*
 वसुचरित्र 144
 वसुदेववसुतोदयकाव्य [CC II 131]
 वसुन्धर *Sarnag, Skm, Smt, Subh*
 वसुनाग 662
 वसुनाग *Subh*
 वसुबन्धु 18, 470
 वसुभाग *Skm*
 वसुमङ्गलनाटक (d) 323, 719
 वसुमतीकल्याण (d) 1044
 वसुमतीचित्रसेन 165
 वसुमतीचित्रसेनविलास (d) 143
 वसुमतीपरिणय (d) 708
 वसुरथ *Skm*
 वसुरात 260
 वसुलक्ष्मीकल्याण (d) 717, 939
 वसुसेन *Skm*
 वस्तुपाल *Sarnag*
 वस्तुपाल 73, 111, 676
 वस्तुपालचरित 111
 वस्तुपालप्रशस्ति 113
 वाकूट (वाह्वाट) *Skm*
 वाह्वति *Skm*
 वाकोक *Skm*
 वाक्कूट *Skm, Kvs*

वाक्यतिराज 395, 641

See मुञ्ज

वाक्यपदीय 261, 558

वाक्यावलि 46

वाखाटेश्वरकाव्य 941

वागीश्वर

[mentioned in श्रीकण्ठचरित XXV
127]

वागीश्वरसंस्तव 902

वागुर *Skm*

वाग्भट (सोमपुत्र) 235, 867

वाग्भट (नेमिकुमारपुत्र) 869

वाग्भट 314

वृक्षारविलास

वाग्भटालङ्कार 867

वाग्भूषण 348

वाग्दीप *Skm*, 401

वाछोक *Skm*

वाजचन्द्र 887

वाछेश्वर * (= वाछानाथ)

वाधेलवंशावली

by छषेमणित्रिपाठिन् [OO III, 118]

वाचकवी 373 A

वाचनाचार्य 659, 867

वाचस्पति *Skm*

वाचस्पतिहरगोविन्द 318

वाचस्पतिमिश्र 73

वाणीनाथ 199

वाणीभूषण

by दामोदर (दीर्घचोष) [MM II 13]

वाणीरसाल 954

वाणीविजयचम्पू [Vady Ji]

वाणीविलास *Pady*, 490

वाणीविलास (d)

by देवीप्रसादशुक्ल

(Printed Benares)

वातदूत 323

वाताह्वान

by दुर्गादत्त [MM II 1, 36]

वात्स्यायन 385, 551 A

वात्स्यायनसूत्रसार 1071

वातोक *Skm*

वादिगङ्गाळ 451, 816

वादिचन्द्र 44

पाण्डवपुराण

वादिचन्द्र 767

ज्ञानसूर्योदय (d)

वादिदेवसूरि 108

वादिराज (मध्व) 217

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वादिराज *p* 42, 43

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वादिराजवृत्तरत्नसङ्ग्रह 217

वादिराजसूरि 88, 233

वादिहंसाम्बुद 529

वादीन्द्र

कविकर्षणी [OO I 562]

वादीमसिंह 479

वानराष्टक *Skm* 73

वापीक *Skm*

* [The correct name seems to be this and not वक्षेश्वर as printed in para 168. The senior Vānchesvara was a poet of the Court of Pratyāpasimha and his son Tukkoji of Tanjore. His forefathers were the donees of Shaharajapuram. He wrote Mahāṣaṣṭaka or Lulayasāṭaka (Tanj VII 2954). He was a rival of Ghanaśyāma and directed his satires against him whom he alluded to as Vṛṣala. His great grandson Vanchesvara wrote a commentary on it (Tanj VII 2956). His commentary on Hiraṇyakes'isūtra (Tanj No 2072) is dated 1816 A D. See under Mahāṣaṣṭaka.]

वामदेव *Skm* [*PR* III 55]

वामदेवीय 1031

वामन 272, 470, 801, 819

वामनगुप्त 836

वामनचित्रचरित 254

वामनदेव *Skm*

वामनभट्टबाण 128, 482, 889

कनकरेखाकल्याण (d) [*TC* VI 7100]

वामनविजय 733

वामनखामिन् *Sarng, Subh*

वामर्षि 872

वायसवैशस 490

वायु 964

वायुपुराण 964

वायुस्तुति 214

वार *Skm*

वाररुच 6

वार्तिककार *Skm*

वार्तिकाभरण 150

वार्धिकन्यापरिणय (d) 704

वाराणसीदर्पण [*OO* I 565]

by वत्सराज

by सुन्दर

वालिबध (d) 563, 779, 877

वाल्मीकि p 3

वाल्मीकिचरित 146, 254

वाल्मीकिभावदीप p 21, 487

वाल्मीकिहृदय p 23

वासन्तिका (d) 672, 784

वासन्तिकापरिणय 784

वासन्तिकापरिणय (d) 210, 698

वासव *Pudh*

वासवदत्ता 166, 451

वासवदत्ता (प्राचीन) 450, 565

वासवदत्ताकथासार 473

वासवदत्तानाट्यधार (पार) 474, 565, 955

वासवीपाराशर्य (d) 356

वासिष्ठरामायण p 21

वासुकि 964

वासुदेव (विद्याचक्रवर्तिपुत्र) 1012

वासुदेव (करुणाकरशिष्य) 170, 658, 659

वासुदेव *Sarng, Subh, Skm*

वासुदेव (सर्वज्ञ) *Sarng*

वासुदेव (रविपुत्र) 65, 331

वासुदेव (महर्षिपुत्र) 170

वासुदेव (नारायणपुत्र) 172

वासुदेव (करुणाकरशिष्य) 170

वासुदेव (नृप) 400

वासुदेव (भदन्त) *Subh*

वासुदेवचरित 251

वासुदेवज्योतिस् *Skm*

वासुदेवद्विवेदिन्

संस्कृतगीतमाला [*Sury JI*]

वासुदेवनरेन्द्र 786

वासुदेवनन्दिनी 542

वासुदेवपादो 907

वासुदेवब्रह्मपण्डित 1098

वासुदेवरथ 192, 193

वासुदेववाचासुन्दर 297

वासुदेवविजय 46, 170

by वासुदेव

by रामनाथतर्कालङ्कार

[composed in 1883 at Shantipur]

Printed Calcutta]

वासुदेवशर्मन् [*VO JI*]

वासुदेवशास्त्रिन्

रामोदन्तकाव्य [*OO* I 567]

वासुदेवसानन्द

by शिवरामशर्मसूरि

[Printed Allahabad A grand

proso-poetic poem of devotion

See *PO* I 69 for review].

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[He is son of Mahadeva and Sāvarni of S'andilyagotia and belongs to Badahara state Printed *SC M*]

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[Printed at Nagpur with the commentary of Krishna Sarma This is said to be a fourth śataka of Bhartrihari For review see *SC M, VI*]

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दारिद्र्यक्षितिप. स मे निजपतिस्तस्य प्रसादादभू-
द्वाञ्छा जीवनमम्बर दश दिशो वासश्च वेवालये ।
अस्मद्वैरिणि लब्धसङ्गतितरित्वप्याश्रये कुप्यता
मद्वृत्तिं विनियोजितास्त्वदरय का नाम वृत्तिर्मम ॥

Compare

अर्धं दानववैरिणा गिरिजयाप्यर्धं शिवस्याहृतं
तेनेत्य धरणीतले पुरद्वराभावे समुन्मीलति ।
गङ्गा सागरमम्बरं शशिकला नागाधिप. क्षमातलं
सर्वज्ञत्वमधीश्वरत्वमगमत् त्वा मा च भिक्षाटनं ॥

विद्याकरपुरोहित (contd.)

राघवपाण्डवीयव्याख्या

[He was descendant of Jivadeva author of the poem Bhakti Bhāgavata and lived during the time of King Mukundadeva II (1658 1692) of Orissa Nārāyaṇa-ātaka is in praise of Lord Jagannātha of Purī edited with Pītāmbara miśra's commentary by Karuṇākara (Kara) Sarman Principal, Sanskrit College, Purī Jivadeva was son of Puruṣottama and wrote his poem at the request of King Pratāparudra and lived in 15 16th century in Orissa]

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[M A Doraisamayangar, on Madhava-Vidyaranya Theory, *Jl of Ind History* XII, 241 See Vijayaragava Sexcentenary Vol.]

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 दयाशतक
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 गरुडदण्डक
 हयग्रीवस्तोत्र
 न्यासविशति
 न्यासतिलक
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 Com by भारद्वाजश्रीनिवासाचार्य
 [Printed Conjevaaram Edited
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 Srirangam]
 Com by चेदल्लर नरसिंहाचार्य
 [of Tiruvahundiapuram Edited
 Madras]
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 rangacharya Com by Paṇa-
 kalaswami (Mysore)]
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* He was the disciple of Śiva Sūrya Yajvan whom he describes thus

कलाधरत्वात् कमलापतित्वात् पद्मासनश्रीचतुराननत्वात् ।

मूर्तित्रयात्मापि विशुद्धस्वरूपो यो राजते विश्रुतधर्मकौर्तिः ॥

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 poetic renderings of Tamil works, Desika-
 prabandha, Periyālwār's Tirumoli,
 Nāmālwār's Tiruviruttam and Tiruvā-
 siriyam and Tiruvandādi (1 to 4 daśakās)]
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 [Ed by M M Anantakrishna-
 sastri, Prof of Sanskrit
 Calcutta]
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† He is also said to have translated the Tiruvaymoli into Sanskrit I heard a verse repeated from it though I have not been able to trace any such manuscript

लोक पुष्कलमेकनायकतया ये शासितारो नृपा.
 श्यामाङ्गेन शुना प्रदष्टचरणास्ते भग्नभिक्षाघटा ।
 अस्मिन् जन्मनि सार्वलौकिकतया भिक्षामयन्ति स्वयं
 श्रीनारायणपादसेवनरता भो भोस्तमज्जीवताम् ॥

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[Ed Tr by K N David]

वेणुधर (तर्कतीर्थ)

दु खिनीविलाप [JSSP XIX]

वेताळपञ्चविंशति 430 [OO I 603]

by क्षेमेन्द्र

by जम्भालदत्त

by वल्लभ

by शिवदास

by सोमदेव

[M B Emenieu, *Central Asiatic*

versions, PO Oct 1936]

वेताळभट्ट *Skm*

वेताळविंशति

by वेङ्कटभट्ट [Opp 4544]

वेतोक *Skm*

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वेदकवि 761

वेदगिरिवर्णन 210

वेदपादरामायण 547, 704

वेदपुरीश 725

वेदवल्लीपरिणय 253

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वेदान्तगुरुदर्शनकीर्तन 1064

वेदान्तदशक 919

वेदान्तदेशिक 120, 143

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वेदान्तदेशिकचरित 122, 498, 736

वेदान्तदेशिकदण्डक 505

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वेदान्तविद्याविजय 209

वेदान्तविलास (d) 160, 718 767

वेदान्तसूरिचक्रवर्तिन 779

वेदान्ताचार्य (भारद्वाज) 787

वेदाधिनाथ 544

वेदिका (d) 783

वेम = (वरनारायण) 128, 305, 308, 482, 889

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काव्यरत्नाकर [OO I 102]

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वेशोक *Skm*

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वैकुण्ठपुरि 767

वैकुण्ठभट्टतैल्लिङ्ग *Kod*

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वेदभौवासुदेव (d) 721, 778

वेदेहीपरिणय 253

वैद्य (C V) p 43

वैद्यगङ्गाधर *Skm*

वैद्यजीवदास *Skm*

वैद्यत्रिविक्रम *Skm*

वैद्यधन्य *Skm*

वैद्यनाथ 316, 323, 767

वैद्यनाथ *Sarnag*

- वैद्यनाथ 1100
 वृत्तलक्षण
 वैद्यनाथ (तत्सन्) 143, 722, 778, 861
 887
 वैद्यनाथ
 रामायणदीपिका [CO I 611]
 वैद्यनाथ (श्रीवत्स) 787
 वैद्यविद्याधर 928
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 वैद्यनाथकवि [CO V 612]
 सत्सङ्गविजय (d)
 वैद्यनाथदेव (सर्वेश्वरपुत्र) 316, 722
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 by शङ्कराचार्य
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 व्यासतीर्थ p 43 214
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 व्यासपाद Skm
 व्यासरामायण 373-B
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 by कुञ्जविहरचक्रवर्तिन्
 [TO V 628, in 15 cantos on
 Kṛṣṇa's life until killing of Kamsa. He
 was son of Rāmacandra.]

व्रजनवनागरचन्द्रिका [OO I 6207]

व्रजनाथ (=वज्रनाथ) 372

[His name is given as Vajranātha in the poem Mādhavasimhāyās'ataka composed in the court of King Mādhavasimha of Jaipur Vrajanātha's Padyatarangini was composed there in 1753 AD]

व्रजरत्नभट्टाचार्य

प्रमोदविलास

रसिकरहस्य &c [SO JI VII]

व्रजभूषणकवि *Ked*

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व्रज्याकाव्य [OO I 621]

by कविचन्द्र

व्रज्यामाला [OO I 621]

by सर्वानन्द

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by श्रुतिसागर [Bendall 64]

व्रतावदानमाला 446

व्रतोपाख्यानकथा

by श्रुतिसागर

(on fasts and holy days)

[Bendall, 64]

श

शकचेल *Subh*

शकटीयशबर *Shm*

शकटीगर्भ 954

शकवर्मन् *Subh, Sarng*

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[Edited with Srinivasachari's commentary and English Translation Madras, Edited by B Dass Jain with Trans and Notes Edited with commentary by Ramavarma and Ramaji Sastri, Pattambi]

शकुन्तलाचर्चन 603

शकुन्तिका 842

शक्तिकुमार *Sarng*

शक्तिभद्र 664

[S M Paranjpe, *Bhasa and Sakuntlabhadra, Annals, IX*]

शक्तिवल्लभ

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शङ्कर

[mentioned in भोजप्रबन्ध]

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चन्द्राङ्गदचरित 254

शङ्करकवि 254

* [On Dwaraka Mutt Chronology, see *The Theosophist*, XIV 258-56 & XVI 292-96 For a full discussion of these mutt histories, see N Venkataraman's *Sankaracharya, The Great and His Successors in Kancī, Madras, and Gopinatharao's Sri Sankaracharya Mutt Inscriptions*

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 शङ्करगण 655
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 शङ्करविग्नजयस्वार 271
 शङ्करदीक्षित (बालकृष्णपुत्र) 254, 442,
 538, 680, 707
 शङ्करदेव 400
 शङ्करदेव *Skm*
 शङ्करधर *Skm*
 शङ्करनारायण
 रसिकामृतनाटक (d) [Hz 1276]
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 Calcutta.]
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 शङ्करशर्मन् (गुलवाणि)
 [of Kudum, VO II]
 शङ्करशास्त्रिन् (of Kajanda)
 वसन्तवर्णन
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 शङ्कराचार्यवतारकथा 215
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† [BR I No 236, OC I 196, 626 P K Gode says the Nānāpātī and Prātāpasimha mentioned in the poem are respectively Nanasahib Peshwa (1740-61) and King Pratapasimha of Tanjore (died 1765), Bhāṣabala (भृशबल) means Bhonsle]

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[Printed JSSP Calcutta]

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by वाक्पतिभट्ट

[on the life of 36th Acārya of
Kamakotipeetha, 788-840 AD]

शङ्कार्णव *Skm*

शङ्कु (मयूरसूनु) 823

शङ्कु 823, 955

शङ्कुणिनायक (C) [VO JI]

शङ्कु 272

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निरोष्ठयरामायण [SO JI VO JI He
was Sanskrit Pandit in St Joseph's
College, Trichnopoly]

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शठजित्कवि 787

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[in Vasistharāmāyana, prin
Bombay]

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शम्बरामुरविजय 539, 544, 731

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 (Bendall 42 Composed 1620 AD

An extract for Sārngadhara-
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[*TC* V 6308 in 12 cantos]

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- [*TC* VII 7488, 7573 He was brother of Śīmarāsatātācārya probably of Tūrupṭi, Chittoor District and son of Annayārya]
- शृङ्गारतिलक (d) 880
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- शृङ्गारतिलक (d) 787
- [Ed by Rāma Pisharoti in *OOJ*]
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- शृङ्गारदीपक (d) 520, 787
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- शृङ्गाररसविलास 923
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- शृङ्गारलीलातिलक (d) 787
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- शृङ्गारवाटिका (d) 689, 784, 787, 880,
- The name is given as शृङ्गारवाटिका in *Benda* l 60 This was composed for Viṣṇusimha, *Kumara* of Mahārāja Rāmasimha of Jaipore]
- शृङ्गारविधि 923
- शृङ्गारविलसित (d) 787
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roya of Mysore, he was son of
Alagasingharya]

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* Bhavabhūti is thus praised

माधवस्य रतिं यद्वत् विरुद्धैरप्रबाधिताम् ।

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 गीताञ्जलि (and other songs Sans-
 krit turns of Tagore's works *SB*
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 सीतारामशास्त्रिन् (विद्यामार्ताण्ड)
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 [Printed He lives in Bhawan,
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[Jl of Mysore Sanskrit Collage
1934-1935 He lives in Mysore]

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- सूत्रप्रबन्ध 1047
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- सूर्यनारायणशास्त्रिन् (दूर्वासुल) 1060
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- सूर्यवलिराम 887
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[In para 254-D read thus
Soma-kavi was the son of Subhah
māya He wrote Āditya-kāya-
mīta His father Subhahmāya
wrote Cātudhārācamarāśāra,
a collection of verses, with his own
commentary.]

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[JSS 54 in praise of his guru
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सोमनाथ (= सोम, सुदलपुत्र)

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पञ्चप्रकाशगद्य

वसवाष्टक

[V Piabhakarasasiri's Int to
Basavapurāṇa]

सोमनाथ

(Mentioned in Bhogaprabandha)

सोमनाथ 269 [UU I 735]

रामार्याशतक

वैराग्यशतक

अन्योक्तिमुक्तावली

अन्योक्तिशतक

*ज्ञानवैराग्यमुक्तावली

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cantos]

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* (According to Panyaś'lokamanjari this Someśvara became Bodha II
(Sandrauanda) the 44th Ācārya of kāmakoṭipīṭha in 1061-1098 A.D. Mr. Duff
gives dates for Someśvara 1002-1082)

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 1370-1446 Under para 209, note
 12, read His Guru was Śrīśailes'ā
 called Tiruvoymahipillai (1323-
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 स्वर्गरास्तोत्र 256
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 [Ed by N S Khaste, Benares
 with commentary Ed by Deodhar
 with notes Tr by V S Sukthan-
 kar, London
 Ed. with Commentary by
 Anantaramasastri Vetal and
 Jagannata Sastri Hoshinga
 Benares]
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 by वादिराज [DC XXVII 100365
 on the shrine of Brndāvana]
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 poems, see ibid VI & VIII]
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 (Baroda Edition)]
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 by जगज्ज्योतिर्मल्ल [Lear, App 82]
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by चम्पकेशाचार्य

[*DO* XXVII, 7027]

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[*Sury JI*]

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हरिकृष्णछौदरीशर्मन् (of Varāhi)

वसन्तागमगीत [*Sury JI* IX]

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[In a Com on Vas'odharāmahā-

kāvya he is called Hasīscandra

TO III 3826]

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[The name is given as हरिचन्द्रदास

in *Annals*, XIII 94]

हरिचरण भट्टाचार्य 499

हरिचरणविद्यारत्न (of Bengal) [*SB JI*]

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प्रभावली (d)

[*Bendall* 28 Composed at the instance of Yuvarājā Rāma-simha in 1625]

हरिणसन्देश 323

हरिदत्त *Shm*

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See शान्तिविलास

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शोकगीति etc [*JSSP* XIX 128]

हरिनारायणमिश्र

(of Varāhi, Ahmedabad) [*Sury JI*]

हरिदास [*OO* I 757]

पुरञ्जननाटक (d)

हरिदास *Paily*, 758

हरिदास 955

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हरिदेवमिश्र

कर्णकुतूहल [*OO* I 82]

हरिनागभूषण 1063

हरिनाथ (वासुदेवपुत्र) [*OO* I 758]

रामविलासकाव्य

हरिनाथ [विश्वेश्वर (विश्वधरपुत्र)]

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हरिनारायणमिश्र* *SS*

* He praised Shajakhan thus

भूसृन्मौळितटीषु वर्षति महाधाराधरेऽस्मिन्नसौ
जाता भूप सरस्वती विजियिनी कल्लोलिनी पावनी ।
श्रीमत्साहिजहा ब्रवीमि तदिदं साहात्म्यमस्याः कथं
यस्या मज्जति पङ्कजीयति शिवस्तन्मूर्धजे लीयति ॥

हरिप्रबोध 819

हरिप्रसाद (गङ्गाशयन) 888

हरिपण्डित (मुडिगुण्ड) p 24

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[Of Bhatpara, Bengal, *Vidyā Jī*,
SSM Jī]

हरिपालदेव 1013, 1064

हरिबाबा (1838)

भक्तिरसायन [OO II 88]

हरिभक्तिकल्पलता

by कृष्णसरस्वती [Hp IX 16]

हरिभक्तिविलास 221

by सुनातन

by गोपालभट्ट

हरिभक्तिसुधोदय

[Written as a Purāṇa on the lives
of Bhaktas like Pahlāda, Dhruva
etc.]

हरिभट्ट 329

नलोदयव्याख्या

हरिभट्ट 904

(Quoted by Caṭurbhuja)

हरिभट्ट 235

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हरिभूतभट्ट *Subh*

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[On Śaṅkara's successors Men-
tioned by Ātmabodha]

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हरिरामशास्त्रिन्

(of Aurangabad *MB Jī*)

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हरिवंश (जैन) p 44

हरिवंश *Shm*

हरिवंश (of Lalitapāra)

सूर्यशतकटीका [OO I 761]

हरिवंशकाव्य 251

हरिवंशकथासङ्ग्रह

by अभिमन्युश्रेष्ठिन्

[DO XXVII 7336, TC VI

7336 This narrates the story of
Harivamsapurāṇa in easy prose and
verse, according to Jaina religion.]

हरिवंशगोस्वामिन् [OO I 82, 761]

करुणानन्दकाव्य

राधासुधानिधि

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by गणेशपण्डित

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हरिश्वन्द्रचरित (d) 781, 842, 872

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by विद्युशेखर 249

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[Said to be a *Compt* in *Aisha*
Library Vizagapatam]

हरिश्चन्द्रोदय 96, 254

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अमरसूत्रकटीका

हरिहरभट्ट 1075

हृदयदूत

हरिहरभट्ट 359

कुलप्रबन्ध

हरिहरविलास *Opp* 3899

हरिहरसभाषित 373

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हरिहरानन्द 520

हरिहरानुसरणयात्रा (d) [CO I 763]

by चरितार्थभट्ट

(Printed Bombay)

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हर्षचारतसङ्ग्रह 456

by R. V. कृष्णमाचार्य

by श्रीनिवासाचार्य

हर्षचरितसार

by V. V. Munshi, Printed

Bombay

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हर्षदत्त *Subh*

हर्षदेव (= हर्ष) 564 609

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हर्षपालदेव 400

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हर्षविलास (d) 779

by कन्यालाल पञ्चतीर्थ

[Printed JSSP Calcutta]

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by वामनभट्टवाण 323

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[Aisha Library, Vizagapatam]

हसेनकर

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by श्रीनिवास (आत्रेय)

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[*Q* Is he the same as Hastimalla-sena ?]

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by हरिकवि

by पुरुषोत्तम

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by विठ्ठल विद्यावागीश

[Nepal Library, Bhandari 28
Composed on the reign of Sugandha-
sumha of Bundelkand]

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by वत्सराज (Ed 708)

हास्यरत्नाकर (d) 786

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[G Buhler's *Life of Hemacandra*]

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अनन्तरामशास्त्रिन्, (वेताल) [*Sury Jl*]

अनन्तराम (त्र्यम्बकपुत्र)

स्वानुभूति (d) [*Bentall*,]

अनिरुद्धमिश्र

सरस्वतीस्तुति [*Sury Jl*]

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अलङ्कारमञ्जूषा [For content., *see IO I*]

आशारामशास्त्रिन् (of Lakshmanpala) [*Sury Jl*]

इन्दुमतीपरिणय (d) [*Tanj No 23844*]

इन्द्रप्रासाद त्रिपाठिन् [*Sury Jl*]

ईश्वरस्तदौरात्तिशास्त्रिन् (of Muzapur)

भक्तिलहरी etc [*Sury Il*]

ईश्वरार्थ्यर्थेन [*Sury Jl*]

उत्तररामचरित

by नारायणभट्टशिष्य [*TSS*]

उदयवर्मचरित [*TSS*]

उद्धृतवृकोदर (d) 790

एकादशी व्रतनाटक (d) [*Bentall 22 1480 A D*]

एकावली *See* [*IO I 11 15*]

कथाकोश (proc) [Ramgha Jain Library, Benares]

कमलिनीकलहंस (d) [*TSS*]

कम्पनीप्रतापमण्डन (d)

by बिन्दुमाधव (Printed Poona)

कर्पूरचरित (d) [*GOS*]

by वत्सराज

कलङ्कमोचन (d)

b) पद्याननतर्कतीर्थ

[on a tale in Bhāgavata about Rādhā, *JSSP XX*]

कलिहराजसूर्य

सूरिनन्दार [*TSS*]

कविराक्षस

[E V Venkatasubramanya says that he was a native of Dākṣa-
rāma, M. Godavari Dist., and lived between 1050 and 1220
See Venkatasubramanya's *Tirupai Pāis*]

कवीन्द्रचन्द्रोदय 373-B

कालिदास 12-33 309, 317, 615-623

काव्यसुभाषित [*Bendall* 52]

काव्यादर्श [*TSS* with two commentaries]

कूर्मपुत्रकथा [*Bendall* 50]

चन्द्रेश्वरसरस्वति [Preser. Head of Kamakotipitha]

सिद्धेश्वराष्टक (on Prayag)

गङ्गावंशानुचरित

[See R. Subbarao's *History of Eastern Ganges of Kalunga*,
AMU, V 193]

गीतगोविन्द

[The verses about ten Avatāras have been sung in *Thirai Records*
by Madhubasi Dikshitar Śrīrāmāśāhārī, Teacher, Board
High School, Chittoor who is an adept in singing this
poem and Rāmāyaṇa. Some verses have also been sung
by Chittoor sisters in *II M V Records*]

णवर्मचरित

by माणिययसुन्दर (अचलगच्छ) [A collection of tales *Bendall* 64]

विन्दमिश्र (= एम्बार्)

विज्ञानस्तुति

[He was disciple of Rāmānuja. Born at Mathuramangalam
lived 1026-1129]

विन्दराज 1 23

[Bhavanāyaka son of Śrīrangācārya made a gift to Tirupati
Temple on 5-7-1535 and lived at Tirupati, see *Tirupati*
Thiruvaimozhi Inscriptions]

वटपार्श्वकाव्य [*Bendall* 51]

वृत्तकुल्या (d)

[A later Ms. dated. sum 1731 *Bendall*, 28]

चण्डकौशिक

[See V V Mirashi on Rajasekhara's works in Pathak's Col
Vol Poona]

चित्रम्मा poetess, *Sang* [BTC 164, Ms Peterson's Edn does n
contain it]

जानकीराघव (d)

by युवराजरामसिंह, son of Jayasimha (1625) [*Bendall*, 28]

दत्ता (novel)

by श्रीश्वरचन्द्र चट्टोपाध्याय [*JSSP XIX*]

दूताङ्गद (d)

by रामचन्द्र [*Bendall*, 28]

देवशङ्करभट्ट [For date, see *PO I n 14*]

देवशिखामणि अलशिङ्गराचार्य [Sanskrit Pandit, Triplicane, Madras]

पार्थसारथिशतक

तिरप्पल्लियधि (Th from Tamil)

धर्मबुद्धिकथा [*Bendall* 50]

नक्षत्राजयाशोभूषण [For contents, see *PO I n 19*]

नयचन्द्र [*PO I n 22*]

नाट्यशास्त्रसमीक्षा

by T K रामचन्द्रअय्यर [Printed Mylapore, Madras]

नृत्ताञ्जलि

by श्रीरागिणीदेवी

[An illustrated introduction to Hindu dancing, Bombay]

नेपालवंशावलि [See Table of Inscriptions in *Bendall*]

पञ्चानन तर्करत्न

(नन्दलालपुत्र of Bhatpara, Bengal)

See कलङ्कमोचन [*JSSP. XX*]

पद्मवेणी [*PO I n 54*]

पूर्णचन्द्रके उद्भटसागर (of Calcutta)

उद्भटश्लोकमाला

[An anthology of fine verses of the *author and of all.
Printed Calcutta]

प्रतापरुद्रयशोभूषण [*PO I n 16*]

* Here is a verse of the author for benediction to live for 120 years

इष्टं स्वचन्द्रयुगितं शशिना समेत रामाश्रितं युगयुतं निहतं श्रेण ।

यच्छेषितं शरकरेण वसुधामन्द त्वं जीव हे वसुधर ! स्वजनैः पृथिव्याम् ॥

(*JSSP XX. 152* for a review)*

प्रभावली (d)

by हरिजीवनमिश्र [Bendall 28]

प्रेममोहिनीरणधीर (d)

See विजयानन्दन

विन्दुमाधव

कम्पनीप्रतापमण्डन (d) [Printed Poona]

बोपदेव 205

भास [O K Venkataramiah, *Bhasa's Plays* (in Canarese) Bangalore an extensive book reviewed in *Hindu*, 22nd August 1937, Madras]

महादण्डक [Rumghat Jain Mandir, Benares]

महाभारत [PO I in 5]

माघदुर्घट [Bendall 60]

by राजकूर (Adversaria on Māgha)

माणिक्यसुन्दर (अचलगच्छ)

See गुणवर्मचरित्र *supra*

मूकपञ्चशती [Ed by T S Sabesa Iyer, Madras]

रसार्णवालङ्कार [Ed *IHQ* (1929) by Venkataramasarma and by E V Veeraraghavacharya, *Jl of Tel Academy* (1934-5)]

राधाप्रिया

See विश्वनाथ (Chief of Askani)

राम (लिङ्गगुण्ड)

शृङ्गारसोदय (d) [OO I 661]

रामायण

[Miss P C Dharma, *Some customs and beliefs from Ramayana* PO II 113]

वरदाचार्य (S T G) [S T G Varadācārya, MA, himself maintains a Sanskrit College at Chittagudur, Masulipatam]

नवरत्नमाला

तत्त्वकथानक

सुषुप्तिवृत्तम् (a short poem on India past and future)

वरदायिकापरिणय

[Edited with commentary by M M Giridhar Sharma and Haridatta Sharma by Lakshman Sarup, with introduction, Lahore Introduction fixes date of composition between 1529-40]

वसन्ताभरण (Nepal Library)

विद्वसालभञ्जिका (d) 166, 658 [V V Munshi, Yavaijaleva of Tii
Annals XI 370]

विद्याधर [PO I n 13]

विद्यातिलक (p) [Bendall, 191]

श्रीनिवासाचार्य (T V)

लक्ष्मीचूडसिंहशतक (Printed Madras)

षोडशायुधस्तुति 121

हरिजीवनमिश्र

प्रभावली (d) [Bendall, 28]

[NB—Bendall = A Journey in Nepal and Northern India, by
Bondall, Cambridge, 1886]

इति

श्रीमदखिलाण्डकोटिब्रह्माण्डनायकस्य श्रियःपतेः देवदेवस्य श्रीशेषाचलशेखरालयस्य श्रीनिव
नित्यान्तरङ्गमृत्युगोष्ठीधुरीणस्य - परशुशतकृत्व पठितपाठितव्याख्यातश्रीमद्रामायण च
शशास्त्रपारावारपारीण - श्रीवेङ्कटेश्वरसंस्थानगोर्वाणकलाशालाग्रथर्ममहोपदेशकाध्यक्ष -
धार्मिकशिरोमणि - सुगृहीतनामधेय - कमलम्बासहचरित - स्वपितृव्य
श्रीनिवासरङ्गनाथाचार्य - वात्सल्यलब्धसाहित्यसर्वस्वस्य, अंशावतारित-
फणिपतिषिषणाधवलप्रभाभासुरपरिच्छद - निरन्तरप्रतिभासमुल्ल-
सितद्वयानवद्यप्रवचनचतुरीसमुपस्थापितकालिदासमहा-
कवि - शब्दशास्त्रविशारद मण्डकोळतूरभिजन - श्री
कृष्णशास्त्रिणः, अनवरतश्रुतमतनिध्यातशब्द-
ब्रह्मस्वरूपस्य समधिगतपाणिनीयसर्वस्वस्य
अरशाणिपालै - शठकोपाचार्यस्य
च, प्रियान्तेवासिनः.

नैध्रुवकाश्यपगोत्रोद्भवस्य अमृताम्बाग्रभर्मसम्भवस्य श्रीनिवासरायधवतनूभवस्य

शृङ्गाराम्बासहधर्मचारिण माडभाषि कृष्णमहाचार्यस्य कृतिषु

देववाणीसाहित्यचरितं

समाप्तम् ॥

श्रियःकान्ताय कल्याणनिधये निधयेऽर्थिना ।

श्रीवेङ्कटनिवासाय श्रीनिवासाय नमः ॥

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